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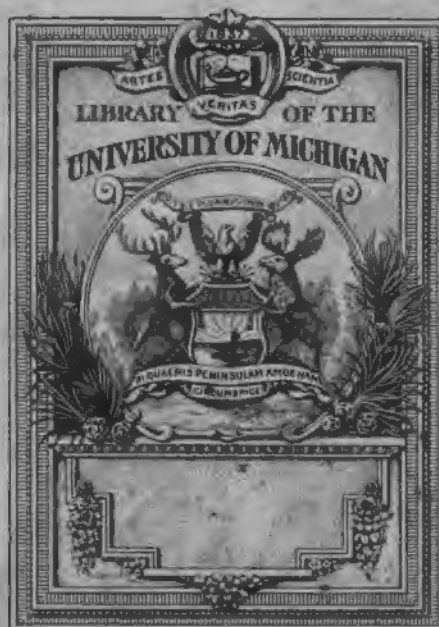
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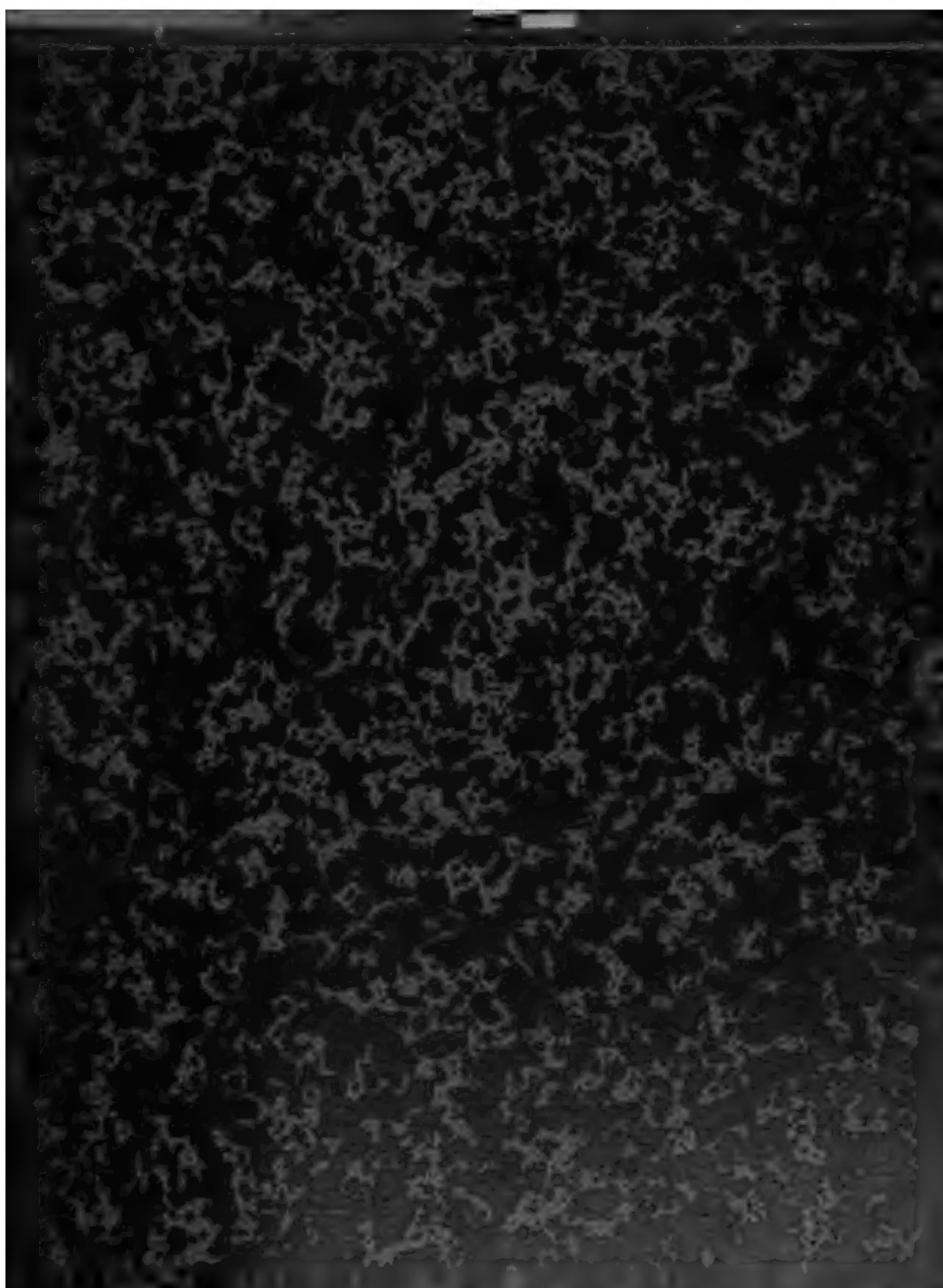
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MAGAZINE
OF
AMERICAN HISTORY

WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

ILLUSTRATED

EDITED BY MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB

VOL XXII

JULY—DECEMBER, 1889

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Martha J. Lamb

[From a photograph by Dana, May 30, 1889.]

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No. 1

THE STORY OF THE WASHINGTON CENTENNIAL



HERE is a force streaming from a nation's glory—the memory of its great men—as irresistible as the sunlight. The personality which invested with warmth and color and invigorated with vitality every feature of the recent centennial festival in New York, was the genuine secret of its overwhelming success. While the birth of the Republic was the dominant idea, the majesty and magnetism of its first guide and guardian ruled the hour. And associated with Washington everywhere at this supreme moment, like veritable guards of honor, were the heroic statesmen of his time, whom we all learned to know much better than hitherto as they were marshaled again and again before us in their velvets and satins and ruffles and shoe-buckles.

The celebration has passed into history, and we are now sufficiently advanced into the next century to be able to turn and review its scenes and incidents without prejudice and with decided pleasure and profit. No one concerned in the brilliant affair either as an auxiliary or spectator will be apt to forget it, but, like the participant who could see only a fraction of the battle in which he was engaged, may not be able to appreciate its picturesque magnitude and world-wide significance unless lifted into some descriptive height where the immense whole may be taken in at a glance. The graphic accounts which appeared from day to day in the monster metropolitan and other newspapers during the jubilation were marvels of journalistic cleverness, and must have been extremely welcome to those who had the opportunity of reading them. But to the multitude of workers who were exerting every energy to keep the complicated machinery of such an enormous undertaking in good running order, and to the legions who every instant for three successive days had too much of interest passing before their eyes for literary recreation, the accumulation of record became unwieldy. If the statement be true that the newspaper accounts of the jubilee joined together would be ample in extent "to carpet a strip of landed territory reaching round the globe as wide as the

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Equator," then we must not expect the field will ever be exactly convenient for ready reference. Yet no one can expect or hope to do the subject better justice than did the press contributors. As to overestimating the grandeur of the occasion or the importance of the events which inspired it, that was not within human possibilities. The first century of a free government was sublimely opened by the revered Washington, sustained and applauded by an intelligent and liberty-loving people, and the second century of the same government, having meanwhile been tried in the fiery furnace and come forth like true steel, with its blessings for millions of the human race, was opened by the President of the nation on its one hundredth birth-day, in 1889, in the midst of an object lesson impressive beyond any ever witnessed in the world's history, and more effective in its educating properties than a million schools with their teachers and books and blackboards. Where is the language that can fashion a picture surpassing the reality? The common vision has fortunately been immeasurably broadened for all time, and the triumphal arch spanning the entrance to Fifth Avenue at Washington square, will, it is hoped, stand to the end of that interesting period as a permanent mile-stone in American progress.

Our present concern is with the salient facts attending the commemorative demonstration. To touch these in a single chapter requires heroic treatment; thus many details must necessarily be omitted.

The committees and others in charge of the observance of the anniversary were for months engaged in active preparatory work; for celebrations have not the miraculous power of creating or controlling themselves. The scope of the programme was enlarged and amended from time to time as the exigencies of the prospect seemed to demand. Two hundred of the prominent citizens of New York formed the general committee, of which Hon. Hamilton Fish, former secretary of state, was president, and Clarence W. Bowen, secretary. From this committee were appointed an executive committee and ten sub-committees, each with onerous duties to perform. The efficient chairman of the executive committee was Elbridge T. Gerry, a grandson of Elbridge Gerry who signed the Declaration of Independence in 1776, and was elected vice-president of the nation in 1812. Every state in the Union was invited to participate in the festivities, and almost every organization and interest applied for recognition. Invitations were everywhere accepted with alacrity, and the uninvited were disconsolate. The spirit of patriotism seized the entire continent. When it became apparent that not less than two or three million visitors would honor New York with their presence, much anxiety reigned lest the great hospitable city should find her resources insufficient for their accommoda-



THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH AT THE ENTRANCE TO FIFTH AVENUE AT WASHINGTON SQUARE.

tion. The projected centennial had grown into such enormous proportions as to bewilder its promoters, and the enthusiasm respecting it astonished the world. The visitors came from every quarter until the largest assemblage of people ever witnessed on this continent was congregated upon Manhattan Island. The skillful management of the extraordinary crowds during the three days of pageant and rejoicing, as well as the admirable manner in which the various exercises and parades were conducted, reflect

unspeakable credit upon the executive officers of the celebration ; nothing went wrong, every contingency was provided for, every wheel rolled systematically, and no accident marred the splendor of the triumphal jubilee.

The Society of the Cincinnati was first in the commemorative field, with an elaborate banquet in honor of Washington, its first president-general, served in the elegant rooms of the Lawyers' Club at the Equitable Building, Saturday evening, April 27. It was a notable gathering, nearly every diner present being a veritable descendant of some revolutionary hero, as well as a man of distinction in his own right. In the forenoon of Sunday, the 28th, memorial services, as an appropriate prelude to the official performances of Monday, were held under the auspices of the society of the Cincinnati, in St. Paul's chapel—the historic institution attending in a body. The exercises were conducted by two of the chaplains of the society—the Right Rev. William Stevens Perry, bishop of Iowa, and the Rev. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina, each of whom is a hereditary member—assisted by the clergy of the parish. Bishop Perry, in his eloquent discourse, called specific attention to the frequency with which “our beloved Washington” occupied “yonder pew, in this edifice ever sacred to patriotic memories,” and how again and again the members of this honorable order assembled here in recognition of their trust in God.

From nearly every pulpit throughout the length and breadth of the great city of New York on that eventful Sabbath morning, during the same precise hour, were delivered fervent and powerful memorial sermons. Said Rev. Dr. Parkhurst of the Madison Square Church : “There is only one centre around which this morning either our thoughts or our devotions can easily and unaffectedly crystallize. In form, we have taken our text out of the Bible : in fact, we take our text out of the air and the common heart. We stand together to-day on the threshold of an unwritten century. We can almost feel the passing away of the old and the incoming of the new.” Dr. Armitage said : “The old world was rocked as in the throes of an earthquake when Washington came. His sincerity, his honesty, his courage, influenced the people quite as much as all the eloquent tongues and pens of the thirteen colonies. There was little about him that savored of Alexander or Napoleon. Instead of conquering a country, he was to work out a principle. His task called not for ambition, but for the highest elevation and the most perfect symmetry of character.” Rev. E. Walpole Warren of Holy Trinity said : “Although an Englishman, I wish to be among the foremost in this city to pray that this nation may in future advance in both worldly and moral prosperity ;” and in his glowing tribute to our first President, he said, “Look at him narrowly,

consider him carefully, for no grander character in history meets our gaze than George Washington." And not only in New York, but in Brooklyn, in all our sister cities, in every village and town, and before every organized body of Christians of whatever creed or shade of belief throughout the land, was voiced on that morning the one overwhelming thought and theme.

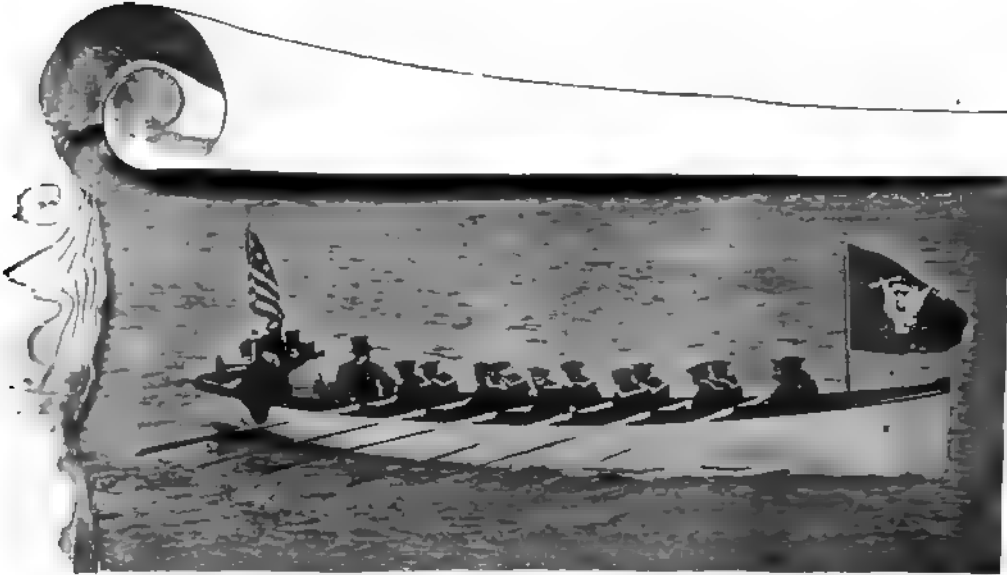
In the meantime the heavy storms of the previous few days had scoured the city clean, and a crop of bunting seemed to have taken root in the brown stone of every street and avenue. Immense reviewing stands had sprung up as if by magic about the principal squares, in extent such as never were seen before on Manhattan Island, and four triumphal arches spanned Fifth Avenue ready to blossom with fanciful decorations on Monday. Observant strangers promenaded the streets, and on all sides reigned the general hush and quiet of expectancy.

At midnight, while New York was sleeping, her ancient sister Elizabeth, on the Jersey coast, was using the hammer with a vigor which did her infinite credit. Miles of bunting were being stretched from door to window, and from porch to roof, and acres of flags were getting into position. At the same weird hour, the far-away capital city of the nation was conscious that something unusual was going on within her limits. The executive head of the nation was not in his accustomed chamber at the White House, but, attended by his cabinet ministers, his escort of honor from the metropolis, and the ladies of the party, was on the railway train for New York trying to catch "forty winks" before the ponderous wheels should turn and the gentle rocking of the coach lull him into restful repose. Six hours later he opened his eyes upon the rich fields of northern New Jersey. The train was swiftly approaching Elizabeth. What a contrast to the journey of Washington in his slow four-horse carriage one hundred years ago! President Harrison was carried to his destination without effort or fatigue, in a car furnished with oriental elegance, and lighted with electricity and heated by steam, to which was attached ten other cars, including a library, a dining hall, a smoker, a sleeper, a complete barber's outfit and bath-rooms, all connected by vestibules so that passengers might move from one to another without danger. What would Washington and his contemporaries have said could they have foresighted these modern luxuries?

When the magnificent train entered the old historic town of Elizabeth, there was an outbreak of tumultuous enthusiasm. The electric current announced the event among the fire-bells, all the church-bells joined in the clamor, cannons banged and roared, and every instrument capable of

sound contributed to the exciting din. Notwithstanding the early hour countless crowds had congregated. The President was received by Governor Robert Stockton Greene, at whose residence a delicious breakfast was served. At precisely half-past eight the President was conducted from the table to the drawing-room, and the doors were opened to the distinguished guests who had been invited to the reception, including many of the state officials and prominent citizens of Elizabeth and neighboring cities, nearly all of whom were grandsons and granddaughters of Revolutionary heroes. Shortly after nine o'clock the President passed to the grand stand on the lawn in the rear of the governor's house and reviewed the first two divisions of the military which was to escort him to Elizabethport. He then entered a carriage with New Jersey's governor, drawn by four black horses handsomely adorned with plumes and streamers of white, red, and blue; the Vice-President entered the next carriage with Mayor Joseph B. Grier, General Sewell, and Adjutant-General Stryker; and six other carriages with distinguished occupants followed, flanked on either side by carriages containing the guard of honor; then came forty more carriages devoted to the heads and representatives of important organizations, such as the Historical Society, the Cincinnati, the Board of Trade, the Board of Education, etc., with a host of paraders following. The President was conducted to Elizabethport over the same historic road which Washington immortalized, passing the old Presbyterian church, and the Boudinot house where the first President-elect lunched in company with the great-great-grandfather of the present President, as described in the May number of this magazine. The sun suddenly dispelled all clouds and shone forth as brightly as on a June morning. The whole line of march was brilliant with color and with novelties in the arrangements of bunting and banners, and all along the route the cheering was whole-souled and continuous. The President passed under three superb triumphal arches, one at Broad and Jersey streets, another at the cross-roads, upon which were stationed forty-nine pretty girls dressed to represent the forty-two states and seven territories of our country, who showered a profusion of flowers upon the presidential head, and the third at First and Fulton streets in Elizabethport. Many of the members of the presidential party went in the special train to Elizabethport, arriving there at the same time as the procession.

Meanwhile New York, although left fast asleep on a recent page as a preparatory tonic for the coming three days and nights of no rest, was astir with the first glimmer of daylight, giving the final touches to her gorgeous decorations. The public pulse beat in a frenzied fashion as the



PRESIDENT HARRISON'S JOURNEY TO NEW YORK BY WATER.
FROM ELIZABETHPORT TO THE *Despatch*.

morning sun appeared after its long hiding under the clouds, and presently the whole body of the population and its visitors was proceeding with celerity toward the Battery and vicinity for a position of some sort to see the President arrive by water. The idea of this route, following as closely as practicable in the footsteps of Washington, was happily conceived, and took the entire country by storm as soon as it was fully understood. The row-boat of the first President, introduced into the midst of our stately shipping, gave the public an unparalleled opportunity to note the progress of the century with one sweep of the naked eye. The camera of the pictorial historian brings into the foreground the little barge in which the President and Vice-President, in charge of Major Asa Bird Gardiner, chairman of the committee on navy, and Captain Henry Erben, U. S. N., were rowed from Elizabethport to the graceful and honored *Despatch*, anchored a considerable distance from the shore. The members of the cabinet, the ladies, and others of the President's party, were conveyed to the vessel in its steam launch. When the President stepped upon the deck of the *Despatch* her yards were manned by the sailors and a salute of twenty-one guns announced the fact. He was courteously welcomed by the committee, and took his place on the bridge. Among those near him were Major Asa Bird Gardiner, F'bridge T. Gerry, Admiral Porter, Secre-



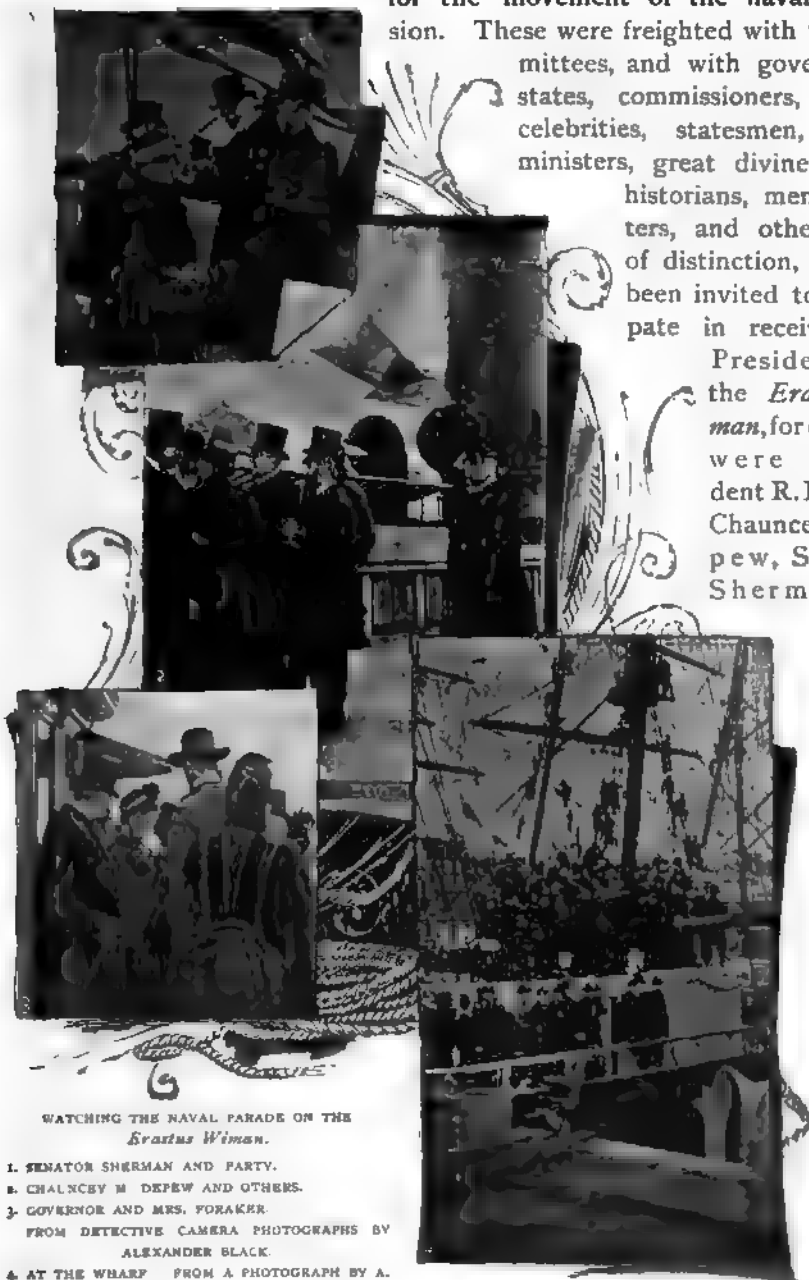
1. THE *Despatch* AND THE *Monmouth*, FROM THE *Erastus Wiman*. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHN H. DINGMAN.

2. THE *Sirius*. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY A. R. DORCHESTER.

tary Noble, Governor Hill, Mayor Grant, General Schofield, Hon. William M. Evarts, Walker Blaine, Attorney-General Miller, Secretary Proctor, Chief Justice Fuller, William G. Hamilton, James M. Varnum, Hon. John A. King, Jackson S. Schultz, Frederic R. Coudert, O. B. Potter, Clarence W. Bowen, Commodore Ramsay, and hosts of other notables. The sea-kissed shores at this interesting moment were literally black with people: all New Jersey seemed massed on one side of the Kill von Kull and all Staten Island on the other. The buildings and the trees were filled with men and women, and the bright national colors were everywhere floating in the breeze.

The escorting steamers of the centennial committee, led by the *Erastus Wiman* and the *Sirius*, were already in line, awaiting the signal

for the movement of the naval procession. These were freighted with the committees, and with governors of states, commissioners, military celebrities, statesmen, foreign ministers, great divines, poets, historians, men of letters, and other guests of distinction, who had been invited to participate in receiving the President. On the *Erastus Wiman*, for example, were ex-President R. B. Hayes, Chauncey M. Depew, Senator Sherman and

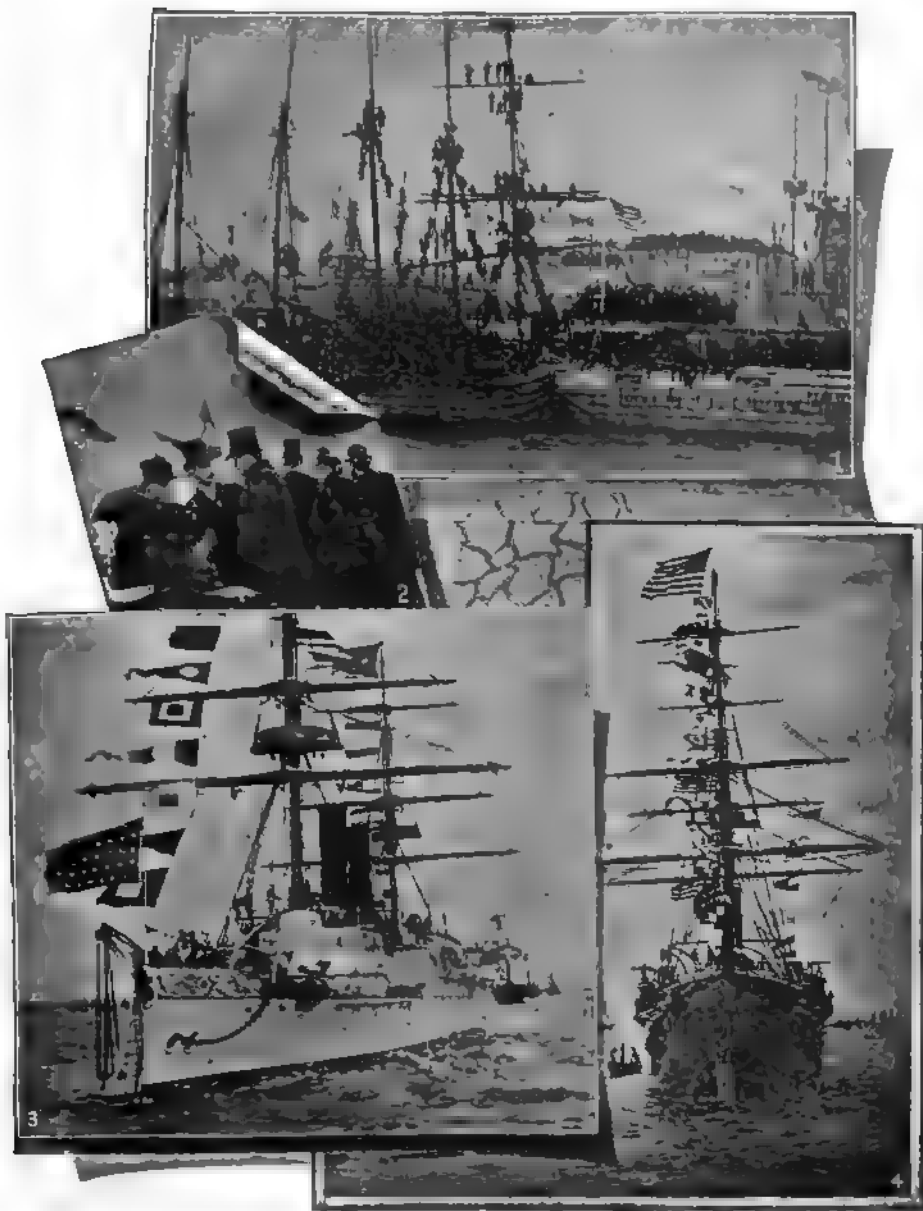


WATCHING THE NAVAL PARADE ON THE
Erastus Wiman.

1. SENATOR SHERMAN AND PARTY.
 2. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW AND OTHERS.
 3. GOVERNOR AND MRS. FORAKER.
- FROM DETECTIVE CAMERA PHOTOGRAPHS BY
ALEXANDER BLACK.
4. AT THE WHARF FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY A.
R. DORCHESTER.

daughter, Governor Foraker of Ohio and family and staff, Governor Buckner of Kentucky and staff, Hon. William Wirt Henry of Virginia, Governor Gordon of Georgia and staff, Governor Bulkley of Connecticut and staff, the governors of Iowa, Michigan, Vermont, Maine, Rhode Island, Indiana, and of several other states, Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, ex-Secretary Bayard, Edward F. De Lancey, Henry G. Marquand, Senor Romero the Mexican minister, Dr. George B. Loring, our new minister to Portugal, Professor Drisler, acting president of Columbia college, and a thousand or two, more or less, of similar quality. The splendid steamer *Monmouth* was laden with the overflow from the *Erastus Wiman*, a brilliant throng, including several belated governors of states, of whom was the governor of Massachusetts and his staff. Other steamers, much too numerous for mention, were on hand crowded with appreciative passengers, and when the *Despatch* began to move toward New York the spectacle was the most beautiful and imposing ever witnessed on American waters.

There were nine monster men-of-war, resting with their noses pointed up stream, some two hundred yards apart in single column, a little to the west of the main channel, each of which saluted the *Despatch* with twenty-one guns as she came abreast, while sailors with their caps off swarmed to the rigging with the agility of cats, and spread out upon the yard-arms in silhouette lines of human figures set against the sky. The magnificent fleets of steam yachts, merchantmen, and revenue cutters also saluted with uproarious racket, and fell into line in their proper places, each vessel from the largest to the smallest being enveloped in bunting of all colors and devices, and crowded from stem to stern with showily dressed and enthusiastic ladies and gentlemen. As the marvelous pageant advanced, every boat in the harbor was quickly afloat, with others that had no assigned place on the programme. Gayly trimmed launches, tugs, private yachts, ferry-boats, propellers, excursion boats, and sailing craft of all descriptions, crowded with spectators, were in bewildering motion, dodging in here and there among the great steamers for a near view of the *Despatch*, the central attraction, as if unconscious of the existence of rear-admirals and proclamations. Some six hundred vessels it is said paraded, and the line, had it been stretched out as originally planned would have reached not less than fourteen miles. As to the deafening noise produced, words can never do it justice. Cannon, steam-whistles, and cheering tried in vain to drown each other, while the locomotive and factory whistles along the shore added their discordant screams, guns boomed from every bluff and pier, the multitudes shouted with all their strength, and at New Brighton a steam fire-engine shrieked from an elevation with significant results. The



1. VIEWING NAVAL PARADE FROM THE WHARF. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY EDWARD B. SCHEDDER.
2. EX-SECRETARY BAYARD AND MR. FISH. FROM A DETECTIVE CAMERA PHOTOGRAPH BY MR. BLACK.
3. THE *Boston*. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY R. DAYTON.
4. THE *Chicago*. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY C. G. HINE.

water was lashed into a white foam tinged with blue, every drop seemingly converted into a sparkling gem under the sun's rays, which with the changeable, leisurely-moving panorama of marine beauty, particularly at the proud moment of its completed proportions, made the whole surface of the bay more brilliant in effect than a garden of choicest flowers. It was a picture picturesque in the extreme, and to be seen but once in a lifetime. The marine pageant was a success from first to last, and, in the admirable order of its arrangement, and in the unparalleled grandeur of its extent, has never been equaled on this continent or indeed in the annals of the world.

The view of lower New York from the parading vessels was also something to be remembered. The massive buildings were clothed in the national colors and covered with thousands of people; the streets and wharves were packed with patient crowds—every available spot where a human foot could be planted was occupied. The camera is the best chronicler of what was seen from the water. It is believed that upward of two millions of intelligent American citizens overlooked, in one way or another, the memorable naval parade.

The ceremony of landing the President was unique. The row-boat in this instance was manned by a crew of experienced oarsmen, descendants of the masters of vessels who rowed the barge of Washington across the bay in 1789, Ambrose Snow, coxswain, one of the oldest and ablest ship captains in the country. Chairman Asa Bird Gardiner of the Committee on Navy, Frederic R. Coudert, and Jackson Schultz, accompanied the President and Vice-President in the little dancing craft, and amid vociferous cheers from every quarter and a noisy chorus of steam whistles, they safely stepped upon the float at the foot of Wall street.

The formalities of introduction were brief. Major Gardiner presented the President to Hon. Hamilton Fish, president of the centennial, who received and gracefully introduced him to the governor of the state of New York and the mayor of the city. Mr. Fish then said: "Mr. President: In the name of the centennial committee, representing the enthusiasm, the gratitude, and the pride of the nation on this anniversary, I tender to you the welcome of New York, on the very spot where, one hundred years ago, your great predecessor, our first President, planted his foot, when he came to assume the duties of the great office which has now devolved upon you, and to set in operation the machinery of the glorious Constitution under which the government has prospered and enlarged and extended across the continent, insuring peace, security, and happiness to more than sixty millions of people, and not a single slave." To this

President Harrison responded briefly, also to the few words of welcome extended to him by the governor and the mayor; he was formally introduced to Elbridge T. Gerry, chairman of the centennial committee, and to William G. Hamilton, grandson of Alexander Hamilton, chairman of



1. PRESIDENT HARRISON IN THE ROW-BOAT VOYAGE FROM THE *Despatch* TO WALL STREET FERRY.

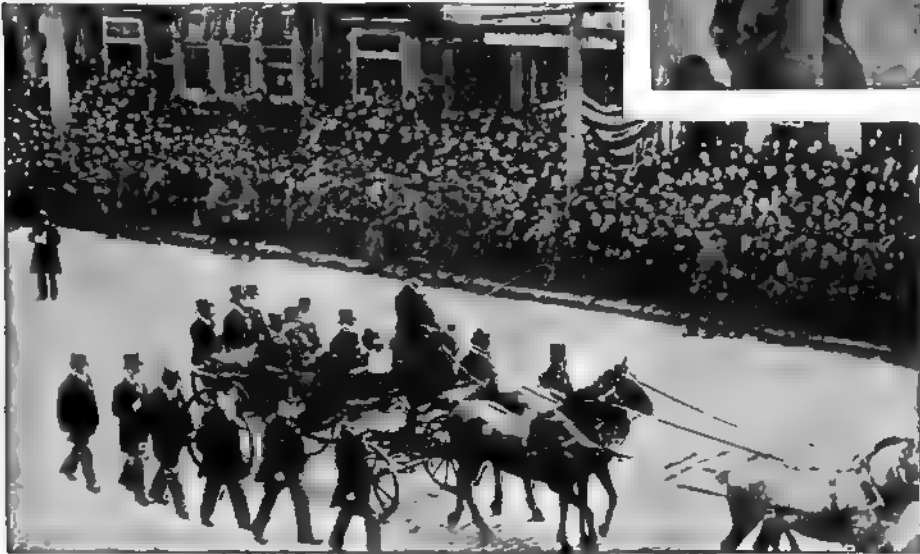
2. SCENE NEAR THE LANDING AT WALL STREET FERRY.

the committee on states. The party then proceeded to the carriages, led by James M. Varnum, chairman of the plan and scope committee. The governor gave the President the seat of honor on his right hand, and Hon. Hamilton Fish and Mayor Grant were seated in the front. In the second

carriage the Vice-President of the nation and the lieutenant-governor of the state were side by side, and Mr. Gerry and the chief justice of the United States facing them. The members of the President's cabinet, the associate justices of the supreme court, the general of the army, the admiral of the navy, General Sherman, Senator Evarts, ex-President Hayes, the general committee of the celebration, governors of states marching in the order of admission of their states to the Union, the national senate, and the house of representatives, and other bodies and invited guests. Many of these were landed from the companion steamers of the *Despatch*. The escort of troops was remarkably fine, and when the procession was formed and was moving through Wall street to the Equitable building, the chimes of Trinity church pealed forth a glad welcome, and the cheers from the dense crowds echoed from building to building in a mighty roar that verily seemed to jar and rattle the great subterranean vaults of silver and gold. At two o'clock P. M., the exact hour fixed, the Presidential party entered the monster edifice, preceded by the plan and scope committee, marching in pairs—the President leaning on the arm of Governor Hill. The first greeting of note was from the surplined choir of Trinity church, stationed on the first stairway, who sang the beautiful hymn which opens, "Before the Lord we Bow," followed by the doxology to the accompaniment of the military band. The President was then escorted to the elegant rooms of the Lawyers' club, and by William G. Hamilton, chairman of the committee on states, presented to the president of the club, William Allen Butler, and to the secretary, Samuel Borrowe, and others. Mr. Butler at once conducted the President to the reception room, Mr. Borrowe escorting the Vice-President. The receiving party stood on a raised platform, the President with Hon. Hamilton Fish and Vice-President Morton on his right, and Governor Hill and Mayor Grant on his left, while the cabinet and other dignitaries in groups were on either side. The governors of twenty-nine states were present. When the doors were opened, some two thousand invited guests passed rapidly by the President, and he succeeded admirably in achieving upward of thirty bows a minute—there was no hand-shaking. Then came the luncheon. In the great banqueting hall, which was transformed into a bower of beauty, around an oval-shaped table sixty guests were seated. Hon. Hamilton Fish presided, with President Harrison on his right and Governor Hill on his left. At the opposite end of the table sat William G. Hamilton, chairman of the committee under whose auspices the reception was given. Grace was said by the Rev. Dr. Morgan Dix. The members of the cabinet were at this table, ex-President Hayes, Mr. Evarts, Chaun-

cey M. Depew, General Sherman, General Schofield, Admiral Porter, and other men of national distinction. The same *menu* was served to guests who occupied tables in the main dining-hall of the club and the small dining-rooms, among whom were the gubernatorial visitors.

Promptly, at a few minutes prior to four o'clock, the President emerged through the



1. VIEWING THE PARADE. FROM A DETECTIVE CAMERA PHOTOGRAPH BY ALEXANDER BLACK.

2. THE PRESIDENT PASSING THROUGH WALL STREET FROM THE FERRY, APRIL 29, 1889.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY C. M. HOAGLAND, M.D.

granite portals of the Equitable building into full view of the waiting crowds in the street, and a shout of enthusiasm drowned the music of the band. He entered his carriage, and the party proceeded to the City Hall in the same order as through Wall street before the luncheon. City Hall Park was encircled by a vast mass of people who seemed nearly unmanageable in crushing to see the President, and all the great surrounding buildings were alive with myriads of lookers-on. The most beautiful scene he had yet witnessed was here in store for President Harrison. Two hundred pretty school-girls dressed in white, each holding a basket of cut flowers, were arranged in double line upon the City Hall

steps from the pavement to the rotunda of the edifice, leaving a narrow passage for the President to pass between them. As he slowly ascended the steps, leaning on the arm of Mayor Grant, he was gently stormed with the flowers—he and those who followed literally walked upon a carpet of flowers. At the head of the stairs, within the building, one of the maidens stepped forward and read an address of welcome to the President in behalf of the New York public schools. She said in part :

“MR. PRESIDENT : Through us, their representatives, 180,000 pupils of the common schools of New York city, 1,650 students of the Normal College, and 1,000 students of the College of the City of New York extend to you their cordial welcome. It is, we think, appropriate that the great common-school system, which is, to a large extent, the outgrowth of Washington's repeated recommendations to the newly born republic, should be represented in the public celebration of his inauguration as first president of the United States. . . . Could he look down upon us to-day, might we not humbly hope that he would be pleased at our progress and proud of our position among the powers of the earth ? Would he not rejoice over our smiling, happy, plenteous land and its active, vigorous population, sixty millions of freemen, obedient to law and faithful to the sacred charge left by their glorious ancestors, the wise and temperate use of their liberties ? Above all, would he not be filled with joyful wonder at the marvelous moral and intellectual growth of the people, and feel that these blessings were a sufficient recompense for all his sufferings and an ample reward for all his toils ?

Upon you, honored sir, has been conferred the highest office which this nation of intelligent, self-governing freemen has in its gift ; and it is as President of the United States that you have come to help us worthily to commemorate this great centennial. Upon such worthy shoulders has the mantle of America's first and noblest son fallen that we can repeat to you to-day the words our Trenton sisters addressed to him a century ago :

‘Virgins fair and matrons grave,
Those thy conquering arms did save,
Build for thee triumphal bowers.
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers,
Strew your hero's way with flowers.’”

The Presidential party were soon stationed in the governor's room, on a raised platform, under a canopy of flags, and the school-girls were among the first introduced. A public reception followed, occupying a full hour ; men, women, and children to the number of five thousand, many of them in their working-clothes, passed by and paid their respects to the President. He was interrupted once for a few seconds to read the following significant telegram :

“CHICAGO, Illinois, April 29.—Seventy-five thousand people of Illinois, in mass meeting, will expect some sentiment from the President of the United States to-morrow. Please telegraph us to-day.
CENTENNIAL COMMITTEE.”

At five o'clock the doors were closed and the President was driven to the house of Vice-President Morton, where he rested until seven and one-half o'clock, the hour appointed for a dinner given in his honor at the residence of Stuyvesant Fish, in Gramercy Park.

The centennial ball at the Metropolitan opera-house was the great event of the evening. It had been for months anticipated, the exciting cause of unnecessary bickerings and heart-burnings, and its spirit curiously misunderstood, but it could not be otherwise than a great historic occasion. It was styled not infelicitously the "grandchildren's ball," for never before were so many of the descendants of the founders of our country brought together under one roof. It must have been interesting to President Harrison, himself the grandson of a President, to have noted how nearly all who acted on the committees in both New Jersey and New York, or were prominent in contributing to his welcome in honor of Washington, either bore the name of or could point with pride to some illustrious ancestor associated with Washington. Of the committee who went to the capital to escort the President to New York were John Jay, grandson of Chief Justice John Jay, and John A. King, grandson of the celebrated Rufus King. We have met the grandsons of Alexander Hamilton and Elbridge Gerry at every turn, and if space would permit we might fill a score of pages with the names of others bearing similar relation to the scenes commemorated. The ball was a brilliant social affair, not only in its immensity but in the high character of those who took part in it. It was unique and interesting from every point of view. It was a vast animated picture which appealed to every agreeable sense.

The entrance to the opera-house was through a labyrinth of floral splendor. The main corridor was a veritable bower of roses, azaleas, lilies, and ferns. No wood-work was visible anywhere. On all sides were blossoms of pink, white, and crimson, set like jewels in a background of evergreens. The stairways and lobbies were lined with laurel and arborvitæ, and roses were trailed in festoons along the walls and balustrades. The space left for the guests to pass was clearly defined by garden-box. A wide, green archway spanned the entrance to this flowery scene, the dates 1789-1889 being figured in pink roses at its top, and overhead at the entrance to the main aisle a gilt eagle was placed, holding in its beak and claws a large flag, whose folds were draped down the sides of the doorway. The walls of the passageway from the door to the auditorium were covered with roses. The first glance inside the auditorium brought surprise even to those who had seen other great buildings decorated for stirring events. There was a mass of light from myriads of incandescent lamps, placed so

closely together that the glare seemed absolutely unbroken, the effect mellowed, however, by the orange and white streamers in the dome. Away at its extreme end were the boxes erected for the President and party—that of the President towering above the others, and was supposed to imitate the façade of the White House at Washington. On either side of this were double tiers of boxes, five below and six above. The front of the Presidential box was adorned with rich hangings of gold and crimson plush, the latter embroidered in gold. The side-walls and back of the box were covered with crimson plush, while the top was hidden by a superb silk national flag, festooned and held in place by a large portrait of Washington. On either side of the portrait were the dates 1789–1889 in gas-jets. An immense supper-hall had been constructed for the occasion in the streets on two sides of the opera-house. The tables taken altogether were said to be a quarter of a mile in length, and the decorations were superb.

The President and party arrived about half-past ten o'clock, coming directly from the dinner before mentioned, and at that hour the opera-house was filled to its utmost capacity. A detachment of soldiers in double lines kept a passage open on the floor, and the President passed between them, with the governor upon his right hand and the mayor of the city on his left. The Vice-President and Mrs. Harrison came next, then the lieutenant-governor of New York and Mrs. Morton, and Stuyvesant Fish with Mrs. Jones. The ladies selected for the historic quadrille followed, leaning on the arms of their respective partners. The costumes were of unparalleled beauty. Some of these were the veritable dresses, heir-looms worn at the entertainment given to our first President, as for instance that of Miss Schuyler, great-granddaughter of Alexander Hamilton, and great-great-granddaughter of General Philip Schuyler; others were fashioned in charming imitation of the pretty styles of a hundred years ago, even to the hand-embroidered brocade now so difficult to procure.

Tuesday, April 30, the great national holiday, opened with artillery salutes and the fairest of weather. The city of New York was awake early, attired in brightest colors through her entire length and breadth. The decorating fever reached its climax during the progress of the naval parade of Monday, and prominent men who had hitherto been indifferent to the display suddenly became enthused, and declared "that millions of dollars would be well spent in embellishing the sombre architecture of the city for the festival." The spirit of patriotism was not confined to classes or localities—no tenement on the east side omitted its flag—in the streets running across town from the East river, where no procession was expected



by any chance to pass, the houses were almost covered with bunting, and nearly every householder rejoiced in a portrait of our first President. Where families could not afford a twenty-five cent banner, they flaunted one that cost three cents, or painted a copy of the stars and stripes

LEAVING ST. PAUL'S CHAPEL.

FROM DETECTIVE CAMERA PHOTOGRAPHS, BY ALEXANDER BLACK.

1. PRESIDENT HARRISON. 2. GOVERNOR HILL. 3. EX-PRESIDENTS HAYES AND CLEVELAND.

on paper. Wagons and trucks were decorated sumptuously, their horses seemingly harnessed with red, white and blue, and the lengthy ears of mules were often used as little flag-staffs. The portraits of Washington were seen everywhere, in the windows, suspended from triumphal arches, imprinted on flags and cards of invitation, and on sale where the crowds were thickest by the street gamin, who cried, "Here's yer picters of Jawrge Washington, ten cents, buy quick, else they all be gone!"

Despite the fatigue of Monday, which ended at an hour when days usually begin, the churches, large and small and of every denomination, were open at nine o'clock for thanksgiving services, and people in great numbers thronged these sacred temples. It was remembered how general was the religious sense of the importance of the inauguration ceremonies one hundred years ago, when our ancestors asked God's blessing on the experiment; and now a Christian nation on bended knee—for throughout the length and breadth of the country at this same hour were the churches filled with devout worshipers—reverently acknowledged with unspeakable gratitude God's great gift to our land and its century of prosperous progress. As was fitting at such a time, the historic sanctuary where Washington worshiped on the morning of April 30, 1789—St. Paul's, in Broadway—was opened to the Presidential party. The same pew that Washington occupied was graced by his successor, and well might the letters be written above it, in gold, 1789–1889. The committees and ushers in charge were all descendants of the historic families of a former century. The services were brief. Rev. Dr. Dix read the opening prayer, and Right Reverend Henry C. Potter acted as celebrant, assisted by Bishop Perry, Bishop Quintard, Bishop Littlejohn, and others. Then, attired in his episcopal robes, Bishop Potter ascended the quaint and ancient pulpit to the right of the altar and delivered the sermon of the centennial morning. His opening words were:

"One hundred years ago there knelt within these walls a man to whom, above all others in its history, this nation is indebted. An Englishman by race and lineage, he incarnated in his own person and character every best trait and attribute that have made the Anglo-Saxon name a glory to its children and a terror to its enemies throughout the world. But he was not so much an Englishman that, when the time came for him to be so, he was not even more an American; and in all that he was and did, a patriot so exalted, and a leader great and wise, that what men called him when he came here to be inaugurated as the first President of the United States the civilized world has not since then ceased to call him—the Father of his Country." The police kept the streets clear about the Vesey street

entrance, although the mass of people in the vicinity reached to the roofs, and the historic camera has preserved a glimpse of President Harrison just as he had taken his seat in the carriage on his way to the sub-treasury building; also, of Governor Hill and his staff, and of our two ex-presidents, Rutherford B. Hayes and Grover Cleveland.

The literary exercises, to which the President was conducted from St. Paul's chapel, formed the most noteworthy and thrilling feature of the whole celebration. On the sub-treasury steps in Wall street, on the very spot where the sublime ceremonial took place that momentous morning one hundred years ago, were assembled not only the descendants of the patriotic statesmen who stood about our first President at the supreme moment in 1789, when the untried machinery of a new government was set in motion, but the executive head and principal officers of the same government in 1889. The facts and philosophy of the situation need no interpreter. The locality is opulent in historic associations. But how different the scene to-day from what it was in the Washington period! Old Federal Hall long ago disappeared, and on its site is the marble structure which guards \$200,000,000 of the country's treasure. The fashionable homes of the New York of 1789 are also gone, and great monetary blocks—many-storied mines of material riches—appear in their stead. Wall street was the heart of the nation at its birth, and now it is the great vital business-point, where the life-pulses of the nation in its maturity ebb and flow.

The assembled greatness on the broad platform under the shadow of the statue of Washington, built out from the sub-treasury steps, overlooked an interesting field. Every window in the high Drexel building, in the Stock Exchange, and in other monster edifices, was filled with appreciative spectators—ladies in bright dresses, children who will remember the scene as long as they live, and hundreds of persons who were kept busy telling those about them what happened on the historic spot exactly one hundred years ago; while in Broad street nearly to Exchange place, and up and down in Wall street, the people stood packed so closely that their faces seemed actually joined together. A careful estimate placed the number in the immediate vicinity outside the platform, who listened to the brilliant and soul-stirring exercises, at twenty thousand. It was a few minutes after ten o'clock when the President reached the Pine street entrance of the sub-treasury, and was escorted from his carriage by Colonel James M. Varnum. He was met and welcomed to the building by Ellis H. Roberts, the assistant treasurer, and the party was then conducted through it to the Wall street front, Hon. Hamilton Fish and Mayor Grant



SCENE AT THE LITERARY EXERCISES AT THE SUB-TREASURY BUILDING IN WALL STREET, APRIL 30, 1889.
SECTION OF THE PORTRAIT PICTURE TO BE PUBLISHED BY JOHN H. DINCHAM, FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MASSEY.

leading the way arm in arm—they were the first, indeed, to pass through the massive iron gates. The President was on the arm of Elbridge T. Gerry, chairman of the committee on literary exercises, and the Vice-President was escorted by Clarence W. Bowen, secretary of the centennial committee; then came the Rev. Dr. Storrs and Archbishop Corrigan, and the cabinet, justices of the supreme court, and other dignitaries, in pairs. The statesmanship and the scholarship of the country were seated on this broad platform, massed together as never before in the history of the republic—and as will probably never be again in less than a hundred years to come. Almost every person present was of national renown, and the majority represented families who were intimately concerned in the beginning of our national government. Numerous attempts were made to photograph the scene by professors in the art, and by amateurs who have scientifically contributed with marked success toward converting photography into a fine art, but nothing was produced of so satisfactory a character as the picture—the historic picture—we have the pleasure of giving to our readers. In this, as will be observed, the portraits are so perfect that a list of the names of those present will be superfluous. When the rapturous cheering from the crowds above and below had in a measure subsided, Hon. Hamilton Fish stepped to the front of the platform, and in a sentence or two called the meeting to order, and Elbridge T. Gerry, in a clear, distinct voice, said: “Fellow-citizens—One hundred years ago, on this spot, George Washington, as first President of the United States, took his oath of office upon the Holy Bible. That sacred volume is here to-day, silently attesting the basis upon which our nation was constructed, and the dependence of our people upon Almighty God. In the words, then, of one of the founders of the government, ‘with hearts overflowing with gratitude to our Sovereign Benefactor for granting to us existence, for continuing it to the present period, and for accumulating on us blessings, spiritual and temporal, through life, may we with fervor beseech Him so to continue them as best to promote His glory and our welfare.’ The Rev. Richard S. Storrs will utter the invocation.”

Dr. Storrs’ prayer was listened to with reverential silence, those on the platform and those in the streets alike baring their heads. One of the beautiful passages of this historic supplication will ever remain in the memory: “Behold, we beseech thee, with thy merciful favor the nation which thou didst thus plant and protect setting it in the place which thou hast prepared, and multiply it with large increase. Thou hast given it riches of silver and gold, and made it possessor of a land of abundance, whose stones are iron, and out of whose rock flow rivers of oil. In its plentiful

fields the year is crowned with the joy of harvest, within its borders are all pleasant fruits, and its harbors exult in the tribute of the seas. Thou hast given it wise and equal laws for the homeborn and the stranger, ordinances of justice, a government which has been to it in successive generations for a name and a praise. May it equally inherit the blessings of thy grace and partake of thy righteousness. In obedience to thy will, and in reverence for thy truth, may its liberties abide on the surest foundations. In faith unfeigned and with joyful homage may it offer to thee its sacrifice of praise, and in all coming time find happiness and hope in thy benediction."

Mr. Gerry then came forward and introduced Clarence W. Bowen, to read the poem written for this occasion by John Greenleaf Whittier, entitled "The Vow of Washington," and it was excellently rendered. An ovation greeted Chauncey M. Depew when he stepped to the front of the platform to deliver his oration, which was a clear and graphic setting forth of the leading events of a century of popular government, of the marvelous material development of the republic in the past hundred years—a model of lofty and sustained oratory. He said: "No man ever stood for so much to his country and to mankind as George Washington. Hamilton, Jefferson and Adams, Madison and Jay, each represented some of the elements which formed the Union. Washington embodied them all. The superiority of Washington's character and genius was more conspicuous in the formation of our government and in putting it on indestructible foundations than in leading armies to victory and conquering the independence of his country. 'The Union in any event' is the central thought of his farewell address, and all the years of his grand life were devoted to its formation and preservation. He fought as a youth with Braddock and in the capture of Fort Du Quesne for the protection of the whole country. As commander-in-chief of the continental army, his commission was from the congress of the united colonies. He inspired the movement for the Republic, was the president and dominant spirit of the convention which framed its Constitution, and its President for eight years, and guided its course until satisfied that, moving safely along the broad highway of time, it would be surely ascending toward the first place among the nations of the world, the asylum of the oppressed, the home of the free. We stand to-day upon the dividing line between the first and second century of constitutional government. There are no clouds overhead and no convulsions under our feet. We reverently return thanks to Almighty God for the past, and with confident and hopeful promise march upon sure ground toward the future."



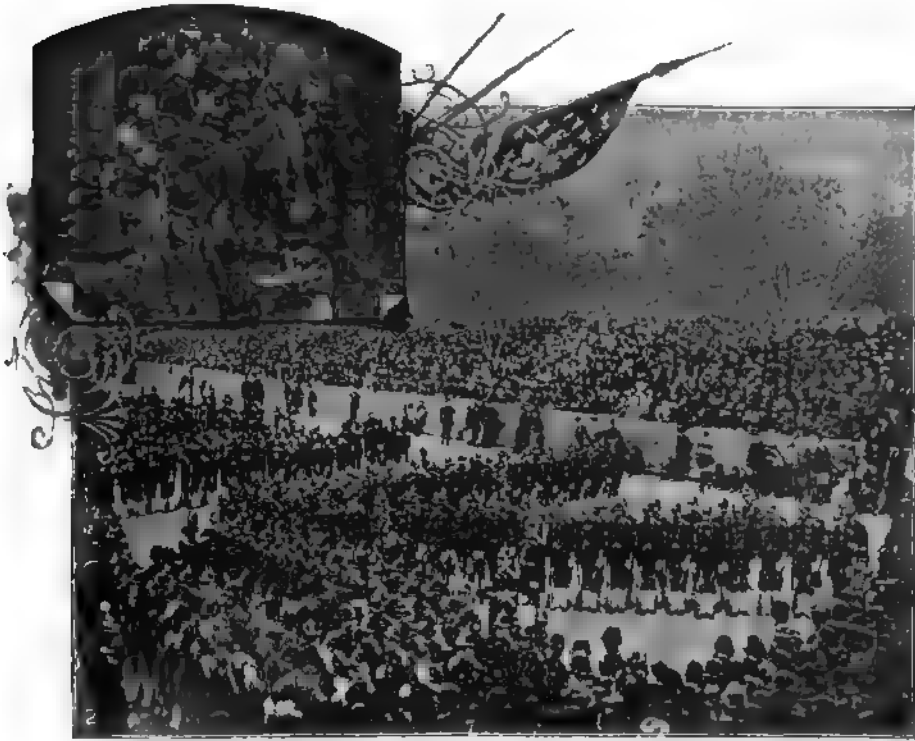
THE PRESIDENT DRIVING THROUGH FIFTH AVENUE, NEAR TENTH STREET.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY WILLIAM MILNE GRINNELL.

There was an outburst of prolonged applause when Mr. Depew finished, which broke forth into the wildest enthusiasm when Mr. Gerry advanced and introduced the President of the United States. President Harrison said among other things: "We have come into the serious but always inspiring presence of Washington. He was the incarnation of duty, and he teaches us to-day this great lesson, that those who would associate their names with events that shall outlive a century can only do so by a high consecration to duty. The captain who gives to the sea his cargo of rags that he may give safety and deliverance to his imperiled fellow-men has fame; he who lands the cargo has only wages."

Archbishop Corrigan then rose to pronounce the benediction, and heads were instantly uncovered and silence reigned. It was at this moment that the photograph was taken which appears upon page 22. For an hour the sound of martial music had been heard in the distance, and when the President at twelve o'clock, after a light luncheon served inside the sub-treasury building, proceeded to his carriage, lines of troops were already drawn up on each side of Broadway and Fifth avenue from Wall street to Madison square, ready to present arms when he should pass them. Mayor Grant took his place in the carriage beside the President, and General John Cochrane, from the army committee of the centennial,

and one of the President's aids, occupied the front seat. The route was fenced in by a solid wall of humanity, and the shout of welcome was continuous as the President's carriage moved rapidly along. Every building was sumptuously dressed in patriotic colors, every hand among the millions of sight-seers waved a handkerchief or a flag—in some instances the changing color, as if by magic, when the handkerchiefs and the flags were suddenly given to the breeze, was the most picturesque sight of the day. The mammoth proportions of the crowd attracted universal attention. President Harrison several times rose to his feet for a better view of the scene up and down the great thoroughfares. The ingenuity displayed in finding points and perches of observation was an amusing study. Telegraph-poles were black with men and boys. In the lower corridor of the post-office the swinging windows over the letter-boxes were turned and filled with clerks, who could watch through the outside sashes. Lamp-posts were utilized. In one instance a lamp-post carrying four lamps had a cup-like top, into which four girls and three boys had climbed. From the waist down they were hidden in the cup, over the edges of which they peeped like strange manikins in a goblet. At Chambers street a heavy-topped wagon was covered with girls standing. Dry-goods boxes and flour-barrels were converted into stands; in one instance the head of a barrel gave way under the weight of a heavy woman, and she descended into the round prison-house, from which it was very difficult to extricate her. At Worth street an old-fashioned stage-coach was entirely covered with spectators. Some men at Spring street placed a long ladder against a building, and a row of them stood on its rounds from top to bottom. Step-ladders were used for viewing-stands in hundreds of instances. The seats arranged on trucks at the cross-streets presented all sorts of comical pictures, but they were very useful contrivances. Miles of windows framed bouquets of happy faces. The steps of buildings were packed to the barred doors, and stands were thrown out from windows so that the people reached to the roofs, upon which they were planted in crowds, their heads fringing the edges. Mr. Grinnell's picture was made between Ninth and Tenth streets, shortly after the President's four-horse carriage rolled under the classic memorial arch at Washington square into the long stretch of Fifth avenue. The succeeding view represents the popular gathering in Union square.

When the President had taken his place on the reviewing-stand in Madison square, between the triumphal arches which bridged the avenue at Twenty-third and at Twenty-sixth streets, surrounded by a coterie of men famous in the political, literary, and social life of the day, the march-



1. A SIDE STREET GROUP OF SPECTATORS, FROM A DETECTIVE CAMERA PHOTOGRAPH BY ALEXANDER BLACK.
 2. TROOPS PASSING THROUGH UNION SQUARE ON TUESDAY, APRIL 30, 1889.

ing was resumed, and fifty thousand soldiers were quickly in motion. As far as the eye could reach, north or south, the brilliant pageant held full sway, and there was no sameness in the spectacle, for it was constantly changing in hue, and the variations of the same color, produced by the effect of the fast-recurring sunshine and shadows, were pleasing in the extreme. First came General Schofield, calm and stately, followed by General Cruger and the rest of his handsomely uniformed staff. In response to their salute, the President bowed with uncovered head. The West Point cadets had the place of honor at the head of the line of regulars, and their marching elicited unceasing applause. Nothing, however, roused enthusiasm to a higher pitch than the appearance of the troops from the different states. Delaware was foremost, led by Governor Biggs, a conspicuous figure in the parade, with long white hair that played all manner of pranks with the wind, as hat in hand he acknowledged the cheers of the multitude. Pennsylvania came next, her eight

thousand soldiers giving the impression of force and solidity, and at their head rode Governor Beaver, bowing with courtly dignity to the right and the left, in response to the shouts and cheers. New Jersey followed closely, Governor Greene receiving a royal reception as he came abreast of the reviewing-stand. His portly, dignified form was clad in a handsomely-fitting suit of black broadcloth, and his face was illumined with smiles as he saluted the President. Georgia was well represented, and Governor Gordon's splendid horsemanship greatly admired. As soon as he was recognized by the crowd he was cheered with a will. Connecticut was in fine feather, the gorgeous uniform of the Foot-Guards outshining everything of the kind that had gone before; Governor Bulkeley rode at the head of the column with soldierly precision. Massachusetts was not behind her sister states only in the order of march, but received an inspiring ovation from block to block along the route; her Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company was the rear-guard, which displayed about three hundred kinds of picturesque uniforms—as many as there were men. Governor Oliver Ames was a striking figure at the head of this display, and warmly applauded. There were no state lines with the paraders; they came from the north and the south and the east and the west, and there were no local prejudices in the throngs that looked on. People had come from all parts to see something that belonged to all. Everybody enjoyed the parade all the better because of the instantaneous and general acceptance of the fact that the celebration was intended for the whole country. The marching line was fully six miles long, and on either side of it for the entire distance was a solid wall of human beings, extending on the streets from the curb-stones up to the tops of the buildings, and in the squares and other open spaces running up and back in tier after tier of seats. The roofs, the windows, the trees—every available spot where a perch could be obtained—were pre-empted. As an object lesson in the rise and progress of the union of states, and as an exhibition of the material resources of the United States in men and means for offensive and defensive purposes, nothing could have been more to the purpose than this exhibition of its citizen soldiery. Both New York and the nation will have occasion to remember it with pride.

A volume might easily be filled with mention of the different military bodies who were represented in the parade. New Hampshire sent three regiments, and Governor Sawyer rode at the head of the line. The Virginia troops, a gallant band, followed, and Governor Fitzhugh Lee met with an enthusiastic greeting. The New York troops made a splendid appearance, and were an hour in passing the stand. Nothing more imposing than the

Seventh Regiment could be imagined. Its full companies filled the avenue from curb to curb, making a solid column that fitted the straight lines of the sidewalk as though one had been cut for the other. There was not a glimpse of the pavement, and the uniforms and bayonets thus massed presented the aspect of some gorgeous piece of cloth richly embroidered with steel. As the procession came on, the gray of the Seventh gave place to the colors of the other regiments and their bands, but the compactness of the column was retained, and the illusion of a rolling river of ever-changing shade was heightened. Governor Dillingham of Vermont and Governor Buckner of Kentucky, both at the head of well-drilled troops, were cheered heartily. Ohio carried off many of the honors, Governor Foraker, a remarkably handsome man of fine presence, looking his best, was received with uproarious cheering on every side. He stands in one of the groups on the *Erastus Wiman* in our illustration, page eleven, his portrait, however, not particularly marked, as his face is turned seaward; the profile portrait of Mrs. Foraker, standing near him, is perfect.

But the shades of evening were drawing near, and the great centennial banquet at the opera-house was to be the crowning glory of the day. The doors opened at 8 o'clock.

At an oblong table near the centre of the vast auditorium the President was seated, also the Vice-President, the chief justice, General Schofield, Senator Evarts, ex-President Hayes, Bishop Potter, Secretary Proctor, General Sherman, the governor, the lieutenant-governor, Admiral Porter, Judge Andrews, Senator Hiscock, ex-President Cleveland, Speaker Cole, S. S. Cox, Clarence W. Bowen, the mayor of the city presiding at the head of the table, and Elbridge T. Gerry sitting opposite him. There were twenty-six other tables, arranged in semicircles and crescents, and a more intellectual and brilliant company was never assembled to pay tribute to the memory of a soldier and statesman. On every table and on every side were flowers in such profusion that one could scarcely distinguish the dividing lines in the masses of color. The decorations in front of the boxes of the lower and upper tiers and along the balcony rails were magnificently beautiful. At nine o'clock, as if by decree, the boxes and the balconies were filled with ladies in evening dress, sparkling with jewels—Mrs. Harrison and Mrs. Morton taking their places in the President's box. The scene was too radiant for any word-picture.

We must not fail just here to take a look at illuminated New York, while cigars completed the happiness of the banqueters. The scene without the opera-house was one of dazzling splendor. The greater part of

the dwellings were lighted from basement to attic, and the enormous hotels were hung with glittering lights, as with necklaces of sapphires, emeralds, and diamonds; on nearly every window-sill were red, white, and blue flower-pots. Thousands of people were in the streets—hundreds of thousands, it was said—and the multitude crowded into Madison square to enjoy the concert given by forty-two German singing-societies, with an orchestra of seventy-five musicians. Meanwhile, pyrotechnic exhibitions were in progress in all the parks of the city, and in these Washington figured in the most remarkable variety of effects.

Returning to the banquet, where the learning, the wit, the distinction, and the highest intelligence of the nation were centred, the mayor of the city introduced the governor of the state, who pronounced the address of welcome. In responding to the toast "The People of the United States," ex-President Cleveland said: "The enthusiasm which marks the celebration of the centennial of the inauguration of their first chief magistrate shows the popular appreciation of the value of the office which in our plan of government stands above all others for the sovereignty of the people, and is the repository of their trust. Surely such a people can be safely trusted with their free government, and there need be no fear that they have lost the qualities which fit them to be its custodians. If they should wander, they will return to duty in good time; if they should be misled, they will discover the true landmarks none too late for safety; and if they should even be corrupted, they will speedily be found seeking with peace-offerings their country's holy altar."

"The States," was the theme of Governor Fitzhugh Lee's stirring eloquence. He said: "The inauguration of George Washington as the first President of the United States is the event in American history we are celebrating to-night. It so happens that I am at present the governor of the state in which he was born, lived, and is now sleeping his last sleep so quietly and calmly that no sound will ever awake him to glory again. Owing to that circumstance, and from no merit of mine, I feel I have been honored by the request to make a response to the toast just read. In considering the states, we must remember the father of our country, not only for the services of his sword, not only because he was president of the convention in 1787 which framed the Constitution, but because it was due to his great influence that the constitutional helm of our government was attached to the ship of state when first launched on her great experimental voyage. Let us then with grateful emotion greet the memories of the men whose profound knowledge enabled them to construct a government of states, which in turn, by their representatives,

encircled the states themselves by a national constitutional girdle. The rights of the states and the powers of the general government were defined so that the security of the states is the safety of the Union, and the safety of the Union is the security of the states."

President Eliot, of Harvard University, responded to the toast "Our Schools and Colleges," saying: "Imagine the eight million children actually in attendance at the elementary schools of the country brought before your view. They would fill this great house sixteen hundred times, and every time it would be packed with boundless loves and hopes. Each unit in that mass speaks of a glad birth, a brightened home, a mother's pondering heart, a father's careful joy. In all that multitude every little heart bounds and every eye shines at the name of Washington.

They all, of whatever race, British, Irish, French, German, Scandinavian, Italian, Spanish, Greek, African, Indian, and of whatever religious communion, Jewish, Mormon, Roman Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, Wesleyan, Presbyterian, Congregational—all have learned that he was the brave and steadfast soldier, the wise statesman, and the patriotic ruler, who made their country free, strong, and just. They all know his figure, dress, and features, and if asked to name their country's hero every voice would answer, Washington."

Chief Justice Fuller responded to the toast, "The Federal Constitution," ex-President Hayes to "The Presidency," General Sherman to "The Army and Navy," Senator John W. Daniel to "The Senate," and Senator William M. Evarts to "The Judiciary," who said, in part: "Mr. President: Whoever might receive the honor from your committee to speak in this presence and upon this occasion, might well wish that he could command some treatment of his theme, that, in thought and phrase would comport in some degree with the grandeur of this celebration and the dignity of the topics that should merit our attention. But this hope would be vain. The concourse of these vast crowds of our countrymen that have filled the great city through these successive festal days, the pomp and splendor of the pageants of the bay and of the streets, the illustrious assemblage of the great heads of government of the nation and the states, the collected multitude of eminent men of all pursuits and all opinions of a populous, a prosperous, and a powerful people—these are the true orators and interpreters of the nation's sentiments, of the nation's joys and hopes at an epoch which recalls the past of a century and suggests the forecasts of another.

It might be thought that the judicial establishment of the new government would easily find in the method and example of English judica-

ture and jurisprudence a ready and complete frame and system for the young nation. The new features, however, in our political establishments, and their wide departure from the fundamental theory of the English monarchy and the English parliament, needed, and obtained in the frame of the Constitution, new functions for the judiciary, and stupendous exaltation of those functions in the co-ordinate powers of government which have never before been thought possible. It is no wonder, Mr. President, that this consummate product of the wisdom and courage of the framers of our Constitution—I mean this exaltation of deliberate reason, as the final arbiter of the rights of the people and the powers of government, into an every-day working force, in the orderly administration of the affairs of a great nation—should have challenged the admiration of philosophers and statesmen alike in every nation that has studied its mechanism and its resistless and unresisted power.”

The brilliant scholar and orator, James Russell Lowell, responded to the toast, “Our Literature,” and President Harrison to “The United States of America.” When the latter arose the company arose also, and greeted him with the most tumultuous applause. He spoke distinctly, and his words reached every part of the vast audience-room. Of the celebration he said: “The occasion and all its incidents will be memorable, not only in the history of your state, but in the history of our country. New York did not succeed in retaining the seat of the national government, though she made liberal provision for the assembling of the first congress, in the expectation that it might find its permanent home here; but though you lost that which you coveted, I think the representatives here of all the states will agree that it was fortunate that the first inauguration of Washington took place in the state and in the city of New York. For where in our country could the centennial of the event have been so worthily celebrated as here? What seaboard offered so magnificent a bay upon which to display our naval and merchant marine? What city presented thoroughfares so magnificent, or a population so great and so generous as New York has poured out to celebrate that event? I congratulate you to-day, as one of the instructive and interesting features of this occasion, that these great thoroughfares, dedicated to trade, have closed their doors, and have covered the insignia of commerce with the stars and stripes; that your great exchanges have closed; that in the very heart of Wall street the flag has been carried, and upon the old historic spot men who give their time and energies to trade have given these days to their country, to thoughts of her glory, and to aspirations of her honor and prosperity.”



1. HEAD OF MILITARY PROCESSION, GENERAL SCHOFIELD, APPROACHING THE GRAND STAND FROM A DETECTIVE CAMERA PHOTOGRAPH BY ALEXANDER BLACK.



2. THE FRONT OF REVIEWING-STAND IN MADISON SQUARE ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 1, 1889.



3. COLUMBIA COLLEGE BOYS IN THE CIVIC PARADE. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY C. G. HINE.

The third day, Wednesday, May 1, had begun long before the speeches at the banqueting tables ceased. "I was awakened before I went to sleep!" exclaimed one of our foreign visitors who had not studied into the programme for the third day. The drums were beating early, the bands were giving their best music while the people breakfasted; the crowds were more dense if possible than on Tuesday—of almost inconceivable magnitude. The preparations were elaborate for the civic and industrial pageant, in which appeared not less than eighty thousand American freemen, led by General Butterfield. It moved in the opposite direction from the military parade of Tuesday, starting from Central Park and marching to the southern part of the city. Never in this land was there such an imposing and wonderful display of civic and industrial societies and organizations. Wednesday was literally the people's day. The pageant was the spontaneous expression of a genuine desire on the part of all classes of citizens to do honor to the memory of our first President and his noble work.

At half-past nine o'clock the President's carriage, with its mounted guard, reached the reviewing-stand at Madison square, and a boisterous cheer echoed along the avenue. One of the first features of consequence was the appearance of the mayor of the city and one hundred gentlemen, representing the New York Historical Society, the Chamber of Commerce, the Huguenot Society, the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, Columbia College, the University, etc. The mayor paused before the head of the nation, saying: "Mr. President, I have the honor to deliver to you, as mayor of the city of New York, an address signed by over one hundred individuals, in which they congratulate you on this occasion." He then handed the President a silver cylinder, containing a scroll of parchment several feet long, on which was engrossed these words:

"To Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States, April 30, 1889.

The undersigned, representatives of the civic, commercial, industrial, and educational organizations and bodies of the city of New York, on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the inauguration of Washington, the first President, present anew to the President of the United States in his official capacity their allegiance to the government, Constitution, and the laws, with their congratulations upon the completion of a century of a constitutional government and the progress made in that century."

This ceremony over, the mayor and the gentlemen accompanying him took seats upon the reviewing-stand. The educational forces were placed at the front of the procession, the Columbia college boys, to the number of three or four hundred, in the lead. Following them came the boys from the public schools, four or five thousand in all, and no trained veterans

marched with more skill and precision. Each line gave a wild college cheer as it passed the Presidential stand. Some of the boys were in knee breeches; there was an interesting file or two from the Hebrew Orphan Asylum, with muskets; a pretty historical tableau represented Washington and his generals. The Columbia college boys wore their colors, and about every other block each company diverted the spectators by the question shouted from its leader, "Who was Washington?" and the response came in chorus with a war-dance, "He was first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." The firemen were out in full force, with all the engines extant that had been used during a century. The Tammany braves created a sensation, led by General John Cochrane. The floats portrayed many historical incidents; there was a host of novel subjects, such as the "Age of Steam," the "German Opera," the "Art of Cooking," the "Shoe Trade," "Kindergarten," "Christmas," the "Press and Public Opinion," illustrating the growth of the printing-press in a century, the "Butcher Trade," "Agriculture," and "Immigrants One Hundred Years Ago." The procession moved rapidly, and the fascinating scenes kept the eyes along its route so completely entertained that there was little apparent weariness among the multitudes, who were standing for hours. And the display was ubiquitous; it filled New York, some one has said, "like a rocket that, after flashing through space, scatters into myriads of sparks." Nobody could fail to see something of it wherever he might chance to be located. Nor will it ever be forgotten by the present generation of Americans.

In connection with the Washington centennial was one of the largest and most remarkable loan collections of historic portraits and relics that was ever brought together for exhibition. It was placed in the several assembly rooms of the Metropolitan opera-house, and opened to visitors from April 17 to May 8. The chairman of the committee having it in charge was Henry G. Marquand, and the secretary Richard W. Gilder, the well-known editor of the *Century*. The portraits of Washington were incredibly numerous, and from all parts of the country, and the catalogue of the memorials displayed fill a good-sized volume. Portraits of Martha Washington and of the contemporaries of Washington occupied a large space upon the walls, and specimens of china, silverware, and clothing of George and Martha Washington, and of others of the Washington period, attracted immense interest. The rare and unique exhibit of the Fellowcraft Club, W. H. Patten chairman of committee, was a collection of newspapers and documents of similar age, which are cherished by their owners as priceless treasures.

The celebration as a whole has been called the "most photographed" public event in the world's history. In this, as in every other respect, the contrast with the condition of affairs in 1789 is sharply marked. Photography is one of the inventions of the century, and it is only of recent date that it has been made a scientific study. The organized movements with the camera during the celebration were on a far more extended scale than any heretofore undertaken. The New York Society of Amateur Photographers, the New York Camera Club, the Brooklyn Academy of Photography, and the photographic departments of the Brooklyn Institute were able to make exhaustive pictorial reports of the event in all its details, the detective camera playing an important part in seizing the characteristic features of each day's movements. The efficiency of the modern camera may well justify interesting predictions as to its future usefulness in the service of history.

It has already shown, for example, how President Harrison was the central figure everywhere in this recent exhibition of the manifold workings of the vast and complex machinery of government, which Washington started one hundred years ago—a government that was to unite real liberty with personal safety and public security, and develop the resources of the soil and of the people of a New World. It places the truth before the eye in imperishable colors concerning the marvelous results of the governmental experiment, and forcibly reminds us that our country in a century has rushed across the continent from ocean to ocean, multiplying its thirteen original states into forty-two, and making itself one of the richest and most powerful nations on the globe.

Martha F. Lamb

THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

In the rotunda of the national capitol at Washington eight mammoth paintings commemorate what are commonly considered the most notable events in American history. One of these, the subscript informs us, depicts the discovery of the Mississippi. Its central figure, seated astride a prancing Andalusian charger, with eyes fixed upon the mighty river flowing amid the serenity beyond, is Hernando de Soto. Bronzed sons of Spain, clad in refulgent armor and restraining their impatient steeds, ride up behind him; priests in the foreground plant in pious ardor the holy cross, while the half-naked denizens of the forest, from about their gayly painted wigwams, look on in silent wonderment and fear.

It may not, however, be generally known that the honor of the discovery of the Mississippi river, heretofore accredited to De Soto, and found verily in every text-book of American history in use to-day in our schools, is one to which that adventurer has never been entitled.

In Navarrete's *Coleccion de los Viages*, vol. iii., a compilation of narratives relating to all the early expeditions undertaken by the Spaniards in America, there is to be found the story of an important voyage made by one Alonzo de Pineda in 1519, along the entire northern and western coast of the Gulf of Mexico. This inglorious navigator, it should be known, observed upon that voyage all the principal rivers of the coast along which he cruised, and, evidently impressed with the size and importance of one which he christened Rio del Espiritu Santo, he gave of it a particular description. This great river—in all probability the Mississippi—he ascended a distance of six leagues from its mouth, passing no less than forty villages of friendly natives upon its banks, among whom, for a time, he tarried and trafficked. Thus was the mighty Mississippi discovered, twenty-three years before De Soto descried it from the pine-clad bluffs of Tennessee.

Mr. Bancroft, in the last revision of his history, has it is true divested De Soto of the distinction accredited to him in the earlier editions of that work, but only to confer it upon Cabeça de Vaca. The extraordinary narrative of Cabeça de Vaca is not, as yet, generally familiar, since it has not until lately appeared in our text-books; but a more romantic, strange, and adventurous tale has scarcely adorned historic annals, and it must thus ere long become as popular and familiar as is the story of Hernando Cortes or Ponce de Leon's fountain of perpetual youth.

The expedition of Pamphilo de Narvaez, dispatched in 1527 to explore and subjugate the newly discovered land of Florida, had met with failure and misfortune. The wretched remnant thereof, under the command of Cabeça de Vaca, endeavored to escape the country and its ills by embarking from the bay of Aute, now called St. Marks, in boats constructed in the rudest fashion amid the bitterest privations. Upon this voyage, sailing toward the west, they "came to a point of land beyond which was a very great river." "I halted," says De Vaca, "at an islet off the point, to wait for the other boats, but the governor (Narvaez) would not come up, choosing rather to remain in a bay very near, where were many small islands; and there we joined company, *and took up fresh water from the sea, into which the river poured in a torrent.*"* An attempt was made to enter this river, but finding, as De Vaca afterward reports, the current too violent for their clumsy craft, they sailed on only to meet with a dreadfully disastrous shipwreck upon probably what is now the coast of Texas.

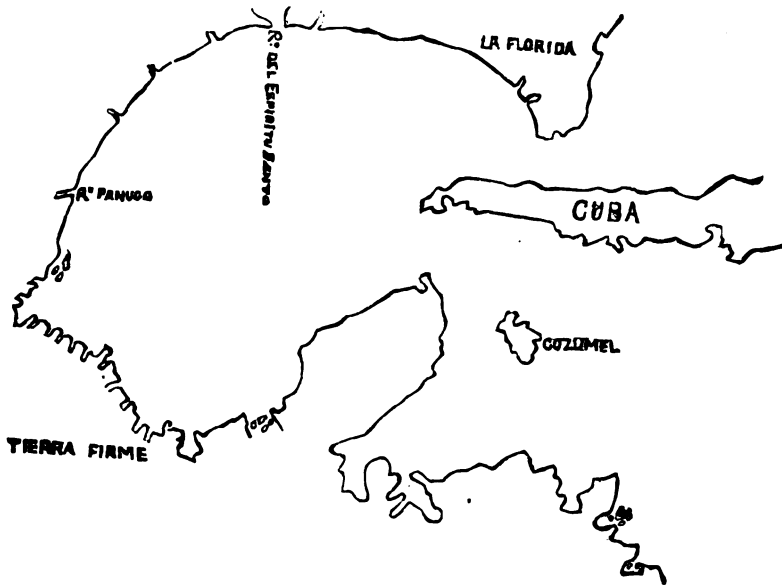
There can be no doubt that the great river thus seen by Cabeça de Vaca in 1528 was the Mississippi, and although he did not enter it, he may plead priority to De Soto in determining the question as to whom the distinction of its discovery belongs.

Nine years before De Vaca's voyage, however, in 1519, Francisco de Garay, then the governor of the island of Jamaica, equipped and dispatched four caravels to the newly discovered land of Florida, for the purpose of thoroughly exploring the contour of its coast, and finding, if perchance one could be found, a strait whereby the circumnavigation of the globe might be accomplished, and the truth of Columbus's theory practically demonstrated. Of this expedition, which is conscientiously recorded by Navarrete, Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda was given the command. Baffled in his attempt to turn the cape of Florida by contrary winds and the dangerous reefs that there abound, Pineda headed his vessels westward, and, sailing along the northern coast of the gulf, came at length to the mouth of the Panuco, upon the eastern coast of Mexico. Encountering here Cortes and his forces, who claimed the country and were preparing to subjugate it, he sailed back easterly along the coast, and entered a river having a great volume of water (*muy caudaloso*), "at the mouth of which there was a large village, where they sojourned more than forty days, careening their ships and trading with the natives, with whom they established much friendship and confidence. They ascended the river six leagues, and saw forty villages upon one bank or another. The

* La relacion y comentarios del governador Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, 1555, fol. xv., xvi.

province was called Amichel. It was a good country, pleasing, healthy, and provided with plenty of provisions and fruits." *

A map, a sketch of which is here given, was prepared upon the completion of this expedition and sent to Spain by Garay, the projector of the expedition, in 1520. This, the earliest map of the Gulf of Mexico, apprised the Spaniards for the first time of the continental character of the



COPY OF THE EARLY MAP BY GARAY.

land called Florida, for it indicated the complete continuity of the northern and southern coasts to the west, which before that time were supposed, like all the other Indies, to be islands. The coast-line of the Gulf of Mexico and the estuaries of the principal rivers, as indicated upon this map, are, considering the circumstances and times, sufficiently correct to warrant the assumption that Pineda must have clung closely to the land. Indeed, the purpose for which his expedition sailed made it a veritable duty, and he therefore doubtless saw the mouths at least of every river indicated upon his map. One of these, we perceive, is named, and the probabilities are that the river which alone we are told they entered and described is the one thus honored. Particular reference was made, on the other hand, to the unusual size of the river visited, and therefore that river

* Navarrete, *Coleccion de los Viages*, tomo iii., p. 65. Madrid, 1829.

must be the largest indicated. The Rio del Espiritu Santo of the chart corresponds unquestionably with the Mississippi.

It is possible that the large river Pineda visited might have been the Rio Grande del Norte, yet it is nevertheless improbable that its greatness only should be described if the larger and more noteworthy Mississippi had been seen. That river Pineda surely must have observed while following, as the narrative states, "the direction of the coast, and noting with attention all the country, ports, rivers, inhabitants, and other things of note." * Cabeça de Vaca, having no such object in view, was able to note it a league away simply by the violent force of the current that came from it and the fresh water amid the brine.

The character of the country and its inhabitants, on the other hand, as given in the narrative already quoted, conforms rather to the Mississippi country than to that of the Rio Grande. At a hospitable village near its mouth they careened their vessels and tarried more than forty days, in which time they traded pleasantly with the peaceful people, and when at length they ascended the river to better inform themselves about this new congenial land, they found it good and healthy, and abounding plentifully in provisions and fruits. Indeed, the conditions of this country must have supported many people, for within a distance of about twenty miles they found situated upon either bank no less than forty villages. If Pineda, who had already visited the new land at the mouth of the Panuco, did not deem that country worthy of mention, it is not likely that he would thus so pleasingly describe that of the Rio Grande, which is even more sterile and inferior. The Mississippi country, on the other hand, is superior to the Panuco, and, in fact, to any land our navigator had before experienced in the Indies, and we might therefore safely assume, all else considered, that it was that which was described. Aside from the question, however, as to which was the river Pineda entered, it can scarcely be doubted that the Mississippi was encountered and noted as he cruised along the northern coast of the gulf, which before his time was entirely unknown.

Thus, twenty-three years before De Soto, and nine years before De Vaca, was this great river first discovered—a river whose waters verily drain an entire continent, and which is, perhaps, the largest in the world.

Samuel Le Roy Reynolds.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

* Navarrete, tomo iii., p. 64.

WASHINGTON AND WILLIAM THE SILENT—A PARALLEL

Some one has said that great men are rare; and Goldwin Smith, that great men are the most precious gifts of Heaven. But which are the great, and how shall we distinguish these "rare" ones from the great mass of mankind? How differently are men estimated by one another! For example, take the case of Washington. Said La Fayette, who had been Washington's intimate friend, and was a member of his family "in the times that tried men's souls": "In my opinion, General Washington is the greatest of men, for I look upon him as the most virtuous." Thomas Jefferson wrote, "He was, indeed, in every sense of the words, a wise, a good, and a great man." Chateaubriand remarked to Washington himself, "It is less difficult to discover the polar passage than to create a nation as you have done." Another has said, "There are two men whom a lofty ambition might propose to itself as models—Napoleon and Washington." And Napoleon himself in passing upon their comparative merits said to some Americans, just before he set out upon his expedition to Egypt: "Posterity will talk of Washington with reverence, as the founder of a great empire, when my name shall be lost in the vortex of revolutions." But then breaks in Carlyle, the noted Scotch cynic, saying, "George Washington, another of your perfect characters, to me a most limited and uninteresting sort, and who needs taking down a peg."

Said Grattan, the celebrated Irish orator, "The two greatest men in modern times are William III. and George Washington." I think it preferable to compare Washington, the father of his country, the great American Fabius, with William "the Silent," the eminent prince of Orange, the founder of the independence of the Netherlands, and the most eminent ancestor of this same English king. As I view these, they more nearly resemble each other in all the qualities which constitute true greatness, than any other two men whose names have reached the historic page.

As history in truth never exactly repeats itself, so, also, no two men in their qualities, achievements, and surroundings have been precisely alike. Writers have taken delight in placing Homer and Virgil, Milton and Johnson, Napoleon and Alexander, Dryden and Pope, William Penn and John Locke, side by side for comparison and contrast. I would present a parallel between William, prince of Orange, and George Washington. There are many points of similarity as well as of contrast between these

lofty men themselves, as well as between the countries for the independence of which each devoted his entire powers.

Both sprung from most excellent families. Washington's was allied to the colonial aristocracy, and Orange was the descendant of a long line of illustrious kings. Each inherited great wealth.

Washington, who early lost his father, was reared in the midst of a rural population, in private life, under the fostering care of a wise, intelligent, pious, and strict mother. Orange, fatherless at eleven, grew up in the broad glare of public and city life, amid the whirl and dissipations and corruptions of the most magnificent court of the civilized world, and yet remained unstained by vice or crime.

The former had only the training of the schools of that early day in the new world, supplemented by private tutors, and he learned no language but his mother tongue, and only such parts of the mathematics as enabled him to become an excellent surveyor in his teens. The latter, at eleven, was sent to the beautiful city of Brussels to receive instruction at its most celebrated schools. He there learned to read, write, and speak the French, German, Spanish, and Flemish languages fluently, besides Italian and Latin. He possessed an eloquent tongue and pen. At an early age he became a page in the family of the great emperor Charles V., to whom he was a companion at all times, at an age when Washington was surveying in the backwoods of Virginia, two centuries later.

Washington was brought into public notice by his skill in surveying, and by the military turn he displayed in those skirmishes which the settlers were compelled to wage with the Indians in the border settlements; Orange, by the emperor himself, in person. Washington's first military appointment was the conveyance, in his twenty-second year, of a dispatch from the acting governor of Virginia, across the Alleghany mountains to the French commandant at the forts on the branches of the Alleghany river. His manner of discharging this duty raised him in the estimation of the governor; and his journal, which was published by authority, laid the foundation of his fame. Orange also in his twenty-second year was employed in diplomacy, and was appointed by Charles V. general-in-chief of the army on the French frontier, in the absence of the duke of Savoy—a post coveted by many distinguished generals. And, when Charles V. resigned his imperial authority to his brother Ferdinand, it was Orange who bore the insignia of that very important office to Ferdinand at Augsburg.

In personal appearance Washington was rather above the common size—frame robust, and constitution vigorous, capable of enduring great fatigue, and requiring much exercise for the preservation of his health.

But when Philip was duly crowned ruler over all his father's possessions, he resolved to attain despotic power and universal empire. He, therefore, re-enacted all the arbitrary measures of his father, especially the edict of 1550, which had given great offense to the Netherlanders. But they did not submit. They raised armies, procured military supplies, garrisoned their forts, and prepared for defense. They were divided among themselves, and thus succeeded poorly. Yet, after some years' war, Philip, not meeting with the success he had hoped, resolved to crush the land he had so nearly subjugated. He dispatched the terrible duke of Alva to the Low Countries at the head of a powerful Spanish army, as governor-in-general of the Netherlands. Said the duke, "I have tamed men of iron in my day, and shall I not easily crush these men of butter?" With unlimited authority and a great military force, for seven long and bloody years, and after inflicting upon the people cruelties most merciless, and such as are nowhere else recorded in history, he left the land, recommending as his parting advice that every city in the Netherlands should be burned to the ground, except a few which could be permanently occupied by the royal troops. The historian adds, "No mode in which human beings have ever caused their fellow-creatures to suffer was omitted from daily practice. Men, women, and children, old and young, nobles and paupers, opulent burghers, lunatics, and even dead bodies—all were indiscriminately made to furnish food for the scaffold and the stake. Men were tortured, beheaded, hanged by the neck and the legs, burned before slow fires, pinched to death with red-hot tongs, broken upon the wheel, starved, and skinned alive. Their skins, stripped from the living body, were stretched upon drums, to be beaten in the march of their brethren to the gallows." Alva boasted that, besides those killed in battle, he had executed in these seven terrible years eighteen thousand and six hundred persons. He kindled a war that burned for sixty-eight years, and cost Spain eight hundred million dollars, its finest troops, and seven of its fairest provinces. These unparalleled cruelties at length caused the Netherlands, slow as they were, to throw off the Spanish yoke and declare their independence, July 26, 1581, nearly two centuries before the declaration of American independence.

These two declarations, the Netherland and the American, as national documents, excel any other two in their enunciation of the just principles of all human governments. As we read them over, we instinctively feel that these grand, liberty-loving peoples were prompted by the same sentiments, feelings, and general political opinions, and that either could cheerfully have adopted the declaration of the other.

Now, on the supposition that the seventeen Netherlands were

thoroughly united and all firmly resolved to resist the claims of the Spanish despot (which they were not) let us inquire what were their chances of success. At most, they had a population of three millions residing upon six hundred and twenty-five square miles of arable land in the northwestern corner of Europe, with about twelve thousand square miles more, which they had wrested from the rough and boisterous North Sea by immense labors continued from age to age, and liable to be overwhelmed and recaptured by this same sea at any time. Its whole area was only a trifle more than one-fourth of that of the state of New York. "Within these narrow limits were two hundred and eight walled cities (many of them among the most stately in Christendom), one hundred and fifty chartered towns, six thousand three hundred villages with their watch-towers and steeples, besides numerous insignificant hamlets—the whole guarded by a belt of sixty fortresses of surpassing strength."

On the other side stands Philip II. of Spain, autocrat of one-third of the entire world, the first military and political power of Europe. The Spaniard's boast was, that "on his dominions the sun never set." It was, in fact, the richest and most extensive empire on the globe. It embraced Spain, a portion of Italy, tracts in Africa, many islands in the vast ocean, and Yucatan, Mexico, Florida, and other Spanish-American possessions, with their marvelous mineral treasures of gold, silver, and diamond mines, and even the nominal right to the Netherlands themselves, with the actual obedience of about one-third of their people. To these were added the kingdom of Portugal with its colonial possessions in the East Indies; and Philip II. even laid his plans, and felt himself able, to acquire and to wear the French and English crowns. He controlled the destinies of countless millions of human beings. Spain proper numbered fifteen millions of people, and could boast of hosts of as able, brave, and well-disciplined soldiers as the world had ever seen. Yet, after forty-two years of despotism, Philip II. died a bankrupt, and Spain was shorn of many of its richest provinces. The Netherlands, aided by England, triumphed over the naval power of Spain and destroyed its commerce, and that portion commonly known as Holland secured and maintained its independence of Spain.

For more than a fourth of a century, and until his death, the prince of Orange, by his prudence, vast natural military ability, the most consummate statesmanship and unyielding courage, so guided the affairs of Holland and six of the other Netherland provinces, as general, stadtholder, count, etc., that the great cause of Netherland independence was slowly progressing, and success was being attained, though through a long and bloody series of defeats. The Netherlanders possessed the unyielding tenacity of

purpose and stubbornness of perseverance that usually win. Washington himself lost more battles than he won; and Blücher was beaten in nine battles out of ten, yet he rallied his routed army in a very brief time, and was as formidable as ever. And so it was with Orange. The people had faith in his integrity, patriotism, mental acumen, disinterestedness, and impartiality. They truly believed in him, and everywhere called him "Father William," and what he could not effect they deemed impossible. United in him as their leader they truly were, yet they disagreed on many other important affairs. They were parsimonious, and did not furnish funds sufficient for the mighty work. Everything was at stake but they did not realize it. Orange engaged in this contest for religious toleration and political freedom, and gave himself up unreservedly to the holy cause—his estate which was enormous, his entire time with all his powers, and finally his life. By his unceasing exertions and influence passing from one province to another, conciliating here and encouraging there, he kept the great mass of the people from entire despondency; and, though rarely succeeding in martial movements, they exhibited such courage and stubbornness that they secured the admiration of the civilized world. Even starvation did not terrify them. The same spirit that swayed the people of Leyden was wide-spread. They resolved rather to starve than to submit. "So long as you hear a cat mew or a dog bark," said they to the besiegers, "you may know that we hold out." When the famished crowds begged the burgomaster to give them food, or surrender, "I have no food to give you," said he, "and I have sworn NOT TO SURRENDER; but take my sword and plunge it into my breast, and divide my flesh among you!" Their national enthusiasm was so *perduring*, that, being on their native soil, contending "for their homes and their firesides," animated by the examples of their ancestors and of their women—many of whom fought with them on the fiercest and bloodiest battle-fields—they were constantly becoming stronger and stronger, while their oppressors lost force; slaughter, butchery, and torture palled even their fierce Spanish hearts.

And, in America, what were the prospects of success for the patriots under Washington? Here were thirteen colonies connected by the most slender of political ties, sparsely populated, scattered along the eastern shores of a mighty continent mostly unexplored by civilized man, hedged around by savage and hostile nations, and lying between the Alleghany mountains and the vast Atlantic, three thousand miles distant from the mother country. They contained, perhaps, four hundred and fifty thousand square miles, inhabited by three millions of people who traced their descent back to nearly every tribe and kingdom and tongue in Christen-

dom, but mainly to Great Britain, Holland, France, Germany, Sweden, and Norway. They had little accumulated wealth; were without a national army or navy or treasury or munitions of war, or allies among the nations, or a friendly, sympathizing people on earth. They were without fortresses on the land, or war-vessels upon the sea. Even France, England's ancient and inveterate foe, was disinclined to favor America, so much so that when La Fayette and a few other noble-hearted Frenchmen sought their king's permission, as private individuals and at their own risk and expense, to join the revolutionists, he refused to grant it, and they were compelled to cross the ocean by stealth. The American people were following the peaceful occupations of life. They were to be found upon the farms tilling the soil, or felling the vast forests, or in the shops of artisans, or in the marts of commerce. Reared thus, were they the stuff out of which to create "embattled hosts" that could successfully cope with the flower of the British army, even if furnished with like equipments for war, and led on by officers whose valor and martial success had given them "a name and a praise" throughout the whole earth? The old Spanish mantle of wealth and greatness and power had now fallen upon the shoulders of England; and the old Spaniard's boast, that "on his dominions the sun never sets," could be truthfully uttered by the English king. Edward Everett said, "One circumstance, and one alone, exists to diminish the interest of the contention—the perilous inequality of the parties;" and Daniel Webster: "Our fathers raised their flag against a power to which, for purposes of foreign conquest and subjugation, Rome in the height of her glory is not to be compared—a power which has dotted the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum-beat following the sun in his course and keeping pace with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England."

Our revolutionary sires truly realized the vast inequality of the contest; but they felt with Josiah Quincy, Jr., that, "In defense of our civil and religious rights, we dare oppose the world; with the God of armies on our side, we fear not the hour of trial, though the hosts of our enemies should cover the field like locusts. Under God we are determined that wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever we are called upon to make our exit, we will die freemen." Exclaimed Patrick Henry: "Besides, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God, who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us."

Why should we not believe that God presides over the destinies of nations, when history informs us that the American Revolution involve

England in war with three very powerful nations of Europe just at the time when the subjugation of America seemed more than probable? France saw that England could just then be humbled more by assisting America than in any other way, and sent a large and well-equipped fleet, bearing thousands of splendid soldiers to co-operate with Washington. But these would have availed little in securing American independence without the intelligent enthusiasm of our people, guided by the transcendent genius of "The Father of his Country."

Washington and Orange each entered into the defense of his native land endowed with large possessions—Orange in particular, and his estate finally became bankrupt. Neither received compensation for services, and Washington stipulated that his expenses only should be paid. Neither sought promotion, but greatness was thrust upon them, if it ever was thrust upon any. Both were vilely slandered while living and after their death. Both were eminent for piety. Both had undoubted courage, and neither shrunk from any personal sacrifices. Washington was never an eminent orator; but Orange's eloquence, oral or written, had almost boundless power over his countrymen. Both had generosity, self-denial which eluded rather than sought promotion, benevolence and fortitude, and all those noble qualities which elevate men in the estimation of one another. Both were unexcelled as statesmen in their day; Orange was the first commandant in Europe, and Washington the first in America. Neither could be bribed nor terrified into deserting the post of duty. Orange refused tempting offers to lay down his command, and Washington would not even receive a letter in which were "terms of accommodation." Washington was married, but left no children. Orange was married four times, and left twelve children. He was succeeded by his son Maurice, one of the most brilliant military commanders and statesmen in Europe; he, by his younger brother Frederick, stadtholder of the republic in its most palmy days; he, by his son William II. of Nassau; and this last, by William III., stadtholder of Holland and king of England.

But the last days of these notable men were very different. At the age of fifty, in the very height of his greatness and usefulness, Orange was assassinated by the order of Philip II. of Spain. As he fell he pleaded for the assassin, and exclaimed, "God pity this poor people." Washington, at the good ripe age of sixty-seven, passed away at his own quiet home; and among his last words were, "I am dying, but I do not fear to die. I look to the event with perfect satisfaction. It is well."

THE LAST TWELVE DAYS OF MAJOR JOHN ANDRÉ

(Continued from page 498)

Smith in his narrative says that he furnished the saddle and bridle. Arnold made some vague remarks to Smith about the military dress of André, and said it would be impossible for him to travel in his uniform, and requested Smith to loan him one of his coats, which he did. André then exchanged his uniform coat for the one borrowed of Smith, but made no other exchange of garments. The coat of André was left in a drawer in an upper room in Smith's house. André rode the horse provided by Arnold, which was of a dark brown color, marked on the near shoulder U. S. A. Smith rode another horse, and was accompanied by his colored servant, on horseback also. The distance from the house to King's Ferry was about two and a half miles, and they pursued the usual road.

On their way they overtook Major Burroughs about three-quarters of a mile from Stony Point. They halted, and Smith, turning his horse, talked about a minute, when the major rode up between the two, and then both rode off together pretty rapidly, leaving the major behind. At King's Ferry, on the Stony Point side, Smith halted, just as it was growing dark, at the tent of William Jameson. Captain Cooley and some of Colonel Livingston's officers were in the tent. André rode forward. A bowl from which they had been drinking was handed to Smith, and he was asked at the same time if he would not drink, and he said "yes"; but there was nothing in the bowl, and Smith, dismounting, desired the sutler to fill it with grog, which he did, and then Smith drank and joined in some jokes with the officers. Some of the ferrymen were at the tent, and Smith hurried them down, and André was at the ferry steps when Smith reached him. André was reticent and joined in none of their conversations. André and Smith and the negro, with the three horses, were all taken on the same boat. Smith was in the bow of the boat and André was on the side, and while they were crossing, Smith walked over to André and whispered a word or two to him, which was not heard by the others.

The coxswain was Cornelius Lambert, the boatmen were Henry Lambert, Lambert Lambert, and William Vanwort. Smith told them as they were crossing that he would give them something to revive their spirits if

they would row across soon, and after they crossed he called the coxswain Cornelius Lambert into the hut of one Welsh and gave him an eight dollar bill.

Having reached the Westchester side of King's Ferry, the remains of which are yet visible, they remounted their horses, and André and the negro passed on, while Smith stopped at the marquee of Colonel Jas. Livingston, then in command of the American forces stationed at Verplank's Point, where he remained for a few moments. Livingston urged him to stop awhile and take supper or a drink of grog, but he informed the colonel that there was a gentleman waiting for him, who had just rode on, and who was in a hurry to get off. He then rode away and overtook the two, and they all passed up the old King's Ferry road to the Albany Post road, and then turned to the north and passed over that road to Peekskill. There they took the road now known as the Crompond road, leading from Peekskill to Crompond Corner, and continued upon it to a point near the house of Andreas Miller, where they were hailed by a sentinel near Miller's house, which stood a little east of the old Bailey place, on the south side of the road, about four miles from Peekskill. It was between eight and nine o'clock when they were hailed, and they were then eight miles from Verplank's Point.

Captain Ebenezer Boyd, in his testimony at the trial of Joshua Hett Smith, made the following statement: "Last Friday, a week ago, I think it was the twenty-second of September last, between eight and nine o'clock, as near as I can recollect, at night, the sentry stopped Mr. Smith, the Prisoner, another person, and a negro with him. When the sentry hailed them, they answered 'Friends.' The sentry ordered one to dismount; Smith readily dismounted and spoke to the person who was with him to hold his horse, and Smith advanced till he came near the sentry; Smith asked who commanded the post; the sentry said Captain Boyd; upon that I was called for; what passed between Smith and the sentry I heard as I have related, being close by the sentry. Smith came to me upon my calling for him; I asked him who he was; he told me his name was Joshua Smith and that he had a pass from Arnold to pass all guards."

The captain asked him some other questions and desired to see the pass, and went into a house close by for a light, and found the pass correct. The captain then became inquisitive respecting their business and their movements, and advised them not to proceed further that night, but to put up there at Miller's house and to start as soon as it was light in the morning. Thereupon Smith went to André and conversed with him in low tones and told him it would be best to put up, for they might be inter-

rupted, and they concluded to remain. Smith was willing to adopt Boyd's advice, but André was quite reluctant to do so, and desired to press forward.

Miller's house has long since disappeared, but it was located on the southerly side of the Crompond road in a little depression about one-third of a mile east of Hog lane, a road coming into the Crompond road from the north, and about one-half a mile west of the road leading from the Crompond road southerly to the Baptist church and the Croton dam in Yorktown.

They met with a welcome reception at Miller's house, which was small and the accommodations narrow. Smith and André were obliged to sleep in the same bed, and the tradition in the neighborhood was that André slept in his boots and passed a restless and uneasy night.

On the morning of the twenty-third the negro was called by André before it was light and ordered to bring out the horses, which he did, and the three rode off together on the Crompond road toward Crompond corner, after urging Miller in vain to accept compensation for their lodging. At the latter place they were saluted by a sentinel in the road and taken to Captain Ebenezer Foot, who had a guard there at that time. It was yet so early in the morning that Captain Foot could not read the pass without the aid of a lamp that was burning in his room. Smith made particular inquiry respecting the troops which were stationed below, and Captain Foot informed him that there were no troops on that line except the cavalry of Colonel Jameson some miles east of Pine's bridge. About that time they met Colonel Samuel B. Webb of the continental army, an acquaintance of André's, who stared at him, but failed to recognize him and passed on. Smith and André then proceeded on their journey to the eastward until they reached the road leading southerly to Pine's bridge, about half a mile east of Crompond corner. Taking that road they passed Mead's tavern, the house of Major Strang, the place occupied in later years by Robert P. Lee. and as Hunt's tavern. At the house of Major Strang they were observed by the inmates, who supposed them to be continental officers. During this portion of their journey, André seems to have been relieved from anxiety, and his tongue was unloosed and he poured forth a flood of animated and brilliant conversation.

Reaching the residence of Isaac Underhill, about two and a half miles from Pine's bridge, they paused to feed their horses and procure breakfast. Mrs. Underhill furnished a humble meal of supawn and milk, but was unable to provide provender for their horses. While Smith was eating, he informed André of his intention to proceed with him no further. Smith

paid for the breakfast and divided his stock of paper money with André, who betrayed some emotion, though they parted pleasantly. It is quite doubtful whether André entered the house. Smith, with the negro, returned on the same road to Peekskill, and on his way to Fishkill he took the road to the Robinson house, and dined with Arnold and gave him an account of his journey, with which Arnold was pleased. Continuing to Fishkill, he joined his family, and was arrested there on the night of the twenty-fifth and marched to the Robinson house, which he reached the next morning.

André, while at Underhill's house, appeared agitated and uneasy, and ate nothing. He walked backward and forward before the front door, and made many inquiries concerning the road. The Underhill house is now standing, and is about three and a half miles from Crompond corner. It is occupied by Charles Underhill.

After parting with Smith, André proceeded alone on his journey. He crossed Pine's bridge, which was located about half a mile further up the stream than the present bridge, without challenge or interruption, and turned to the right and followed down the southerly side of the river about one mile to Hog hill. Turning then to the left, he ascended the hill and came to Underhill's corners, where Henry Allen now resides, about three miles from the bridge, where he conversed with some Quakers. Taking the right-hand road there, he proceeded down what was called Kipp street to the Hard Scrabble road, and down that to the house now owned and occupied by William Henry Brundage, where he watered his horse at the spring in front of that dwelling, on the east side of the road, and spoke to Mr. Brundage, the owner of the place. Then he proceeded in a southerly direction on that road, crossing the Sing Sing road about half a mile west of the Pleasantville station on the Harlem railroad, and reached the old Bedford road at the entrance of the private asylum of Dr. Choat. He continued on the Bedford road to Rossell's corners, now called Meekeel's corners, where he turned to the left, and passed along the Buttermilk hill road to the house of Staats Hammond, at Hammond's mill-pond, on the east side of the road, less than a mile from Unionville. That house has disappeared; but the dwelling of Floyd Powell now stands on the same site. Stopping there, he requested a drink of water, which was carried to him from the spring in a bowl by Sally Hammond, the daughter of Staats Hammond, then about twelve years of age. He spoke of the excellent quality of the water, and gave her a sixpence, which was retained in the family for many years. Turning to David Hammond, her brother, who was about fourteen, André held the following conversation :

André: "How far is it to Squire Young's?" (referring to Young's tavern, at the lower cross roads).

David: "About two miles."

André: "Is it a straight road?"

David: "Nearly straight, after you pass the first corner below here."

André: "Is there a Whig guard there?"

David: "There are some scouts there."

André: "How far is it to Tarrytown?"

David: "About four miles."

André: "I did not think it was so far. What road do you take to reach there?"

David: "You go back the road you came down and turn to the left."

André then went back on the Buttermilk hill road to Rossell's corners, and, turning to the left on the old Bedford road, then known as the old Continental road, he passed over what is now called Tarrytown heights, and down the hill into the old Albany post road. Proceeding on that highway a short distance, he descended a hill, and came upon his captors at the foot of it, where the monument now stands. At that time the post road turned to the east at the brook and ascended the hill. It has since been changed to its present location.

History has well recorded the movements and actions of the seven men concerned in the capture of Major André, and they will not be pursued here further than they are directly connected with his conduct and movements. Their names were John Paulding, David Williams, Isaac Van Wart, James Romer, John Yerks, Isaac See, and Abraham Williams.

John Paulding, Isaac Van Wart, and David Williams were playing cards behind the fence on the west side of the old Albany post road, at the foot of the hill, where the road turned toward the east. They first detected the approach of André when he came over the bridge at the foot of the hill, and as he approached nearer they arose and directed him to stand. Paulding wore the coat and cap of a German Yager, green, laced with red, and it is very probable that his appearance deceived André, for, instead of producing Arnold's pass, he said to them at once: "Gentlemen, I hope you belong to our party." Paulding asked him "What party?" and André replied, "*The lover*," upon which Paulding told him "they did," adding, "My dress shows that." André then said, "I am a British officer out in the country on particular business, and I hope you will not detain me a minute."

Paulding thereupon informed him that they were Americans. André

seemed startled, changed color, and said, "God bless my soul! a man must do anything to get along. I am a continental officer going down to Dobb's Ferry to get information from below!" With these words he drew out and presented the pass from General Arnold. They seized the horse by the bridle and ordered André to dismount. He informed them that they would bring themselves into trouble, and they replied that they cared nothing for that. They then took down the fence on the west side of the road and led him and the horse down into a thicket several rods from the road near the stream. Williams put up the fence behind them so that no suspicion or inquiry should arise from its displacement.

When Williams came up, André again requested them to release him, but they refused. Williams was appointed to search his clothing, and proceeded to do so, commencing with his hat. He found in his pantaloons eight dollars in continental money, and in his stockings the papers which history has so fully described. Whereupon Paulding exclaimed, "My God! he's a spy!"

They directed André to replace his clothing and follow them to the road, which he did. In reply to a question from Williams, André said he would give them any sum of money if they would allow him to escape, which they refused. He was asked if he would not escape if opportunity offered, and he said, "Yes, I would." On reaching the road, they commanded André to remount, and crossing the road to the east marched some distance to a house near the spring at the head of André brook, where they halted under the shade. At that time there was a lane or path leading from the post road to that house, and it is believed that the captors took that lane with their prisoner instead of the public road. As they came up the hill, they were observed by the four men who had accompanied them that morning, and who had been stationed on the hill at William David's, and came down and joined the party. Paulding was leading the horse, and as they met he said, "We have got a prisoner," at the same time ordering André to dismount. Here they asked him some questions, but he requested them to desist, promising to tell all when he reached an officer. Paulding ordered André to remount, and they proceeded to the house of the widow of Isaac Reed, a small tavern on the old road leading from Tarrytown to White Plains by the lower cross roads. They had been to that house in the morning on their way down, and had taken some food and borrowed the pack of cards with which they were playing when André came up. This house is still standing, half a mile west of the county almshouse, and is known as the Landrine house. They procured some food and remained about two hours, and then started on

their way to North Castle. André rode the horse and the others walked, some ahead and some by his side.

Isaac Van Wart said, in a statement made by him in the summer of 1826, that "André, after traveling one or two miles, said, 'I would to God you had blown out my brains when you stopped me,' and during the journey big drops of sweat kept continually falling from his face. He suffered much in his mind, as was apparent from his great dejection, but he behaved well and made no effort to escape."

From the Landrine house they passed along the road leading easterly, and turning to the north on the hill west of the almshouse they passed up that road under Buttermilk hill, crossing the Sawmill river at the bridge just below the mill. Passing up the road near Raven rock, they went to the corner at the late residence of Carlton Clark. Then, turning to the right, they ascended the hill to the upper cross-roads, and, continuing on down another hill, passed the residence of Ebenezer Newman across the hollow now traversed by the Harlem railroad, and thence up the hill to the old Foshay house, which stood the north side of the road, on the top of the hill now known as Reynolds' hill. At that house they procured a drink either of milk or water. Leaving, they went on over the road leading to the top of the hill, now known as Hall's hill, then down that to Wright's mills, now called Kensico. They then conducted their prisoner to the house of Reuben Wright, who was the owner of the mills. Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson had, at different times, made this place his headquarters. That house still remains. It was known in later years as the John Robin's house, and stands about a quarter of a mile north of Kensico on the west side of a by-road running south from the old North Castle road, and a few rods south of the latter road.

Failing to find Colonel Jameson there at that time, they continued their journey with their prisoner up the North Castle road, and most probably went over the road called the Coney Hill road to the corner of the road now known as Blake's corner, at the head of King's street. From this point they pursued the old road to Sands' mills at North Castle, where they found Colonel Jameson, and delivered up their prisoner.

The precise hour of their arrival at Sands' mills has never been stated and there is much uncertainty respecting the time when the occurrence already related took place on that day. As we have seen, it was not yet daylight when Smith and André reached Crompond corner, two miles from Miller's house. From that point to the Underhill house, where Smith parted with André, the distance is about three and a half miles. It has usually been said that the party reached the Underhill house about eight

o'clock, but it must have been earlier, for at that season of the year the sun rises about six o'clock, and they must have reached that house soon after sunrise, if the journey was continuous from Crompond corner. Besides that, the time of André's capture has generally been given at about ten o'clock. From the Underhill house to the place of his capture André rode at least sixteen miles, counting the distance which he retraced from the Bedford road to the house of Staats Hammond. That must have occupied more than two hours, and probably did occupy more than three hours. The time spent in his capture and examination and at the house of Reed must have been at least three hours.

From the place of the capture to Sands' mills the distance is at least twelve miles, which was probably traversed in not less than four hours, and so it was probably late in the afternoon when André was delivered to Colonel Jameson at Sands' mills.

If the captors crossed the fields with their prisoner to avoid the roads, as one of them has said, the route given above must be taken subject to such qualifications, but from the general course pursued, and the nature of the country traversed, and the actual evidence possessed of their continuation in the highway, their traveling in the fields must have been very limited.

Sands' mills were located on a small stream, having its source in Wampus pond. The mills had been in the Sands family from a very early period, and continued to be so for a long time after. The headquarters of Colonel Jameson were there at that time.

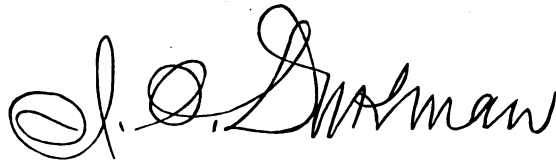
After the delivery of their prisoner, the captors departed. Colonel Jameson examined the papers found upon André, and reached the hasty and unwise determination to send him at once to General Arnold at the Robinson House. He accordingly wrote Arnold a letter stating that a certain John Anderson had been taken while going toward New York, with a passport signed by Arnold, and a parcel of papers which he (Jameson) thought of a very dangerous tendency, giving at the same time a description of them, and stating that he had sent them to General Washington.

He then dispatched the captive to Arnold under the charge of Lieutenant Allen and four Connecticut militiamen. The precise time of their departure is not stated, but it was before night. At the same time an express was dispatched with the papers to General Washington, who was then supposed to be returning from his interview with Count Rochambeau at Hartford.

After the departure of André under guard for Arnold's headquarters,

Major Benjamine Tallmadge, the major of the troop of horse, of which Jameson was the lieutenant-colonel, returned from below to the headquarters at Sands' mills, and, having disposed of his detachment, was informed by Jameson of the capture of André, and what had been done with him. Major Tallmadge was quick to express to Jameson the unwisdom of his conduct, and requested permission to adopt severe measures toward both Arnold and André, desiring to take the whole responsibility upon himself. When that was refused, he next proposed the recall of the prisoner, then (as he says) probably eight or ten miles on his way. Tallmadge did not accomplish his object until late in the evening, when an order was dispatched for the return of the prisoner and his guard.

If André was eight miles on his way when Tallmadge made his first request (as he says he was), he was within two miles of Pine's bridge on the Crow Hill road, and, assuming the order for his return to have been only one hour later, he must have been then at least six miles further, and that would have brought him within two miles of Crompond corner. The courier with the return order would naturally travel fast to override the prisoner and his guard, and if he rode with double their speed they would then have been at least twenty-two miles from North Castle before they were overtaken, which would bring them in the neighborhood of the old church above Peekskill, near the foot of Gallows hill. That was the lower route from West Point to Crompond corner, North Castle, White Plains, and places above.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "J. D. Sherman". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned in the lower right quadrant of the page.

SOME GLIMPSES OF HOLLAND

Since Athens and Sparta contended for the supremacy of the world, no state of such territorial insignificance has performed such a phenomenal part in human affairs as Holland. In point of influence upon the progress of civilization—in achievements in commerce, agriculture, science, art, and literature—few states have won a prouder name than this little patch of redeemed swamp and sand-barren wrested from the dominion of the sea. The planting of such a commonwealth, in defiance of such prodigious natural difficulties as were to be overcome, is itself one of the most unique and beneficent triumphs of the will, energy, and genius of man. The exploits of the old Greek heroes may have been more poetic than this, and more dazzling, but they were less useful, and in results far less enduring.

The term "Dutchman" is sometimes applied in an opprobrious sense, as significant of stupidity, but no people are more prudent and self-respecting, or have among them fewer mendicants, or a larger proportion of well-informed, enterprising men, and refined and beautiful women than the Dutch of to-day. Their uniformly tidy and well-ordered homes contrast most suggestively with the squalor and profligacy seen in many other communities on the European continent, while their robust appearance is eloquent of health and contentment, and their faces as a rule bear the stamp, not of stolidity, but of intelligence, stability, and personal independence.

The general surface of Holland lies much below sea-level, and is also lower than the levels of its intersecting rivers. Inundation from the water-courses, as well as the encroachment of the sea, is prevented only by an elaborate system of enormous dykes, built at an aggregate cost of \$1,500,000,000. The largest of these dykes are about thirty feet in height, seventy feet broad at the base, and wide enough on top for a public thoroughfare. To give them firmness the underlying earth is stamped or compressed, and their escarpments when completed are covered with turf, and thickly planted with willows. As soon as they are sufficiently grown the willows are plaited together and plastered with mud. Some of the dykes are protected against the violence of the waves by revetments of masonry or palisades of stakes. To keep these vast embankments in repair requires an annual expenditure of about \$3,000,000, and the constant vigilance and activity of a large corps of workmen. A perpetual

struggle with the ocean is the price of existence in Holland, as any one may realize who stands at the foot of one of the coastwise dykes at high tide, and listens to the breaking of the waves on the other side, fifteen or twenty feet above him.

The surface of the country is criss-crossed by canals, of countless number, which serve the threefold purpose of drains, highways for traffic, and enclosures for fields, gardens, and houses. The ordinary arterial canals are about sixty feet wide and six deep, but the great North Holland canal connecting Amsterdam with the Helder, is one hundred and twenty feet wide and twenty deep. Another immense work of this kind is that known as the North Sea canal, which extends from Amsterdam to the North Sea direct, and is practicable for the largest sea-going vessels. Its width is nearly two hundred feet, and its depth over twenty-two feet. This immense ditch begun in 1805, and not fully completed until 1877, cost together with its huge sea-gates and piers the sum of \$17,000,000. It was rendered necessary by the increasing shallowness of the *Zuyder Zee*, seriously threatening the commerce of Amsterdam.

Next in magnitude to the work of barring out the sea has been that of draining the great ponds and marshes of which the territory of the land were, for the most part, originally composed. The first step taken in this process is the excavation of a deep ditch around the land to be drained, so as to prevent the influx of water from the outside. The marsh or area from which the water is to be removed may lie at a considerably lower level than this ditch, in which case a series of trenches, sloping one into another, sloping inward, and into these successively from the outside, to the highest the marsh water is pumped by water-lifts, or by windmills. The lands thus reclaimed are of great fertility and value, and are usually irrigated from the circumjacent ditches. In winter they carry a surplus water, by which treatment their power of production is increased and preserved and promoted.

From 1840 to 1853 the *Haarlemmer Meer*, a fresh-water lake, eighteen miles long, nine miles wide, and fourteen feet deep, was emptied in the manner just described, at a cost of \$5,250,000. The water was lifted by three enormous steam-engines, each capable with the flying wheels, of raising sixty-six tons of water at a single stroke. The *Haarlemmer Meer* and some of the lake are now worth three millions and fifty thousand guilders, and support a population of ten thousand souls. The ponds and of the *Beemster* marsh, reclaimed in 1608, is a new island, and is worth a hundred guilders per acre. A scheme is discussed for draining the *Zuyder Zee* into an inland lake, and if executed, will add to the value of the

province six hundred and eighty-seven square miles in extent, and create another great reservoir of agricultural wealth.

The public enemy, water, is kept in subjection by the aid of its twin element, wind. The motive power by which the drainage is performed is chiefly furnished by windmills, which strew the country in battalions and armies, imparting to the scenery its most striking feature. Sometimes they are ranked upon the dykes, and sometimes they stand on the ramparts of towns, which they seem to be defending by the energetic sway of their gigantic vanes. Many of these mills are of monstrous size, having single sails over sixty feet in length. Their numbers also are enormous. Along the banks of the Zaan, between Zaandam and Krommenie, a distance of four miles, there are about four hundred. Besides driving the pumps by which the marsh water is lifted into the canals, the windmills furnish power for milling, and for a great variety of agricultural and manufacturing purposes.

Along the coast sand-hills are thrown up by the action of the wind and waves, to the height of from thirty to one hundred and sixty feet. Nearest the sea these hills are arid and transitory, but farther inland they are annually sown with reed-grass and other hardy plants, by the growth and decay of which the sandy surface is eventually covered with vegetable mold, and changed from a condition of barrenness to one of extreme fertility. Between the central downs, which are highest and broadest, and those still further remote from the sea-coast, lie some of the finest potato lands and pastures. The sand-hills being honeycombed with rabbit warrens, and a favorite haunt for some kinds of feathered game, furnish an attractive field to the sportsman.

The dwellings of the Dutch peasantry and villagers are usually built with large double windows in the first story, and high, peaked gables fronting to the street. The majority of them have walls of red brick and white cement, and are roofed with bright-red tiles. Many are painted green, and with their red tilings, polished windows, and environing trees, make a very attractive appearance. A farm-house on the lowlands is visible for miles, with its huge, red-tiled, pyramidal roof rising from the meadows and descending nearly to the ground. The country dwellings of the wealthy are often gaudily stuccoed and painted, and are usually inscribed over the portal with some sententious phrase expressive of peace, contentment, or hospitality. Every dwelling of any pretensions is fronted with an ample garden, wherein flowers are cultivated of every hue and kind, and where the favorite tulip, hyacinth, and crocus flourish in riotous splendor.

It is not strange that so many of the Dutch artists have loved to paint

the interiors of these homes, for they are the very ideals of substantial and orderly domestic comfort. The rage of Dutch housewives for cleanliness amounts almost to a mania, and their dwellings are thoroughly scrubbed and polished, both internally and externally, at least once a week. Filth and vermin are held in unspeakable aversion. The town of Broek, situated in the so-called "Waterland," one of the lowest districts in Holland, has been made a subject of ridicule on account of its restrictions upon equestrians and smokers, its mosaically paved streets and courts, its gaudily painted houses with brilliant roofs of variegated tiles, its requirement that pedestrians shall leave their shoes at the door, and above all its immaculate cow-stables, in which the tails of the cows are hooked aloft. The best parlor of a Broek dwelling is thrown open only for weddings and funerals. Entrance to the house is gained through the cow-stable, which is kept superlatively clean, and serves as a reception-room. Broek has been called the cleanest town in the world, but it is no more tidy than Zaandam and other North Holland villages.

A birth in a Dutch family is announced by the display of a silken placard, and births and betrothals are both celebrated by setting out refreshments to congratulating friends and neighbors. One of the indispensables of female comfort is the *stoofje*, a clumsy sort of foot-warmer, which is as pervasive as the sex. Chimes of tinkling bells, hung in the towers of nearly all village churches and public buildings, announce the passing hours and quarters with gentle and pleasing melody.

Both in town and country many buildings of every kind are tilted out of their perpendicular by reason of the instability of their foundations, laid in the deep and soft alluvium. In consequence of this, long lines of tall, ungainly buildings have assumed attitudes strikingly suggestive of the uncertain equipoise and mock solemnity of a lot of tipsy revelers.

The peculiar costumes of the Dutch women, of which so much has been written, have mostly disappeared from the larger towns and cities, but in the rural districts are still in vogue, especially in North Holland and Friesland. The oddest part of this costume is the head-dress, the style of which distinguishes the women of different provinces, and is often costly as well as fantastic. In its most usual form its chief part is a broad band of gold, or gilded metal, crossing the forehead in horseshoe form, so as to hold back the hair, and bearing large rosettes of the same metal at the sides. Above this band a veil or cap of rich lace is worn, with appendages of the same metal dropping to the neck. The ears are adorned with showy pendants of gold and gems. The most grotesque form of this headgear is that adopted by the Texel Island women, consisting of a gold plate, with fripperies of

black lace, horns of black ribbon at the outer extremities of the eyebrows, and, upon the back of the head, "a brown edifice exactly like a small bronze coal-scuttle turned upside down." Still another fancy is that of a skull-cap of gold or silver covering the upper and back part of the head, a gold band across the temples, and glittering spiral ornaments suspended from long pins projecting from the sides of the head.

The Frisian women, whose complexion is singularly fair, and whose features are very lively and handsome, wear a close-fitting metal cap divided in the middle, and garnished at the sides with small disks elaborately chased. The skull-cap is very often made of gold, and never of anything less precious than silver. It has the effect of enhancing the beauty of the complexion, and with its lofty and elaborate crown of lace imparts dignity to the wearer. Leeuwarden, the ancient capital of the Frisians, is famous for its gold and silver work, and is said to contain no less than twenty-five establishments which either manufacture or trade in these peculiar coverings for the head.

It is sometimes said that a Dutch peasant-girl carries her entire dowry upon her head and ears, the fact in many cases being that the costly toggery referred to has come to its possessor as an heirloom from her mother, to whom in turn it had been handed down through successive generations. Exhibitions of such ornaments are frequently made by jewelers, showing the difference between ancient workmanship and modern, which latter seldom gains anything by the comparison.

The cultivation of flowers is a popular passion, and at the same time a profitable industry. The country about Haarlem furnishes the finest gardens in Europe with roots and bulbs, and is brilliant, in the flowering season, with the myriad hues of blooming plants, grown by the acre. As long ago as the first half of the seventeenth century, floriculture became almost a craze in some of the Dutch provinces, and large fortunes were made by speculation in bulbs. Holland possesses some of the finest botanical gardens and horticultural schools in Europe, and claims to have done more to promote horticulture than any other country in the world.

There is scarcely any leading department of industry, commerce, art, or science in which the modern Batavians have not achieved a marked success, and contributed materially to the welfare of mankind—scarcely any great historical movement in behalf of general progress and the spread of civilization in which they have not borne a prominent part. Their navigators were among the earliest and boldest, and have been among the most successful in enlarging the sphere of commercial enterprise and geographical knowledge. Under the protection of their naval power, which

at the beginning of the seventeenth century was the most formidable on the seas, their commerce became the most widely extended in the world, and in spite of all rivalries yet continues to be world-wide. In the success and profit of colonial enterprise, they have distanced every other country except Great Britain, their present colonial dependencies embracing territories inhabited by 25,000,000 people. By no means least among these enterprises was the part they performed in the settlement of the American colonies. Their feats of arms on land and sea have sustained the reputation for valor of the original Batavians, the inflexible allies of Rome, who furnished the body-guard of the Roman emperors, and were declared by Tacitus to be the bravest of all the Germans. The extent of their contributions to scientific progress is indicated by Niebuhr's remark that no locality in Europe is so memorable in the history of science as the Hall of the Senatus, in the University of Leyden. In many branches of productive industry, they have not only acquired great wealth, but have almost distanced competition. To literature and statesmanship, they have contributed a whole galaxy of illustrious names, and, strangest of all, in nothing have these steady-going, toiling, trading dwellers among the dunes and marshes more distinguished themselves than in art.

While these things have been accomplished in the past, things worthy of them are being done in the present. In education and thoroughness of information, the Dutch are quite abreast with the foremost of their contemporaries, and their societies for the promotion of art, science, music, literature, and philanthropy, and for the discussion of all manner of useful subjects, have no end. These societies have invaluable auxiliaries in great public libraries, and museums of art, science, and history, enriched with the accumulations of centuries, drawn from all parts of the world. A society for promotion of the public welfare, having its headquarters in Amsterdam, and extending its operations throughout the kingdom, aims to establish schools, libraries, lecture bureaus, and reading-rooms, and to encourage various works of charity and mercy. This society now has three hundred and thirty departments, and numbers seventeen thousand members.

Historically, commercially, socially, and in almost every other respect, Holland is epitomized in its chief commercial metropolis. Amsterdam is in various respects a phenomenal city. Said to be, for its population, the wealthiest in the world, there are certainly few others more interesting. Yet, but for the great dykes which hold back the waters of the sea, the ground upon which this richly-stored working hive of three hundred thousand people stands would be submerged to the depth of several feet. The whole city has been built upon wooden piles driven as deeply as possible

into the yielding mold, yet even this costly expedient has not prevented hundreds of buildings from being thrown out of their proper level. The piles have been attacked by wood-worms, and have often yielded to the superincumbent weight. A large grain warehouse built some years ago, immediately upon being filled literally sank down into the mud.

The city is built in the form of a half moon, with its rectilineal side fronting on the muddy estuary of the Zuyder Zee, known as the Ij. It is crossed by six principal canals, which a multitude of smaller ones connect transversely like the threads of a spider's web. The principal thoroughfares are waterways, as in Venice, but the city is in no other respect Venetian. Venice, like Amsterdam, was once the commercial mistress of the world, but Amsterdam has retained her commercial prosperity, while that of Venice has departed. In architecture, and in the quality of their art, the two cities are as wide apart as the poles.

The sombre appearance given to the streets by the monotonous black lines of tall, peaked buildings, is much relieved by long rows of trees which grow luxuriantly on the banks of the canals. The multitudes of little islands into which the land surface of the city is partitioned by its waterways are connected with one another by drawbridges. Being the central point in the national system of fortification, Amsterdam is covered on the land side by a ditch eighty feet wide, and a brick parapet with thirty bastions. In case of military necessity, the entire suburban territory lying outside of these lines may be laid under water.

The best general view of Amsterdam and its environs is obtained from the tower of the City Hall, now known as the Royal Palace. From this elevation the eye takes in at one glance the entire web of streets, canals, and lines of peaked houses with their forked chimneys. Fronting all is the Ij, with its great docks and forests of masts extending to the broad bay of the Zuyder Zee, the plane of whose waters is higher by several feet than that of the streets below. Outside the fortifications the city is encircled by a garden patchwork of green, gold, red, and scarlet, beyond which lies an indefinite extent of verdant meadow and polder-land, crossed by the silvery threads of numberless canals, and diversified with farm-houses and villages, countless windmills, and grazing herds of dappled cattle. Eastward are descried the spires of Utrecht; westward, beyond the great Haarlemmer Polder, rises the huge tower of St. Bavon, in Haarlem; northward are seen the glittering red roofs of Alkmaar and Zaandam; and beyond these, skirting the horizon, stretches the line of dome-shaped dunes thrown up by the winds and waves of the North Sea.

The art of Holland centres chiefly at Amsterdam, but, like her com-

merce, its range and influence are world-wide. There is no important picture-gallery in Europe of which it is not an essential and conspicuous part. Rembrandt's marvels of chiaroscuro; Ruisdael's deep forest-scenes and riotous Norwegian cascades; Adrian Van der Velde's Claude-like landscapes, with their astonishing perspectives; the serene and poetic pastoral scenes of Hobbema, Both, Wynants, Berchem, Cuyp, Van Goyen, and Everdingen; the wonderful cattle-pieces of Paul Potter; the exquisite battle and hunting scenes of Wouverman; the bold animal painting of Rubens's apt scholar, Snyder; the superb marines of Backhuysen, Koekkoek, and Van der Velde the younger; the unsurpassed poultry and still-life of Hondecoeter and Weenix; the exquisite flower-pieces of the "first of female painters," Rachael Ruysch; and the realistic *genre* of Jan Steen, Brauwer, Metsu, Mieris, Dou, Brueghel, Van Ostade, and Frans Hals—all these are known as well, and honored as highly, in London, Paris, Dresden, Munich, Vienna, Madrid, and Rome, as they are in Amsterdam or the Hague. Even hyperborean St. Petersburg has whole rooms full of Rembrandt's, Wouverman's, and Cuyp's, and Paul Potter is greater there than in England or, if possible, even than in Holland. The Dresden gallery has a large collection of the finest Vanderwerff's, and a score of Rembrandt's, including the magnificent *Ganymede*. Before relinquishing the Low Countries, the Spaniards took good care to enrich their capital with the treasures of Dutch art, of which the galleries of Florence and Rome have also managed to obtain a liberal share.

In its physical aspects no country would seem to offer less incitement to thoughts or creations of the poetic and the ideal than the flat, sandy marshes of the Rhine delta. Yet how many of the common things of that commonplace region—that ignominious death-bed of a noble river—have the wizards of Dutch art transformed by their alchemies of color into things of perpetual living beauty! Seeing not, yet believing, with what potential fancy they have evoked from their dull polders the ideal truth of nature, and painted it fair as an Arcadian dream! An artist, said Delaroche, must compel nature to pass through his intellect and his heart, and this the Dutch artists have done. "A dead tree, by Ruisdael, may touch the heart; a cow, by Paul Potter, may speak eloquently; a kitchen, by Kalf, may contain a poem." Cuyp, the Dutch Claude, painted interiors so captivating that his native country could not retain them; Van der Neer reproduced nature with simple truth, and yet with such ideal beauty that he was called "the poet of the night"; while Rembrandt, the "greatest painter of the north," changed reality into a "supernatural vision."

The rise of art in the Netherlands began with the achievement of their

national independence. The same revolution which created a political Holland, says Quinet, created also Dutch art. But while the art of Holland derived its opportunity from her changed political life, its individuality sprang from an entirely different source. That source was the master mind of Rembrandt van Ryn. Born in the beginning of the seventeenth century—the century in which his country accomplished nearly all that has made her illustrious in art—this marvelous genius, like Claude Lorraine, was of lowly origin, self-taught, and within the self-created sphere of his activity without a rival. Tradition affirms that he was born and had his first studio in his father's mill; that his name derives its suffix, Van Ryn, from this fact; and that, from the effect of the single beam of light which streamed into the gloomy interior of the mill through its ventilator at the top, he obtained his first hints in the use of light and shadow.

Amsterdam and the Hague are the best places to study Rembrandt. In Amsterdam, where he spent most of his life, we find his crowning masterpiece miscalled the *Night Watch*, in which the magical possibilities of light and its contrasts are revealed as no other canvas ever revealed them. The subject of this picture is extremely simple—almost commonplace—but with such dramatic power of color and chiaroscuro is its action displayed as to produce one of the sublimest creations in art. A band of civilian musketeers is seen issuing from its guild-house, led—as we learn from a list of names at the bottom of the picture—by the seignior of Purmerland, Captain Frans Banning Cock. The moving musketeers are examining their weapons preparatory to action, their drummer is beating a call, and their ensign unfolds a standard displaying the escutcheon of the city. Two blonde-haired maidens—the foremost richly dressed and carrying a pistol—run after the leaders, but the figures are all self-possessed, and we observe no overwrought action or straining for effect. The foremost members of the party have reached the exit of the building, and so strong is the light which falls upon them through the ceiling windows that the shadow of the captain's hand is thrown darkly upon the jerkin of his lieutenant. Behind this effulgence is a twilight interior, wherein the remaining figures are sharply individualized, even in the shadow. These are simple details, but, as portrayed by Rembrandt, they have more beauty and strength of expression than the wildest battle-scene which Salvator Rosa ever drew.

In an adjoining room hangs another famous Rembrandt known as *The Syndics*, which contains little else than the portraits of five directors of the clothmakers' guild and a servant. The directors, dressed in black, wear high, broad-brimmed hats and broad linen collars, and are seated at a red-covered table, except one, who stands in a listening attitude. The

figures all look toward the spectator, and so intense and vivid is their realism that the effect is almost startling. There is but little color in the picture, and no very strong light, but its chiaroscuro is managed with such consummate art that those sedate, undemonstrative figures produce a stronger impression than the most violent action.

Van der Helst's *Banquet of the Civic Guard* hangs in the same room with the *Night Watch*, with which it has been said to compare, like the *Meyer Madonna* with the *Madonna di San Sisto*. The strength, dignity, and calmness of Dutch character are admirably portrayed in this masterpiece of Van der Helst's, but its effect might have been improved if the artist had contracted his focus and limited his leading action to fewer figures. Rembrandt, it is plainly noticeable, is careful not to disperse his light over so large a surface or among so many objects.

A striking example of the effect of concentration is seen in Hondecoeter's picture in this collection, known as *The Floating Feather*. Beside a pond, which is surrounded by rich vegetation, are grouped various fowls, including several kinds of geese and ducks, a crane, a pelican, and a flamingo, all superb in drawing and color. But the central object of the picture—the one which instantly fixes the attention—is a curled feather which swims on the smooth surface of the water, so buoyant, so salient, so natural, that we expect to see it move before some passing breeze. The fabled grapes of Zeuxis could hardly have been more perfect.

Amsterdam possesses three public galleries of painting, the Hague two, and Rotterdam one. The Rotterdam gallery contains few works of conspicuous merit, and may be passed by without regret, but the Hague vies with Amsterdam in the extent and merit of its accumulation of Dutch masterpieces. The bright particular gem of the Hague collection is Rembrandt's *School of Anatomy*, which a French critic has characterized as one of the few creations of men which are faultless and perfectly beautiful. We might further say of it that it is one of the few pictures in which we seem to see men think—which betrays the very process of their thoughts. It is thus described in Burger's *Musées de la Hollande* :

"This picture represents the celebrated anatomist Nicolaus Tulp, a friend and patron of Rembrandt, in a vaulted saloon, engaged in explaining the anatomy of the arm of a corpse. He wears a black cloak with a ce collar, and a broad-brimmed soft hat. With his half-raised left hand he makes a gesture of explanation, while with his right he is dissecting a few of the arm of his subject. The corpse lies on a table before him.

the right of Tulp is a group of five figures, and two other men are sitting at the table in front. These listeners are not students but mem-

bers of the guild of surgeons of Amsterdam [the picture was painted for that guild], as shown by a paper held by one of them. They are attending to the lecture with very various expressions. They are all bare-headed, dressed in black, and with turned-over collars, except one, who still wears the old-fashioned, upright ruff. There are, perhaps, other persons present in the hall, as Tulp appears to be looking beyond the picture, as if about to address an audience not visible to the spectator; and it is here worthy of remark that Rembrandt's compositions are never imprisoned in their frames, but convey an idea of a wide space beyond them. It is somewhat singular that the spectator seems hardly to notice the corpse lying before him at full length, the feet of which he can almost touch, although it is strongly lighted in contrast to the surrounding black garments, and most faithfully represents the peculiar hue of a dead body, leaving no doubt that it was painted from nature as well as the living heads. The admirable art of the composition consists in its power of riveting the attention to the living in the presence of death."

Two other Rembrandt's in this collection—the *Presentation in the Temple*, and *Susanna Entering the Bath*—have also acquired celebrity, although they are quite eclipsed in the presence of the *Anatomy*. These pictures are small in comparison with their celebrated companion-piece, but the breadth of Rembrandt's canvas is never great, and, as compared with that of Rubens, it is very moderate. The so-called "Pearls of Rembrandt," at Munich, are quite small, and the Rembrandt's in the Florence, Vienna, Dresden, and Louvre galleries are none of them of more than ordinary dimensions. The *Night Watch*, which is largest of all, is of much less size than many of Rubens's pictures.

The madonnas, saints, and martyrs, which crowd the Italian museums of painting, are conspicuous in those of Holland by their absence. *Per contra*, a crowd of Dutch painters have rushed to another—in some respects an opposite—extreme in their passion for *genre* art. Jan Steen, the ablest of these, is liberally represented in the Amsterdam and Hague collections; as are also Frans Hals, Metsu, Mieris, Dou, Brauwer, Van Ostade, and many others of that class. But, while much genius has been exhibited in this kind of art, it fails to satisfy the higher love of the beautiful, and we turn from it with a sense of relief to the Rembrandt's, Vanderwerff's, and Wouwerman's, and to such landscape gems as those of Ruisdael, Wynants, and Adrian Van der Velde.

Alfred P. Lu

LOST IN THE ICE

ELISHA KENT KANE'S ARCTIC EXPLORATIONS

"We were at work cheerfully sewing away at the skins of some moccasins by the blaze of our lamps, when, toward midnight, we heard the noise of steps above, and the next minute Sontag, Ohlsen, and Petersen came down into the cabin. Their manner startled me even more than their unexpected appearance on board. They were swollen and haggard, and hardly able to speak.

Their story was a fearful one. They had left their companions in the ice, risking their own lives to bring us the news. Brooks, Baker, Wilson, and Pierre were all lying frozen and disabled. Where? They could not tell: somewhere in among the hummocks to the north and east; it was drifting heavily round them when they parted. Irish Tom had stayed by to feed and care for the others; but the chances were sorely against them. It was in vain to question them further. They had evidently traveled a great distance, for they were sinking with fatigue and hunger, and could hardly be rallied enough to tell us the direction in which they had come.

My first impulse was to move on the instant with an uncumbered party: a rescue, to be effective or even hopeful, could not be too prompt. What pressed on my mind most was, where the sufferers were to be looked for among the drifts. Ohlsen seemed to have his faculties rather more at command than his associates, and I thought that he might assist us as a guide; but he was sinking with exhaustion, and if he went with us we must carry him. There was not a moment to be lost. While some were still busy with the new-comers and getting ready a hasty meal, others were rigging out the 'Little Willie' with a buffalo cover, a small tent, and a package of pemmican; and, as soon as we could hurry through our arrangements, Ohlsen was strapped on in a fur bag, his legs wrapped in dog-skins and eider-down, and we were off upon the ice. Our party consisted of nine men and myself. We carried only the clothes upon our backs. . . . It was not until we had traveled for sixteen hours that we began to lose our way. We knew that our lost companions must be somewhere in the area before us, within a radius of forty miles. Ohlsen, who had been to fifty hours without rest, fell asleep as soon as we began to move, and awoke now with unequivocal signs of mental disturbance. It became

evident that he had lost the bearings of the icebergs, which in form and color endlessly repeated themselves.

Pushing ahead of the party, and clambering over some rugged ice-piles, I came to a long, level floe, which I thought might probably have attracted the eyes of weary men in circumstances like our own. . . . I gave orders to abandon the sledge, and disperse in search of footmarks. We raised our tent, placed our pemmican in *cache*, except a small allowance for each man to carry on his person; and poor Ohlsen, now just able to keep his legs, was liberated from his bag. The thermometer had fallen by this time to 49° 3, and the wind was setting in sharply from the north-west. It was out of the question to halt; it required brisk exercise to keep us from freezing. I could not even melt ice for water; and, at these temperatures, any resort to snow for the purpose of allaying thirst was followed by bloody lips and tongue; it burnt like caustic.

It was indispensable that we should move on, looking out for traces as we went. Yet when the men were ordered to spread themselves, so as to multiply the chances, though they all obeyed heartily, some painful impress of solitary danger, or perhaps it may have been the varying configuration of the ice-field, kept them closing up continually into a single group. The strange manner in which some of us were affected I now attribute as much to shattered nerves as to the direct influence of the cold. Men like McGary and Bonsall, who had stood out our severest marches, were seized with trembling fits and short breath; and, in spite of all my efforts to keep up an example of sound bearing, I fainted twice on the snow.

We had been nearly eighteen hours out without water or food, when a new hope cheered us. I think it was Hans, our Esquimaux hunter, who thought he saw a broad sledge track. The drift had nearly effaced it, and we were some of us doubtful at first whether it was not one of those accidental rifts which the gales make in the surface snow. But as we traced it on to the deep snow among the hummocks, we were led to footsteps, and, following these with religious care, we at last came in sight of a small American flag fluttering from a hummock, and lower down a little Masonic banner hanging from a tent-pole hardly above the drift. It was the camp of our disabled comrades. We reached it after an unbroken march of twenty-one hours.

The little tent was nearly covered. I was not among the first to come up, but when I reached the tent-curtain the men were standing in silent file on each side of it. With more kindness and delicacy of feeling than is often supposed to belong to sailors, but which is almost characteristic, they

MINOR TOPICS
HONORABLE ROBERT C. WINTHROP
HIS EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATED

(Tribute from Mr. Daniel Goodwin)

When Thomas Lindall Winthrop married Elizabeth Bowdoin Temple at Boston, in July, 1786, the wedding brought together in one ancestral tree a very rare and remarkable union of families—the most rare and remarkable I have ever yet examined. Enumerating his American ancestry alone, Robert C. Winthrop, the offspring of that union, is descended from two Governors Winthrop; from Chief Justice Waite Winthrop; from Governors Thomas and Joseph Dudley; from Governor James Bowdoin of Huguenot blood; from the Hon. John Erving, one of the king's council before the Revolution; from the Hon. Edward Tyng, one of the king's council in 1687; from the Hon. Simon Lynde, the father and grandfather of two chief justices; from Francis Brown, the ancestor also of Justice Joseph Story. His mother's father was Sir John Temple, the friend of Franklin and son-in-law of Governor Bowdoin. Nearly all his male ancestors had graduated at Harvard for generations. His father was of the class of 1780. When Mr. Winthrop entered Harvard in 1823, the country was fairly started on the up grade in letters and learning, and among his college-mates were numbers who have contributed to the peerless position occupied by the country to-day.

He graduated at nineteen, the third in a class of fifty-three, and with a commencement oration that was soon copied into the school-books as a model of English eloquence, he showed from the very start that his family, wealth, and distinction were not crutches to be leaned on, but that he had inherited the glorious aspiration to toil and labor for the good of mankind. Coming upon the historic stage with the widest range of distinguished ancestors, he was fortunate in the time and place of his advent. He was born in Boston May 12, 1809. He attended the Latin school, and won the Franklin medal, and a gold medal for a Latin poem. After graduating at Harvard he studied law under Daniel Webster, and was admitted to the bar in 1831. In 1833, in behalf of the young men of Boston, he made the welcoming speech to Henry Clay at the Tremont. In 1834 he was elected to the Massachusetts house, and in 1835 made a speech remarkable for its eloquence, its fire, its lofty spirit of liberality and justice in favor of compensating the Catholics for the destruction of the Ursuline convent in Charlestown by a mob. He was captain of the Boston Light Infantry, lieutenant of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, and on the staff of three successive governors.

In 1839 Mr. Winthrop's reputation outgrew its local celebrity, and he delivered

the army of Lord Cornwallis surrendered prisoners-of-war, and on many other important occasions. In consequence of which he hath merited my approbation and this testimony of his being a brave and valuable officer.

Given under my hand and seal, at the headquarters of the American Army, 24th of June, 1782.

G. WASHINGTON."

Soon after the close of the war Smith was appointed secretary of legation to England, by the votes of thirty-six out of thirty-seven senators present in congress, and in 1784 went abroad; and while there, besides attending to his duties at the court of St. James, he officially visited the Spanish court at Lisbon, arranging the business committed to his care in a manner highly satisfactory to the government. He also made quite a tour of Europe, being everywhere received with honor. While at London he met Abigail Adams, the only and accomplished daughter of John Adams, then minister plenipotentiary to Great Britain, and that followed which has often happened before, in song and story, to the brave and fair. After a courtship of some two years, his marriage with Miss Adams was duly celebrated at London, June 12, 1786, the Bishop of St. Asaph officiating. He returned in 1788, though he afterwards revisited Europe on business and pleasure. Mrs. John Adams, writing to her sister, Mrs. Cranch, in 1786, just prior to the wedding of her daughter, says of Colonel Smith: "Your niece is engaged to a gentleman worthy of her; one whom you will be proud to take by the hand and own as a nephew. With regard to his person, he is tall, slender, and a good figure, a complexion naturally dark, but made still more so by seven years' service in the field. He appears a gentleman in every thought, word, and action." He was one of the originators of the Society of the Cincinnati, was secretary of the New York division in 1790, vice-president in 1794, and president of the society 1795-7. On the 26th of September, 1789, Washington, then President, appointed him United States marshal of the district of New York, and afterwards supervisor of the revenue. On June 24, 1800, President John Adams appointed him surveyor of the port of New York.

Colonel Smith lived for many years in the town of Eastchester, Westchester County, where he owned considerable landed estate, it being the Vincent place of the Revolution, and now called the Halsey place. A map of Eastchester in 1797 shows the location of Colonel Smith's residence. The records show that he and his wife Abigail disposed of their property there to Robert Ross of New York, by deed dated January 6, 1811, the consideration being \$8,500, although they had, in 1807 or 1808, removed to Lebanon, New York, where he owned a large tract of land. Prior to this time, and while Colonel Smith was abroad, he had interested some foreign capitalists, including Lord Pinckney of England, and the King of Hanover, in a trust or syndicate, of which he was the American representative, for the purchase of large tracts of land in this State. This resulted in his buying six of the twenty townships "surveyed by the surveyor-general, pursuant to an act

passed February 25, 1789," being 150,000 acres ; and also another plot of 120,000 acres, at three shillings and three pence per acre, the land all being in the present counties of Madison and Chenango, including the town of Lebanon.

The children of Colonel Smith were, William Steuben, John Adams, and Caroline Amelia who married John Peter De Windt of Fishkill-on-the-Hudson, son of John De Windt of New York, an old and honorable family who inherited a large estate. The eldest son, William Steuben, married Catharine Johnson, and died childless at Newburgh in 1850. John Adams Smith was a lawyer, and unmarried. Caroline Amelia (Mrs. De Windt) lived at Fishkill, and had eight children, of whom five are living,—Mrs. Monell, widow of Judge Monell, and formerly Mrs. A. J. Downing ; Mrs. Clarence Cook, and Mr. Arthur De Windt, all of Fishkill ; Mrs. C. P. Cranch, of Cambridge, Massachusetts ; and Mrs. Gabriel Furman, of East Orange, New Jersey. Mr. Arthur De Windt served with distinction in the late war for the Union, holding a commission as captain in the 128th N. Y. V. The De Windts are patriotic, cultured people, and it is enough to say that they are worthy of their distinguished ancestry. Mrs. De Windt (only daughter of Colonel Smith) was lost in that terrible tragedy, the burning of the steamboat *Henry Clay*, which occurred on the Hudson, near Yonkers, July 28, 1852. Her son-in-law, Andrew Jackson Downing, the noted landscape artist, also lost his life in that catastrophe. Mrs. Downing, who was on board, was among the saved. The portrait of Mrs. De Windt shows her a beautiful woman, with a striking resemblance to her mother. She was a lady of literary taste, and a choice little volume by her, published in 1841, entitled, *Journal and Correspondence of Miss Adams*, contains a memoir of Colonel Smith which has much aided in the preparation of this sketch.

A RELIC OF WASHINGTON'S SADDLE

O Time, what value thou dost give a thing
Which in itself hath no or little worth—
A lock of hair, or tiny wedding-ring,
Outweighs with some the richest mines of earth.

Each day and year lends something to the charm,
That love will never cease to keep in store,
And which the rolling ages cannot harm,
That only make its sacred value more.

A saddle bore our hero Washington
Through all his many martial cavalcades,
And when the soldier's mighty work was done,
He left as relics bright its housing braids.

My precious wife received a valued bit—
A gift to her from one to him akin ;
A letter, too, of his, enhancing it,
With many proofs of manly wit within.

Upon that saddle firm he led his men,
As on to Indian wars he made his way,
And from it searched with deep and keenest ken,
For wily foes who oft in ambush lay.

It held him safe through every bloody train ;
Though horses two or more beneath him fell,
And bullets four had pierced his coat in vain,
He had, with thanks, of safety great to tell.

At constant risk he rode to lead the van,
Through many years, against his country's foes ;
And on his saddle sat to pray and plan,
How best to rescue it from bitter woes.

O saddle, who commissioned thee to save
The grand heroic man of destiny,
Till he had crowned his nation free and brave,
And taught the world to honor liberty !

For this great service all will honor thee,
And with his name will keep thy worth in store ;
A relic dear to fame and memory,
Till earthly fame and greatness be no more.

J. R. BARNES

MARIETTA, OHIO.

NOTES

FISHING CUSTOMS OF THE OMAHA INDIANS—Before the advent of the white man the Omahas used to fish two ways. Sometimes they made wooden darts by sharpening long sticks at one end, and with these they speared the fish. When the fish appeared on the surface of the water they used to shoot them with a certain kind of arrow, which they also used for killing deer and small game. No arrowheads were used. They cut the ends of the shafts to points; then about four inches of the end of each arrow, next the point, was held close to a fire, and it was turned round and round till it was hardened by the heat. With or since the coming of the whites, the Omahas have learned to make fishing-lines of twisted horse-hair, and these last a long time. They never use sinkers and floats, or resort to poison for securing the fish.

LEWIS DURAND

DENVER, COL.

THE FRENCH MINISTER ON WASHINGTON—At a dinner given by ex-Controller John Jay Knox in honor of Attorney-General Miller and Assistant-Treasurer Ellis H. Roberts, the evening before the Washington centennial celebration, Mr. Knox, in introducing his distinguished guests, said :

"One hundred years ago (to-night) Louis XVI. was king of France. During his reign he rendered valuable service to this country in time of need. Large loans were made at low rates of interest, and eight ships were employed in transporting precious cargoes to our shores. The city of Louisville, which was first

organized by an act of the Virginia legislature in 1775, received its name in honor of the king who was then aiding with his troops our struggle for American independence. His minister, Moustier, was present at the inauguration of George Washington, which we celebrate to-morrow, and wrote home to the king his impressions of our first president. Nothing in the archives of the government can more fully confirm the national idea of Washington, than a single paragraph contained in his letter to the king :

'Everyone, without exception,' so reports the French minister to his government, 'appears penetrated with veneration for the illustrious chief of the republic; the humblest was proud of the virtues of the man who was to govern him. Tears of joy were seen to flow in the halls of the senate, in the church, and even in the street, and no sovereign ever reigned more completely in the hearts of his subjects than Washington in the hearts of his fellow citizens. Nature, which had given him the power to govern, distinguished him from all others by his appearance; he had at once the soul, the look, and the figure of a hero; he never appeared embarrassed at homage rendered him, and in his manners he had the advantage of joining dignity to great simplicity.' "

AMERICAN POSSIBILITIES — Charles Dudley Warner says : " If the human race ever had a chance to come to something fine and noble it is here in America, where development is so free, so little hindered, and where state communities

have had opportunity to evolve so freely their peculiar character. Something fine, I say, ought to be expected in the mingling of so many races—great races—differing in fibre and in temperament, some superior outcome in music, painting, sculpture, literature, in a clearer philosophy of life, in a better conception of what man should be. Of course this will not come about—quite the reverse will come about—if the university is not considered as important as the factory, and the ability to appreciate the best piece of literature is not rated so highly as the smartness which can run a ward caucus or make money by adroit means. The Brooklyn bridge impresses one as almost as much a wonder as the great pyramid, yet neither is as valuable to the world as the Iliad. Socrates would probably stand in amaze in Chicago to see seven pigs killed in a minute, but doubtless he would put a few questions as to the great progress in civilization which would make this achievement seem small compared with the writing of Antigone."

AN ANCIENT BIBLE—Soon after the battle of Trenton (December, 1776) a soldier of Washington's army picked up

in a street of that town a copy of the Holy Bible, which had been seriously scorched, evidently in the burning of one of the dwellings. The leather cover was much contracted by the heat, though the book itself was in fair condition. The finder was on his way to a liquor-dealer to sell the volume for a "glass of grog," when a fellow-soldier, George Waggoner, protested against such abuse of the Word of God, and, to prevent it, offered the man in cash the price of the drink, which was accepted. The purchaser took the book home with him, and it was retained in his family for some thirty years, when it passed to a son, Israel Waggoner, who went to Ohio in 1811, and from him to one of his sons, Clark Waggoner, now of Toledo, Ohio, who has it in substantially its condition when found, one hundred and thirteen years ago.

The volume bears, as nearly as can be made out, the following entries in writing, to wit :

"Nathan Simpson, born June 10, 1746."

"David Laler, June 30, 1747."

"Hugh Bain, born in the year of our Lord 1758." CLARK WAGGONER
TOLEDO, OHIO.

QUERIES

LOG-BOOK—Who was the purchaser of Commodore Thomas Truxteen's log-book at Washington? Where can it be seen? M.

AUTHOR OF PAMPHLET — *Editor Magazine American History*: I have in my possession a pamphlet bearing

the following title: "An | Examination | of | The various charges exhibited Against | Aaron Burr Esq. | Vice President of the United States | and | A Development | of the | Characters and views | of his | Political Opponents | By Aristides | .

I am not of the number of those

men who are perpetually troubling and disturbing you ; I hold not any office of trust or of administration in the state ; I therefore come forward with confidence and denounce transactions and crimes like these.

Philadelphia | Printed for the Author | 1803."

This pamphlet is largely devoted to a bitter attack on the Clinton family, as well as to a defense of Burr. Can any of your readers furnish any information as to its author ?

WILLIAM S. PELLETREAU

THE FAIR MAID OF KENT—There exists a tradition that Deputy-Governor Francis Willoughby, an early settler of Charlestown, Massachusetts, descended from "The Fair Maid of Kent." His

father, Colonel William Willoughby, born about 1588, commissioner of the royal navy stationed at Portsmouth, England, 1648-'49, was from Kent. Can any connection be traced between any line of the Willoughbys and the descendants of "The Fair Maid of Kent" (Joan, daughter of Edmond Plantagenet, earl of Kent, by her marriages to Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, or Edward the Black Prince) ?

What ladies shared the captivity of Queen Elizabeth ? Were any of them connected with the Willoughby family except Margaret, sister to Sir Francis Willoughby, who married Sir Matthew Arundel ? Replies are needed immediately for a forthcoming genealogical work. Address

MRS. EDWARD E. SALISBURY

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

REPLIES

THE LAST SURVIVING SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION [xxi. 521]—*Editor Magazine American History*: The town of York, Maine, claims the honor of furnishing the last surviving soldier of the Revolution, who, it is said, died May 2, 1866. But there was a soldier of the Revolution living until three years later, the last surviving pensioner of the

United States Government. It was Samuel Downing, who died near Amsterdam, New York, February 18, 1867. He used to reside in Saratoga county, and when he has been at Saratoga springs I have seen him. A trustworthy sketch of him appears in *Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography*. WM. L. STONE

JERSEY CITY, N. J.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY— At the stated meeting held on Tuesday evening, June 4, Hon. John A. King presiding, the Librarian's report called especial attention to a donation by George Clinton McKesson of a collection of manuscripts, mainly the office papers of Egbert and Robert Benson.

Mr. Edward F. de Lancey, the domestic corresponding secretary, read a paper of great interest on "The Methods and Characteristics of the Administration of Washington."

The society adjourned to meet the first Tuesday in October next.

THE CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting on the evening of May 29, at its rooms in the Athenæum building at Hartford, with the largest attendance ever seen on such an occasion. The reports were read and officers elected for the ensuing year.

Dr. Trumbull, who has been in the service of the society for over forty years, and its president for twenty-six, declined re-election. A committee was appointed to draught suitable resolutions, in view of his retirement and the high character of his services. Hon. Robbins Battell was elected president in his stead; vice-presidents, John W. Stedman of Hartford, Franklin B. Dexter of New Haven, John P. C. Mather of New London, Louis N. Middlebrook of Bridgeport, James Phelps of Essex, Dwight Loomis of Rockville, Charles B. Andrews of Litchfield; treasurer, Jonathan F. Morris; recording secretary, Frank B. Gay; corresponding secretary, Charles

J. Hoadly. Mr. Gay was reappointed librarian, and Roland Swift auditor.

Arrangements were effected for a field-day excursion to Deerfield, Massachusetts, to take place on the 4th of June, in accordance with a resolution of the society to hold one of its meetings every year at some spot of historic interest outside of the city.

The raid was accordingly made on the lovely old town on the western side of the Connecticut, at the appointed time, a town that was the scene of two of the most frightful Indian butcheries in United States history—one in King Philip's war, the other the result of the attempt of the Canadian Governor Vaudreuil, early in the eighteenth century, to avert Indian warfare from Canada by turning its bloody torrent against the English colonies, headed by a French fanatic and reinforced by French soldiers and arms. At South Deerfield the historic party was met by Hon. George Sheldon, president of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, and proceeded in carriages to the various points of interest, such as the scenes of the "Bloody Brook" massacre of 1675, and the "Bears' Fight" of 1695, and to the centre of Old Deerfield, the site of the stockade which was surprised by the French and Indians in the winter of 1704, killing and capturing its inhabitants without mercy. Many historic houses were visited, and lastly, but not leastly, Memorial Hall, which astonished the visitors, for here they found in this quiet, sleepy country village a large three-story brick building, itself historic, being the old Deerfield

academy chartered by Governor Samuel Adams in 1797-'98, filled from floor to attic roof with perhaps the best arranged collection of a purely local antiquarian character in New England, if not in the whole country. It is a wonderfully varied, curious, intensely and often thrillingly interesting museum of souvenirs of every sort of old colonial life—and death! The Indian room is perhaps the most absorbing. In the centre is fixed, in a frame, a door—which was hacked by Indian hatchets and riddled with Indian bullets till through a hole thus made a fatal bullet was fired into the throat of the wife of Ensign Sheldon rising from bed in a neighboring room—the bullet itself and specimens of hatchets, bayonets and knives are hung around, and the room is full of Indian weapons, examples of their stone and iron implements. Elsewhere are groups of old spinning-wheels and flax-wheels; of sconces and candlesticks, cranes and pots, and all the household ware of old times; an old library; a beautiful old corner cupboard of blue china; a harpsichord and a pipe organ; a cabinet of quilted and embroidered work; memorial tablets of those who fell in the awful massacre inside the stockade, or were slaughtered or died of starvation on the even more terrible retreat through the snows to Canada.

The society held a meeting in one of the rooms of Memorial Hall. A poem was read by Judge Adams, and short addresses were made. The party then returned to Hartford.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—
On the evening of May 15, a special

meeting of this society was held, on which occasion Mr. A. A. Graham, secretary of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, gave an illustrated lecture on "Early Northwestern History." Maps were exhibited showing outlines of the northwest, and explaining the course pursued by the early French discoverers, and the forts they constructed along the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. The lecturer also traced the pioneer movements from the eastern states, and threw upon the canvas pictures of the early settlements of forts, and of the men who were prominent in the history of Ohio.

A vote of thanks was tendered to the widow of the late Hon. Roscoe Conkling, for a portion of Mr. Conkling's library which she has generously donated to the society. A number of resident members were elected; and W. D. Tisdale, Dr. E. C. Mann, and Professor B. S. Terry of Madison University, were elected corresponding members.

TARRYTOWN HISTORICAL SOCIETY—
On the evening of April 30, the anniversary of the inauguration of Washington as President of the United States, a historical society was formally organized in the village of Tarrytown, with Dr. R. B. Coutant president, and James T. Law secretary. This society, which is duly incorporated under the laws of the state of New York, is called the Tarrytown Historical Society. Its object is to make a collection of books, manuscripts, pictures, historic remains, and various other memorials bearing upon local and national history, for the purpose of preserving the same, promoting public inter-

est in the history of the country, and under proper rule and regulations making the collection available to the public.

It is the intention of the society to publish from time to time rare and curious manuscripts, and interesting accounts of the history and traditions of Tarrytown and its vicinity.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, at its meeting on the 14th of May, General Horatio Rogers in the chair, listened to a paper on the "Curiosities of Historical Portraiture" from Hon. William J. Hoppin, ex-secretary of the American legation in London. Among the many illustrations of his theme Mr. Hoppin cited instances where the artists in the past ages introduced portraits of themselves and their friends in sacred mythological or historical subjects. He afterward mentioned cases where the portrait of one man was used in making the picture of another, and when one man had actually sat for the likeness of another long since dead. He alluded to the portrait of Charles the First, by Van Dyck, lately purchased by the British Government, as a curiosity of portraiture, not only on account of its artistic merit, but of the immense price which was paid for it. He spoke of the fact that the accuracy of Van Dyck's portraits of the king was tested by a comparison with the monarch's remains exhumed in 1813, and quoted other instances where posthumous studies had been or might have been made for artistic purposes.

THE MINISINK VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY held an interesting meeting on the 28th of May, the president, Rev.

S. W. Mills, D.D., presiding. The paper of the evening was read by Rev. A. A. Haines of Hamburg, New Jersey, which gave at length the early history of the Wellings of Warwick, showing the ancestry of Colonel John Hathorn, the subject of the paper, who was a soldier and patriot of the Revolution, born in Delaware in 1749. He was appointed colonel of a regiment of Orange militia in 1775, and his career was one of unusual interest.

THE LINNEAN SOCIETY met April 6, Vice-President Dr. J. S. Stahr occupying the chair. The donations to the museum consisted of an iron candlestick and an odd-shaped corn-sheller, both of the last century, donated by Mr. William Roeting of Elizabethtown. An edition of Pope's *Dunciad*, printed in 1769, was donated by Dr. S. S. Rathvon. John K. Small donated sixty-one specimens of plants to the county herbarium. The donations to the library consisted of the transactions of the American Philosophical Society and also of the Academy of Natural Sciences, current numbers of the *U. S. Patent Office Gazette*, odd numbers of magazines, prospectuses, etc. Mrs. A. F. Eby filed a list of corrections in Mr. Small's list as read at the January meeting, and also reported seven new plants as having been found by her in the county. It was reported that the county herbarium had been rearranged and the specimens poisoned by Mr. J. K. Small, and a vote of thanks was tendered him for his labor. After the transaction of some miscellaneous business the society adjourned to meet on Saturday, May 25, at 2.30 P.M.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

It is an interesting description of Thoreau, by William Ellery Channing, that has caught Mr. Stedman's eye to perpetuate in his *Literature of the Republic*. "In height, he was about the average; in his build, spare, with limbs that were rather longer than usual, or of which he made a longer use. His face once seen could not be forgotten. The features were quite marked; the nose aquiline or very Roman, like one of the portraits of Cæsar (more like a beak, as was said); large, overhanging brows above the deepest-set blue eyes that could be seen, in certain lights, and in others gray—eyes expressive of all shades of feeling, but never weak or near-sighted; the forehead not usually broad or high, full of concentrated energy and purpose; the mouth with prominent lips, pursed up with meaning and thought when silent, and giving out when open a stream of the most varied and unusual and instructive sayings. His hair was a dark brown, exceedingly abundant, fine and soft; and for several years he wore a comely beard. His whole figure had an active earnestness, as if he had no moment to waste. The clenched hand betokened purpose. In walking he made a short cut if he could, and when sitting in the shade or by the wall-side seemed merely the clearer to look forward into the next piece of activity. Even in the boat he had a wary, transitory air, his eyes on the outlook—perhaps there might be ducks, or the Blondin turtle, or an otter, or a sparrow."

Channing further speaks of Thoreau as a "plain man in his features and dress, one who could not be mistaken. This kind of plainness is not out of keeping with beauty. He sometimes went so far as homeliness, which again, even if there be a prejudice against it, shines out at times beyond a vulgar sense. No person was easier misapplied by the cultivated class than Thoreau. Singular traits run through his writing. His sentences will bear study; meanings not detected at the first glance, subtle hints which the writer himself may not have foreseen, appear. It is a good English style, growing out of choice reading and familiarity with the classic writers, with the originality adding a piquant humor and unstudied felicities of diction. He was not in the least degree an imitator of any writer, old or new, and with little of his times or their opinions in his books. No matter where he might have lived or under what circumstances, he would have been a writer; he was made for this by all his tendencies of mind and temperament; a writer because a thinker and even a philosopher, a lover of wisdom."

There is so much written at this time about literature and literary work that the comments of T. W. Higginson will be read with interest: "If it be said that literary people must live, and that literature is a precarious means of support, the obvious reply would be that all means of income are precarious, and literature no more so than the rest. Whatever employment one chooses, he must take the risk of failure in it. Many a lawyer has literally almost no clients; many a physician has hardly any patients: and why should a writer expect to be more secure? His possible prizes in money are not so great as the lawyer's, probably, but they are greater than those of the physician or the clergyman;

and the blanks are less, on the whole, than in either of these occupations. I have known men of all these professions who were absolutely unemployed. A lawyer of unusual attainments, returning in middle life to the home of his youth, told me that for one year he had not a single client, great or small ; he did not so much as draw a will or a deed. I have never known a decently equipped literary man or woman to be left thus hopelessly stranded : there was always something to be earned, even at a low price. Apparently the bitterest of these complaints emanate from literary men in large cities who live face to face with the vast successes of the stock exchange, and cannot be satisfied so long as the nation does not furnish them with corresponding incomes. They do not recognize that perhaps it is poverty which has drawn out of them whatever approach to genius they have shown ; and that if they gained the millions which they seem to themselves to deserve, perhaps the genius might vanish, like the song of a canary which is fed too well."

The methods of literary production are an interesting study apart from their results. Many original and profound thinkers cannot work in the midst of a noise. Antiquity furnishes innumerable instances where light was considered an obstacle to the action of the mind. In Plutarch's time they showed a subterraneous place of study built by Demosthenes, where he often staid continuously for two or three months at a time. Malebranche darkened his apartment whenever he wrote. Lord Chesterfield, acting on the same principle, advised that his pupil—whose attention was diverted by every passing object—should be instructed in a darkened apartment. But then we come to Haydn, who would never sit down to compose without being in full dress, with his great diamond ring on his finger, and the finest paper lying near upon which to copy his musical compositions. When Rousseau was writing his celebrated romance, he was curiously inspired by some rose-colored knots of ribbon that tied his portfolio, and also with his elegant paper and brilliant ink ; while Cumberland's liveliest comedy, *The West Indian*, was purposely written in an unfurnished room close in front of an Irish turf-stack, because brilliant rooms and pleasant prospects distracted his attention. For fifty years a secluded, naked apartment, with only a desk, chair, and sheet of paper was the study of Buffon. Wolf, the German metaphysician, resolved his algebraic problems in bed and in darkness. Poets, we are told, in all ages of the world, have conceived their best work in the silence of night.

BOOK NOTICES

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LOCAL CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By GEORGE E. HOWARD. Vol. I. Development of the Township, Hundred, and Shire. [Extra Volume IV. of Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Edited by Herbert B. Adams.] 8vo, pp. 526. Baltimore, Maryland. 1889. Publication Agency of the Johns Hopkins University.

The motto of this excellent work, "History is past politics, and politics present history," is the key to its varied and instructive contents. The author in his opening paragraph says: "One of the most interesting and important results of the study of comparative sociology is the disclosure of the fact that the family and not the individual was the unit of ancient society. But the ancient or patriarchal family was something quite different from the modern. In the first place it was a much more extended group, embracing under the headship of the eldest valid ascendant all agnatic descendants and all persons united to it by adoption, as well as clients and other dependents. Again, the authority of the house-father was of a most despotic character, though exercised during his entire lifetime over even the married sons and their wives and children; the patriarch's arbitrary commands were originally the only forms of law. The family was the germ from which have been evolved, as in concentric circles, all the forms of political organism." The first chapter of this volume deals with the clan, which was no artificial product, with the old English town organization, showing how by an interesting but entirely natural process it was transformed into the manor, and with the growth and development of the ancient parish, and its constitutional government. In the second chapter we come to the rise of the New England town, which was a continuity in general outline with that of the mother country, and we catch the drift of its relation to the General Court—the source of authority. The township in the Middle and Southern colonies forms the third chapter, and the reader is shown how the feudal tenures of continental Europe were transplanted to the province of New York, together with the general features of the early parishes in Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, of which that of Virginia was the most complete reproduction of the contemporary English parish, and a general model for its neighbors. The manorial institutions attained their fullest development in Maryland. The fourth chapter, which closes part

I., treats of the rise of the township in the western states, and is one of the most interesting studies in the volume. Part II. and Part III. are devoted successively to the "Hundred" and the "Shire." The seventh chapter is entitled "The Rise of the County in the New England Colonies," and the evolution of the courts fills some of its best pages. In the tenth chapter we find the "genesis of the commissioner system in the Northwest Territory," and a full account of the functions of the county officers. Twenty-three pages are devoted to a general list of the authorities cited, which will prove invaluable to the future student, and the work is provided with a good index.

THE STORY OF OHIO. By ALEXANDER BLACK. [The Story of the States. Edited by Elbridge S. Brooks.] 8vo, pp. 326. Boston: D. Lothrop & Company.

This bright and readable story of the rise and development of the great state of Ohio deserves unqualified praise. The field being so large, and the famous liberty-giving ordinance of 1787 has been so thoroughly engrossing to the writers of Ohio history heretofore, that the condensation of historic material into a picturesque and captivating narrative is a marvel of literary skill. Mr. Black has popularized his theme without sacrificing any part of its trustworthy character. Young people will read because the pages of his book are attractive, and when they have finished the work something will be left in their minds of permanent value. The settlement of Marietta is very pleasantly described, and the illustration of the arrival of the pioneers on page 95 is much better than the average picture in similar histories. In sketching figures of the men and women of a hundred years ago, the ordinary artist is inclined to represent them as old and ugly, whereas they were in the flush and vigor of youth at the time represented, and many of them of exceptional personal beauty. This was especially true of the first settlers on the Ohio river, many of whose portraits are treasured by their descendants. The author touches Ohio's material progress, and the later and present condition of the state, which now stands first among the states in the value of farming land, second in the number of farms of all sizes, and third in the number of dwellings, manufactories, and in the capital employed in railroads. He writes of Ohio's educational system, of her three hundred colleges and academies, of her newspapers, her literary children, her musical and artistic movements and of her many distinguished statesmen. He says: "Ohio has sent four men to the White House, two to the chief

chair in the Supreme Court of the States, and three of her generals were by congress for special honors conferred on no other military heroes since Washington. It has long since become a national motto of Ohio 'grows presidents' as readily as wheat. 'Ohio understands the presidential game so well,' said Chauncey M. Depew in his speech, 'that she has not only arranged it within her borders, but she has studied its history and the peculiarity of presidential politics so as to put somebody wherever it is due to strike.' "

FISHERIES AND FISHERY INDUSTRIES OF THE UNITED STATES. GEORGE BROWN GOODE, and a staff of assistants. Section v., vol. ii. History and Statistics of the Fisheries, in two volumes, with an atlas of two hundred and fifty-five plates. Square quarto, pp. 881. Government Printing Office. Washington, D. C.

is one of the most interesting issues yet published from the commissioners of fisheries, and serves to give the public a mass of valuable information condensed within its covers.

It is difficult to particularize in a work of this magnitude, which contains so much that is new, but every one interested in fisheries will find it. It leads the "History and Present Condition of the Fishery," by A. Howard Clark. The section in regard to "Whale Fishery" is particularly interesting, and the same writer furnishes a chapter on the "Black Fish and Porpoise Fisheries," and the "Pacific Walrus Fishery." Henry W. Elliot describes the "Fur Seal Industry of Alaska," "The Sea Lion and the Sea Otter Fishery." James W. Smith writes of the "Fur Seal Industry of the Territory," Washington Territory; and A. Clark discusses the "Antarctic Fur Seal Industry," and the "Atlantic Seal Fishery." Frederick W. Mearns writes of the turtle and terrapin fisheries; Ernest Ingersoll of the oyster, clam, and kindred industries; and Richard D. Smith of the sponge fishery and trade. The work is a large-sized volume in itself, and its contents are excellent.

CLIMATE RESORTS, with notes upon the climate. By BUSHROD W. JAMES, M.D. 8vo, pp. 285. Philadelphia: F. A. Davis. 1889. This book is intended for invalids and those who wish to preserve good health in a suitable

climate. It is laden with information of the most useful and valuable character. It does not aim at a scientific consideration of the many-sided subject of climatology, but furnishes the knowledge which thousands desire regarding the climate in various sections of the country, and defines the route for pleasant summer trips. Of the interior of California, the protection from cold insures a warm winter—the temperature resembles that of South Italy. "The climate of mountainous regions," we are told, "possesses certain characteristics, such as diminished air pressure, decreased temperature, increased electric tension, dryness and purity of air, as well as abundance of ozone and sunshine." The description of the numerous mountain resorts is very interesting. Each has its peculiar attractions, of which the author proceeds to speak in detail. The White Mountains of New Hampshire, the Green Mountains of Massachusetts and Vermont, the Adirondacks of New York, the Catskills, the Alleghany and Blue Ridge ranges, Mauch Chunk in Pennsylvania, the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevadas, all pass in review. Of the Yosemite valley he says: "The health-seeker can find in this valley ample opportunity for rest and recreation for a greater part of the summer, in exploring the gorges, climbing the cliffs and mountain-sides, visiting the beautiful lakes, fishing, gunning, and roaming around among the scenes of beauty that here abound." The work contains a superb map of the United States and Mexico, which is in itself worth the price of the volume.

A LIBRARY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE, from the earliest settlement to the present time. Compiled and edited by EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN and ELLEN MACKAY HUTCHINSON. In ten volumes. Vol. VII. Royal 8vo, pp. 582. New York: Charles L. Webster & Co. 1889.

This important library of literature is now rapidly approaching completion. The seventh volume is devoted to the period from 1835 to 1860, and embraces selections from the works of many well-known authors and scholars. It opens with the poem "Old Ironsides," by Oliver Wendell Holmes, and the reader then turns thirty-seven pages of the varied writings, grave and gay, of this gifted American, all of which may be studied with fresh interest by his admirers. An extract from Elihu Burritt's autobiography is wisely placed upon record in this collection; a sketch of Margaret Fuller is given as an example of the literary work of William Henry Channing; a tribute to Abraham Lincoln represents Cassius M. Clay; three selections from his lectures introduce Wendell Phillips;

three from his speeches, Charles Sumner; and eighteen pages are devoted to the productions of Horace Greeley. We have Mr. Greeley's characteristic letter to Forney, where he says: "You know my inveterate conviction that a journal that cannot support itself can support nothing else that is good; that all journals that need bolstering ought to die, and so strengthen those that have inherent vitality; that Washington city is the great mistake of our country, and in good part because it seems to require a press essentially parasitical, or dependent on some sort of government or partisan subsidy. If every journal that does not pay from its legitimate income were annihilated to-morrow, I feel sure that it would be a blessed thing for the country"; also his letter to President Lincoln urging emancipation, entitled "The Prayer of Twenty Millions"; and his "Literature as a Vocation." Ample space is given to Harriet Beecher Stowe's popular stories—some twenty-five pages—the quotations from "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and "Sam Lawton" being happily chosen. Henry Ward Beecher is represented by numerous selections from his sermons and political speeches, of which nothing is more noteworthy than his discourse "On the Death of Lincoln." John Lothrop Motley also, "The Fall of Antwerp" being perhaps the most characteristic of his writings which appear in the compilation. From Parke Godwin there is an extract from his brilliant address at the reception of Henry Irving by the New York Goethe society in 1888; Elizabeth Cady Stanton is commemorated with "A Plea for Woman Suffrage"; John Godfrey Saxe by his poems "The Way of the World" and the "Briefless Barrister"; and Hon. John Jay by an extract from his address to the Union League club in 1866, entitled "Happy Results from a Policy of Justice."

James Russell Lowell holds a proud place among the authors represented in this volume, not less than thirty-four pages being devoted to selections from his poetic and prose writings. It is all good, but nothing is more readable than the extract from his sketch of Wordsworth. He says: "Take from Wordsworth all which an honest criticism cannot but allow, and what is left will show how truly great he was. He had no humor, no dramatic power, and his temperament was of that dry, juiceless quality, that in all his published correspondence you shall not find a letter, but only essays. If we consider carefully where he was most successful, we shall find that it was not so much in description of natural scenery, or delineation of character, as in vivid expression of the effect produced by external objects and events upon his own mind,

and of the shape and hue (perhaps momentary) which they in turn took from his mood and temperament. His finest passages are always monologues. He had a fondness for particulars, and there are parts of his poems which remind us of local histories in the undue relative importance given to trivial matters. He was the historian of Wordsworthshire. This power of particularization (for it is as truly a power as generalization) is what gives such vigor and greatness to single lines and sentiments of Wordsworth, and to poems developing a single thought or sentiment. It was this that made him so fond of the sonnet." Among the writers on religious subjects who appear, in this volume are Noah Porter, the great educator, and Philip Schaff, of the Theological Seminary. General W. T. Sherman is represented by an extract from his account of the "Beginning of the March to the Sea"; General U. S. Grant by an extract from his "Personal Memoirs." Some excellent selections appear from the works of J. G. Holland, of which is "Self Help," in which that eminent scholar says: "Labor, calling, profession, scholarship, and artificial and arbitrary distinctions of all sorts, are incidents and accidents of life, and pass away. It is only manhood that remains, and it is only by manhood that man is to be measured. When this proposition shall be comprehended and accepted, it will become easy to see that there is no such thing as menial work in this world. No work that God sets a man to do—no work to which God has specially adapted a man's powers—can properly be called either menial or mean. The man who blacks your boots and blacks them well, and who engages in that variety of labor because he can do it better than he can do anything else, may have, if he choose, just as sound and true a manhood as you have, not only after he gets through the work of his life, but now, with your boots in one hand and your shilling in the other. There is very much dirtier work done in politics, and sometimes in the professions, than that of blacking boots; work, too, which destroys manhood, or renders its acquisition impossible." From Edwin Percy Whipple's charming literary productions are extracts from "The Shakespearean World," the "Judicious Hooker," and "Webster as a Master of English Style"; from Charles A. Dana's writings, "Greeley as a Journalist," and "Roscoe Conkling"; from Samuel Osgood, "Hours of Sleep and Hours of Study." We might, if space permitted, make further pertinent reference to the varied contents of this particular volume, but enough has been said to show their general and useful character.

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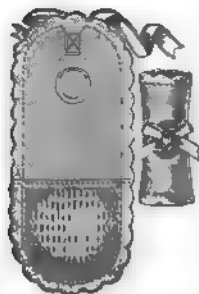
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Surplus at four per cent.,	\$7,940,063 63
Increase in Surplus,	\$1,645,622 11
Policies in force,	158,369
Increase during year,	17,426
Policies written,	32,606
Increase during year,	10,301
Risks assumed,	\$103,214,261 32
Increase during year,	33,756,792 95
Risks in force,	482,125,184 36
Increase during year,	54,496,251 85
Receipts from all sources,	26,215,932 52
Increase during year,	3,096,010 06
Paid Policy-holders,	14,727,550 22

THE ASSETS ARE INVESTED AS FOLLOWS:

Bonds and Mortgages,	\$49,617,874 02
United States and other securities,	48,616,704 14
Real Estate and Loans on collateral,	21,786,125 34
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,	2,813,277 60
Interest accrued, Premiums deferred and in transit, etc.,	3,248,172 46
	\$126,082,153 56

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

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Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Surplus.
1884 . . .	\$34,681,420 . . .	\$351,789,285 . . .	\$4,743,771
1885 . . .	46,507,139 . . .	368,981,441 . . .	5,012,684
1886 . . .	56,832,719 . . .	393,809,203 . . .	5,643,568
1887 . . .	69,457,468 . . .	427,628,933 . . .	6,294,442
1888 . . .	103,214,261 . . .	482,125,184 . . .	7,940,063

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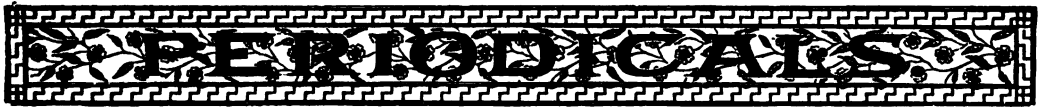
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A Hamilton

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AUGUST, 1889

No. 2

THE CAREER OF A BENEFICENT ENTERPRISE

ONE HUNDRED AND FOUR YEARS OF INTERESTING WORK

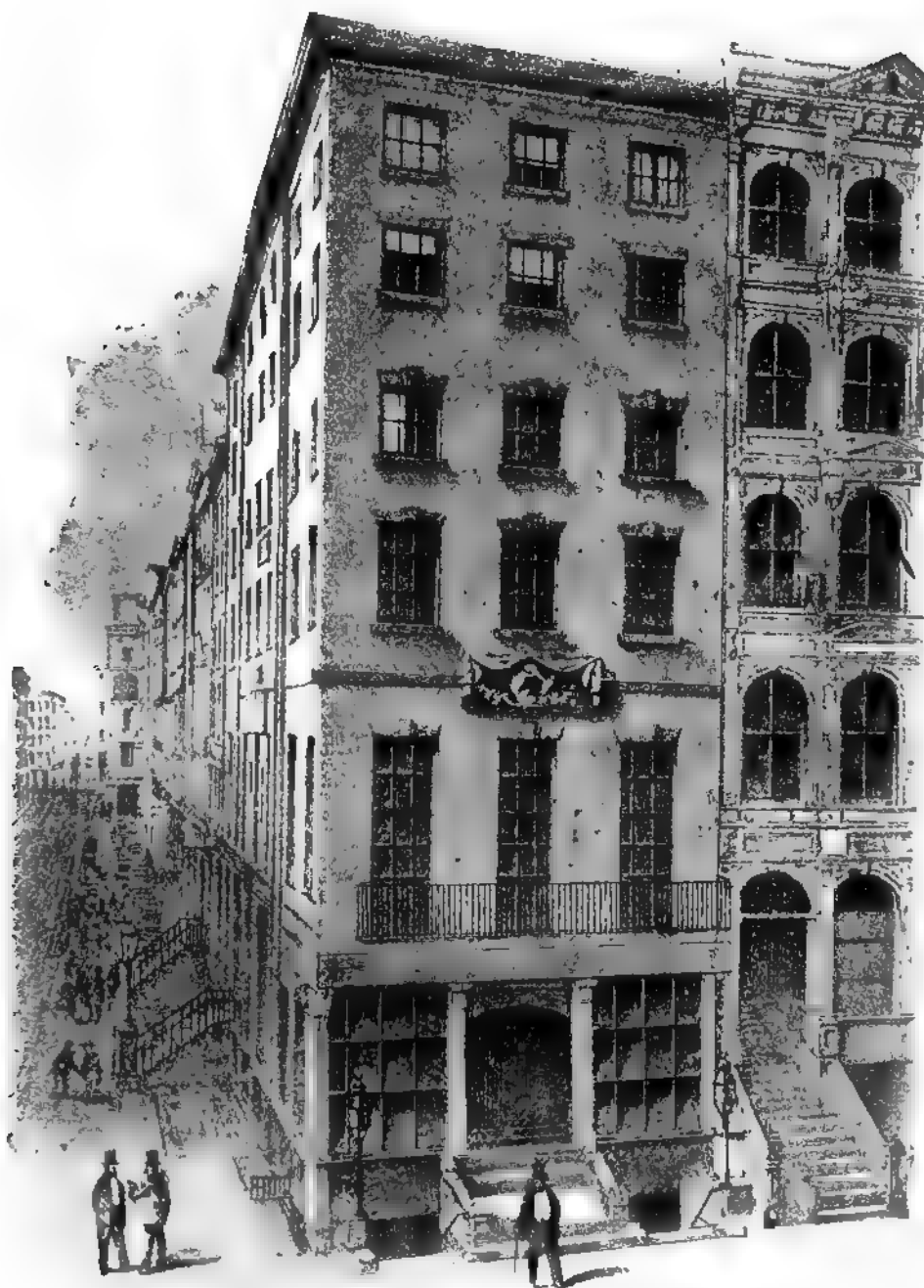
THE condition of affairs after the British army evacuated New York in November, 1783, was depressing in the extreme—particularly for all those whose sources of income had been destroyed by the disturbances of the Revolution. There was plenty of work for mechanics and laborers, and there was no lack of men who were ready and willing to work, but employers were scarce. Private purses and the public treasury were alike empty. Even when employment was obtained, the pay was small and uncertain.

It was a costly victory that had been won. Death had entered almost every domestic circle during the war. Many homes were found a mere pile of ashes, while the dwellings that remained standing were bruised and dismantled; gardens and grounds were covered with débris and a rank growth of noxious weeds, and churches and public buildings bore the terrible scars of their seven years' usage as riding schools and hospitals. The want of money in this emergency was the severest of all embarrassments. The character of the city charter was not changed, and the new mayor, James Duane, was untiring in his efforts to restore property; but the removal and loss of records and securities occasioned the most painful delays, and business of every kind—except litigation—revived slowly.

Toward the end of the first year the prospect was dimly brightened, and with the winter congress came and took its seat in the old city hall in Wall street. By this time the genius of Hamilton had originated the first banking institution in New York, which had commenced modest operations in June, 1784, under "articles of association," with a board of directors, although it did not receive its charter until 1791. Its first president was General Alexander McDougall, its first cashier William Seton, and its first home was in the old Walton house in Franklin square. In the spring of 1785 an event of consequence thrilled New York from centre to circumference. It was the successful return of the *Empress*, the first vessel ever sent from the United States to China, and it brought the

and has proven itself such a blessing to the world, are the more strikingly suggestive and worthy of close study from their contrast with the present substantial character of the institution then founded for charity's sweet sake. It broadened its scope as time went on, took an active part in mechanical developments and educational matters, and acquired property of value. Its income has in some years been as high as \$70,000; it is now, in 1889, nearly \$40,000, some of its capital having been absorbed in the purchase and erection of buildings. Its assets are said to be nearly three quarters of a million dollars. All through it has been guided in its course by men of sound judgment and rare intelligence—men who fully understood what lay at the foundation of the prosperity of great communities. It has practiced the wisest of all charities—that of helping men and women to help themselves. Its power and influence have been exceedingly fruitful in results, and it has brought out many of our best and most trustworthy citizens. The mere outline steps in its significant progress read like summer fiction. It was founded, as we have seen, in 1785, four years before the nation's actual birth, and when there was a total absence of executive authority in the conduct of American affairs; was incorporated by the legislature of the state, March 14, 1792; purchased the lot in Broadway, corner of Park place, and laid the corner-stone of its own Mechanics' Hall in 1802; founded the Mechanics' Bank, now at 33 Wall street, easily distinguished by the emblem of the society over its door, in 1810; established a Mechanics' School and founded the Apprentices' Library in 1820; opened instructive courses of lectures in 1833; founded a public reading-room in 1856, free to every one without any restriction whatever, fully supplied with daily and weekly papers and popular periodicals and magazines; and in 1878 removed to its new and spacious building, formerly the Suydam mansion, 18 East Sixteenth street, where in its enlarged sphere of usefulness its well-managed library of nearly eighty thousand volumes occupies a prominent place, and its evening schools of free-hand drawing, mechanical and architectural draughting, modeling, designing from objects of art, type-writing and stenography are in successful operation.

At the annual meeting of the society in 1787, John Campbell, one of its founders—the grandfather of Peter Cooper—was elected chairman, and he was re-elected the following year. He was succeeded by Anthony Post in 1789. After the election on that occasion the members dined together, and such was their appreciation of the influence of social gatherings that an annual dinner became one of the features of the institution. On the incorporation of the body titles were changed, and the presiding officer was henceforward called president. The initiation fee was increased



FIRST MECHANICS' HALL, PARK PLACE AND BROADWAY, 1866.

being nearly as much as the cost of the land and erection of the first Mechanics' Hall. The two buildings on the same site vividly illustrate the advance of ideas as well as material resources between the years 1802 and 1870.

The founding of the Mechanics' Bank by this society in 1810 was an enlightened movement and created no little applause, for up to that period only three banks had been chartered in New York, it not being easy to obtain bank charters unless for the best of reasons; hence, this was esteemed a very valuable franchise. The incentive was to benefit mechanical interests, the charter providing that \$600,000 of the stock should be offered to mechanics of the state of New York in preference to any one else—an opportunity by no means overlooked by a large number, whose descendants have little cause to regret the investment. For many years seven of the bank directors were by the terms of the charter chosen from the members of this society, whose president was an *ex-officio* member of the board; and of that number four must actually follow a mechanical profession. At the outbreak of the war of 1812, this bank, which then had the largest capital of any banking institution in New York, came promptly to the rescue of the government.

The Mechanics' School was instituted in 1820 for the gratuitous education of the children of unfortunate or deceased mechanics and tradesmen, and although at first confined to this special class of pupils, it was found to be such a good school and so admirably conducted that, upon application, other children were admitted on the payment of a moderate sum for tuition. But who paid and who did not was never known among the scholars, and no distinction existed, the poorer children having precisely the same advantages as their more affluent classmates. Rooms were hired at first in a building on the corner of Chatham street and Tryon row; but the society wanted a schoolhouse of its own, and it leased from the city for sixty years a plot of ground in Chambers street, upon which it erected the building that is still standing—Nos. 10, 12, 14. The corner-stone was laid June 13, 1821, with much ceremony, and the structure was dedicated November 26 of the same year as the "Mechanics' Institution." The school became very popular, and through a greater part of its thirty-eight years of existence was self-supporting. It had a classical department, and so high was its course of instruction that its graduates were in demand as teachers for other schools. In 1841 it was reported that forty of the young women who had graduated were teachers in public and other schools in New York. The university of the city and Columbia college both extended the privilege of free scholarships to this noble institution.

learned Professor Anthon agreed to have always six scholars from the Mechanics' Society in a course of successive preparation for college in his school, free of all charge for tuition, that they might avail themselves of the proffered scholarships. The whole scheme was uplifting, and its moral effects immeasurable. In an address before the society in 1850, the famous Mordecai M. Noah said: "How are we to account for the rapid progress of our country in arts, civilization, literature, commerce, and science? By our free institutions, the quality of our laws, and, above all, by that free education which visits all alike, from the cottage to the palace. What has led to this prosperous current which is carrying us ahead of all our sister states and cities? Our commerce on the one hand, and the enterprise and laborious industry of our mechanics on the other. The time has arrived when it has become apparent that the destinies of our country are to be placed under the control of the mechanics and laboring men. Well-educated mechanics will fill our legislatures and the halls of congress; their numerical strength will accumulate until they are able to command the highest stations in the government. In what are we to confide—in what will be our guarantee for the safety of the country? I answer, in the education and intelligence of this class of our citizens. The President of the United States was a mechanic—an apprentice boy, as many of my hearers have been.* True, in after life he studied law, and was a successful practitioner; but he carried into that study and into that practice and into the high station he now adorns the elements of patient industry acquired when he was an apprentice. Should not this important fact stimulate us to aid the apprentice in educating himself, in strengthening his mind, and enlarging his sphere of usefulness? It is our duty to place this Mechanics' School and this Apprentices' Library among the great benevolent institutions of our city. To the poor we give food and raiment, to the widow a home, to the blind and insane an asylum; but to the apprentice we give the means of education, the light of intellect, the power to govern himself and to govern others. We place him at the base of the pedestal, from which, step by step, he may advance to the highest honors which our country offers." The Mechanics' School was not discontinued until 1858, when the increasing merits of the public school system rendered it no longer necessary. The society then established the present free evening school, to enable those engaged in daily occupations to study the mechanical arts.

* Millard Fillmore was elevated to the Presidential chair through the death of President Taylor in 1850. At an early age he was sent from home to learn the clothier's trade, and about four months later was apprenticed to a wool-carder in the town where his father lived.

The Apprentices' Library was founded at the same time as the Mechanics' School, in 1820, and it has carried light and pleasure and information into thousands of homes. This circulating library had been for some time contemplated, and was opened with about four hundred books, in the same building as the school, it having been ascertained by consulting with employers and visiting the various workshops of the city that not less than seven hundred and forty apprentices would like at once to become readers. The new library was accessible in the evening only, the books being received and delivered by a member of the society. But in 1854 a librarian was employed, and ever since then the library has been open daily from eight o'clock in the morning until nine in the evening. Even before the advent of a librarian it was estimated that fourteen thousand volumes were loaned four times in twelve months. At the end of a dozen years the Chambers street building was found too small, and the society purchased a three-story brick school-building in Crosby street—including ground (100 x 100) and furniture—for \$20,000, and rented the Chambers street house for offices, continuing in receipt of the income until 1881 when the property reverted to the city. At the time the library was removed along with the school, in October, 1832, to its new home in Crosby street, it contained about ten thousand volumes. In 1837 the continued progress of the society was marked by the building of a lecture-room. A wing was added to each side of the school-building, at a cost of nearly \$10,000, and courses of lectures were established for the winter months. Professor Renwick of Columbia college delivered ten lectures on chemistry and natural philosophy; Dr. Harvey, ten on eloquence and general literature; Colonel Knapp, four on miscellaneous themes, and Rev. Dr. Spring and others volunteered several excellent lectures. These were largely attended and proved so acceptable that similar courses have been provided every winter season from that time to this. The society presently desired an entrance to its library and lecture-room from Broadway, and in 1845 purchased the building at 472 Broadway, which was duly ornamented with the hammer and hand, and altered so as to connect in the rear with the Crosby street property. About the same time the legacy of the entire library of Benjamin De Milt, nearly two thousand volumes, added greatly to the value of the collection; and there were other generous gifts of money and books. An unexpected source of income came through the leasing of the lecture-room to the original Christy minstrels, which continued for over twenty-five years notwithstanding numerous members of the society regarded the scheme with disfavor. Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, at the centennial banquet of the

society in 1885, made some very happy allusions to his first acquaintance with this library. His father was a member of the society, and took him to visit it when he was eleven years of age. He was captivated. He said, "For the first time in my life I saw books beyond the wildest dream of my fancy. I said to my father, 'I am your apprentice, so I can have some of these books?' He replied, 'You can take books; you can take them on my account.' Then and there I took my first book; I carried it home, and I shall never forget the impression that that book made upon me. I had heard a great deal of Shakespeare, and I wished to begin with him. The first play I read was *The Tempest*. I diligently took volume after volume, until I had read every play of Shakespeare. I am bound to say that, while at that age I could not understand fully the scope of what I read, nevertheless the books I thus took from the Apprentices' Library developed a taste for study which was the foundation of after tastes, and until I went to college I was a regular participant in the advantages of the library. I attended the first course of lectures given by Professor Renwick on chemistry. I am convinced that the courses of lectures given by this society have done much to educate the young men of this country in the application of science to business. The influence of this society was certainly very great, indeed, when it moved one of its members to found the Cooper Institute." Chief Justice Charles P. Daly, who presided at this memorable dinner, also said, "Fifty-seven years ago I was admitted as a mechanic's apprentice to take books out of the library, and had the use of it during the five years of my apprenticeship. To the means of self-instruction then afforded I attribute the future course and avocation of my life; and as I am now within a month of retiring from a judicial office that I have occupied for more than forty-one years, I have a feeling of deep gratitude to an institution that afforded me this assistance in my unaided youth." Ex-Governor John T. Hoffman, in a vein of delicious humor, remarked, "There is a manifest propriety in making Chief Justice Daly your chairman this evening, for not only in early life was he a mechanic's apprentice, but for more than forty years has been on the *bench*, where, as well as in his library which is his workshop, he has been making cases full of books, and books full of cases."

The public reading-room added in 1856 was thoroughly appreciated by earnest readers from the beginning. Attached to it is a special library of reference containing over six thousand volumes; and one need only glance through the society's reports to observe that before the reading-room had been long in existence as many as thirty-six thousand

persons yearly availed themselves of this mine of entertainment and instruction.

But the marvelous growth of New York within two decades from 1856, embracing the period of the civil war in which the society took an active loyal part, rendered it necessary to find a more central location—not below Fourteenth street. The little organization of 1785 was fully abreast with the march of affairs. It had become a great power in the city. It was strong in membership, selected from the most active and intelligent men. It was rich in this world's goods—through prudence and judicious investment. It therefore commenced the laudable undertaking of securing a new site. The choice fell upon a spacious old mansion in Sixteenth street, between Broadway and Fifth avenue, which was purchased, at a cost of \$55,500, for a new Mechanics' Hall. The edifice covers the entire lot ($37\frac{1}{2} \times 181$), and furnished for the time ample accommodations. The alterations, repairs, and furnishing cost the additional sum of \$26,636. The removal and dedication occurred in the early part of 1878, and again the vacated buildings were rented. In reply to a recent inquiry as to how this ancient society acquired such a handsome revenue, the reply was, "Because it never sold a piece of real estate that it once got possession of."

The books in the library have multiplied during each of the sixty-nine years of its existence, until the total count reported March 1, 1889, was seventy-eight thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine. The number circulated for home use during the past year has been two hundred and thirty-three thousand four hundred and ninety-two. Very few books are lost in this method of use, although they wear out naturally much faster than in any other library in the city. Consummate discretion seems to have been exercised in the purchase of books by the successive committees in charge, for nothing appears on the shelves objectionable in character. Here is reading matter suited to all ages and tastes—voyages and travels, books of fiction, wit, and humor, rich stores of history and biography, natural philosophy, mathematics, engineering, the mechanic arts, political and social science, law, theology, medical works, fine arts, poetry, *belles-lettres*, etc. While story-books are sure to attract the largest number of young readers, and they serve a good purpose in whetting the appetite for reading, the statistics show that of the volumes circulated the past year forty-three thousand four hundred and ninety-two have been solid standard works. The picture on opposite page, from a recent photograph, enables us to look into the interior of this library from the quiet of our own dwellings, and see it precisely as it is with the library committee of 1899 in ses-

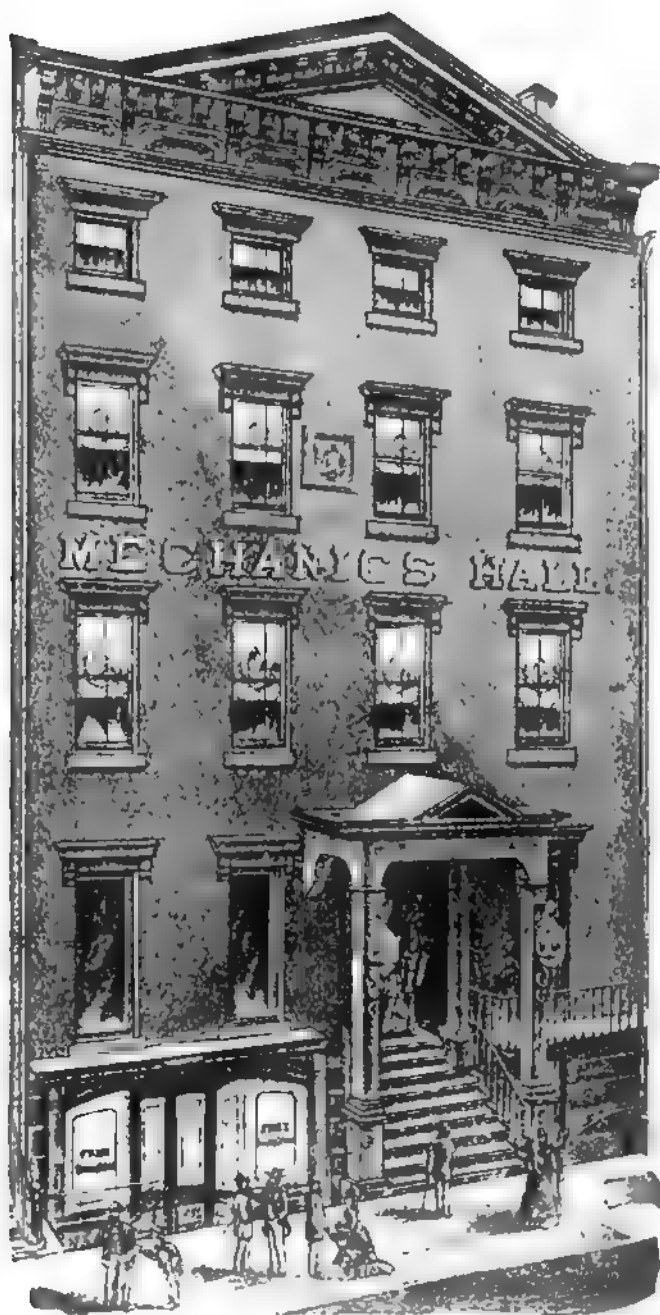


INTERIOR OF APPRENTICES' LIBRARY AT MECHANICS' HALL.

sion.* This library committee is sub-divided into committees of two, whose duties are so arranged that the library is visited by one of them every day in the week. The reading-rooms are commodious and airy, and the working young men and women who frequent them are able through their treasures to keep fully abreast with the times in knowledge and current thought. The number of readers in this department the past year has been upwards of thirty-seven thousand. There is also a reserved reading room for members of the society, handsomely furnished, and bountifully supplied with choice reading matter when desired.

The evening schools founded in 1858 are prosperous to a degree that sounds in the description like a fable. The principal class-rooms are in the great basement of the edifice, and are furnished with every convenience and all needful help in the way of models, etc., for the uses of the young men, and each class is under the care of a competent and faithful teacher employed by the society. Twice as many as can be accommodated apply for these wonderful privileges every year, which indicates the spirit of the workers of the city and the general desire for self-improvement. The accommodation is limited to two hundred and fifty, and a portion attend alternate nights. Four hundred and ninety were admitted to the free drawing school in 1888. An able school committee is chosen yearly from the members of the society, whose present chairman is John L. Hamilton. When it is remembered how much progress has been made in the world through the genius and industry of mechanics, who quickly become skilled in whatever they intelligently undertake, the community may be congratulated upon having this helpful institution in its midst, providing opportunities for those to study in the evening who are obliged to earn their bread during the working hours of the day, and which performs its beneficent work so unostentatiously and successfully. It has long since been conceded that nothing promises to be more fruitful in benefits to the human race than the education of the industrial classes in art and science. There will always be men among them who will rise above the ranks, like Galileo, who discovered that the earth revolved about the sun; or Columbus, who found for us a continent; or Gutenberg, who was the first to develop usefully the art of printing; or Robert Fulton, who applied steam successfully as a motive power in navigation; or Franklin, who

* The names of present library committee are, Joseph J. Little, *Chairman*; William H. Burras, Charles Andruss, Warren A. Conover, William K. O'Brien, James D. Buchanan, William J. Van Arsdale, Eben Peek, Henry W. Redfield, Henry Bessey, Robert Christie, Andrew Little. *Ex Officio*: Robert Rutter, *President*; Albert G. Bogert, Oliver Barrett, *Vice-Presidents*; Stephen M. Wright, *Secretary*; Richard T. Davies, *Treasurer*.



MECHANICS' HALL SINCE 1878, 13 EAST SIXTEENTH STREET.

brought lightning from the clouds; or Horace Greeley, the great editor—all of whom were mechanics. William H. Webb would not have become a great ship-builder but for his mechanical training, and John Roach rose to distinction from the common molders in an iron furnace.

Few, comparatively, are aware that classes of young women, established in the autumn of 1886, are here taught type-writing and stenography, and are graduated with honors when these arts are acquired, receiving diplomas which enable them to obtain employment and very desirable positions. There are two class-rooms set apart for these pupils, one in the pleasant basement and the other in the third story of the building. The most accomplished teachers are provided for them, and their progress in learning is rapid and extremely gratifying. Obligated to work for a livelihood through the day, the evening is their only chance for rest and recreation. Consequently such as possess the taste for learning, and the fortitude and the persistence necessary to enter these classes and complete the entire course of study, deserve great credit. A young woman who cannot command a situation in a store or workshop that will pay her more than from \$4 to \$6 a week, may here fit herself to earn \$15 per week, and in her new sphere find herself in the midst of much more congenial surroundings. There is no fee for tuition; the class-rooms are free to any one who can furnish the requisite testimonial as to character. The only difficulty is that there are twice and three times as many applicants every year as can be accommodated. "If I could only learn stenography I should be able to support myself," remarked with a deep sigh a desponding young woman, after having applied in vain for a remunerative position in a publisher's office. "Why cannot you learn stenography?" was the quick response. "Because until I find work I must nurse a sick aunt to pay my board, and I have no money for tuition even if I had the time to take lessons." She did not know, nor was it known by the kind friends who wished to aid her, that there was an institution right in the heart of our city equipped and ready to meet just such a want—a school where a girl may become an expert in stenography without cost, or without encroaching upon any of the hours designated for other purposes.

Thirty-four young women were graduated in June of the present year from these classes, and the exercises on the occasion were as dignified, imposing, and ceremoniously arranged as at an Oxford or a Harvard commencement. There was a "salutatory" from one of the young women; a "class poem" from another; also "class history," admirably written, and a remarkably clever "valedictory"—all of which were read with

marked effect. Type-writing and shorthand exercises were interspersed through the programme, to the delight of the large and appreciative audience present, as were several addresses from distinguished gentlemen and scholars who had been invited to speak to the class, after which came the awarding of diplomas.

The Mechanics' Society throughout its long and industrious career has been conspicuous for patriotism and public spirit. It has participated in all the notable celebrations of the century, such as the Peace celebration in 1814, the introduction of the Croton water in 1842, the Centennial of Evacuation Day in 1883, and the Washington Centennial of 1889. For many a long year its custom was to celebrate the Fourth of July by public exercises, which included the reading of the Declaration of Independence, and an oration by some distinguished character, followed by a banquet. During the civil war the society was never idle and always loyal to the country. One regiment—the First New York Volunteer Engineer Regiment—was composed exclusively of mechanics, Colonel Serrell commanding. The society with conspicuous ceremony and brilliant addresses presented this regiment a suitable stand of colors in January, 1862, in presence of a large assemblage at the Seventh Regiment armory. These flags were borne honorably through many memorable engagements, and returned in 1865 to the custody of the society, where they are now preserved in a case in Mechanics' Hall. The regiment on reaching New York when the war ended was furnished with comfortable quarters and substantial meals by the society, until it could be paid off and discharged. Among the precious relics which are cherished by this institution, in its present home, is the original flag first displayed in 1795, also several valuable portraits. Nothing is better worth examination, however, than the handsomely written records, particularly those of its first meeting, one hundred and four years ago, which are as perfectly legible as if written to-day, the paper being of that superior quality that practically defies the yellowing processes of time.

The introduction of twelve free scholarships into the New York trade schools is one of the newest features of the educational work of this society, which by the way has never lost sight of its original purposes, nor failed to care for the widow and orphan in a substantial manner. It has taken rank very properly among the best and most efficient philanthropic institutions in the world.

Martha J. Lamb

THE PHILIPSE PATENT IN THE HIGHLANDS

When the early settlers of New York found the "whole world before them where to choose," it was very natural that the most fertile portions should be first selected, while the wild and mountainous localities waited for future occupants. On the east side of the Hudson, lands along the Croton river were granted to Stephanus Van Cortlandt in 1683. Ryck Abrahamse Lent purchased the lands now the southern part of Peekskill, in 1685. The northern part of Peekskill was sold to Hugh McGregory in 1691, while to the north of this, and extending to the Highlands, was a tract patented to John Knight in 1686, and sold by him to Governor Thomas Dongan in 1687; this, with the other purchases (except the Lent patent) were combined in the great patent granted to Stephanus Van Cortlandt in 1697, and known as the "manor of Cortlandt." The north bounds of this tract were described as "running northerly along Hudson river, as the river runs, unto the north side of a high hill called Anthony's Nose to a red cedar tree, which marks the southernmost bounds of the land now in the tenure of Mr. Adolphe Philipse; and from the said red cedar tree another due easterly line running into the woods twenty English miles." This last distance was to the boundary between the colonies of New York and Connecticut as established.

On the 17th of October, 1685, a patent was granted to Francis Rombout, Jacobus Kipp, and Stephanus van Cortlandt for a tract known as the "Rombout patent," described as "situated on the east side of Hudson river at the south side of a creek called the Fish kill and by the Indians Mateawam, thence north along the river five hundred rods beyond the great Woppink kill, thence into the woods four hours going, sixteen English miles, keeping five hundred rods north of Woppink kill. And from the said Fish kill or creek called Mateawam, along the Fish kill into the woods at the foot of the High hills, including all the reed or low lands at the south side of said creek, with an easterly line four hours going, sixteen English miles, thence to north side of Woppink creek (or kill) as aforesaid." On the 22d of April, 1697, a patent was granted to Henry Beekman for "all that tract in Dutchess county, beginning at the north side of the Highlands, at the east of the lands of Colonel Van Cortlandt and company [the Rombout patent] so far as the line between the province of New York and the colony of Connecticut extends" These two

tracts, with the manor of Cortlandt, became the boundaries on the north and south of what was afterward known as the "Philipse patent," and includes what is now Putnam county, New York. The first owners of this patent were Lambert Dorland and Jean Seabrant. These men were among the early emigrants from Holland, and resided on Staten Island. In 1680 the former had a tract of one hundred and thirty acres on the north side of Staten Island, while as early as 1669 the latter is mentioned as having a plantation in the same locality. A license to purchase of "the Indian natives a certain tract or parcell of Land lying on the east side of Hudson



MARY PHILIPSE.—MRS. COLONEL ROGER MORRIS.

[From a portrait by Copley in possession of Rev. F. O. Morris, England.]

river at a place called Butterberge," was granted to "John Rooloof Sylvan," October 26, 1687, and on July 15, 1691, a deed was obtained from the Indians, Anguikenagg, Raentagg, and others, by which they conveyed "to Lambert Dorland and Jean Seabrant All that certain tract in the Highlands beginning at the north side of a certain hill called Anthony's Nose, by a redd cedar tree, and along said river northerly to the land belonging to Stephanus Van Cortlandt and the heirs of Francis Rombout and Guillian VerPlanck, and eastward into the woods, as farr along the said lands to a marked tree, together with Pollepels island." The pur-

chasers of this tract, Dorland and Seabrant, did not obtain a patent for the land, but sold all their right to the premises to Adolphe Philipse, a wealthy merchant of New York, June 16, 1697. In this way began the ownership by the famous family whose name and deeds form so important a portion of the annals of the county, as well as the state of New York. Adolphe Philipse had already made application for a patent, and on June 17, 1697, one was granted by Governor Fletcher, which embraced all the lands described in the foregoing deed, with the very important addition that it was to extend eastwardly to the division line between New York and Connecticut, and for this additional part the new owner procured from the Indians a deed dated August 13, 1702, which included all the land as described in the patent.

Adolphe Philipse, the patentee, continued in possession till the time of his death, which occurred in the latter part of the year 1749. He died intestate, and, as he never married, his estate descended to his nephew Frederick Philipse as heir-at-law. The new owner did not long enjoy his vast estate, but died in 1751, leaving the Highland patent, in equal proportions, to his four younger children—Philip, Susannah (wife of Colonel Beverley Robinson), Mary (afterward wife of Colonel Roger Morris), and Margaret. It was strictly entailed "to their heirs forever," and if either died without lawful issue his or her share was to go to the survivors. Margaret, the youngest child, died at the age of thirteen, and the three first named became the entire owners.

These three owners resolved to divide the patent between them, and first proceeded to take steps to bar the entail. The records and documents in the case are still in existence and are a very curious illustration of the method of procedure in the courts of the olden time. The entail being barred, the owners employed one Jonathan Hampton, a noted surveyor of colonial days, to survey the patent and divide it into nine lots, as shown by the accompanying map. The title of each party was confirmed by duly executed deeds, dated February 7, 1754, but in each of these deeds the "mines and minerals" were reserved, and consequently they remained undivided property. On the 20th of February the same year, Susannah Robinson and her husband, Colonel Beverley Robinson, conveyed her share of the patent (lots 1, 4, and 9) to William Livingston, who two days later conveyed the same to Colonel Beverley Robinson, and he remained the owner till after the Revolution, when his share was confiscated and sold by order of the state, in farms, to persons most of whom were already in possession as tenants.

If any reliance can be placed upon the testimony of tradition and the

description of her contemporaries, Mary Philipse must have been one of the most beautiful and fascinating women of her times, and numbered among her worshiping adorers no less a personage than the illustrious Washington. Her heart and hand were at length won by Colonel Roger Morris, who, as aid to the ill-fated Braddock, had distinguished himself, and was among the wounded in the battle of Monongahela. Previous to their marriage an ante-nuptial contract was executed, by which all the share of Mary Philipse in the Highland patent (lots 3, 5, and 9, with the undivided share of the mines and minerals) was conveyed to Johanna Philipse (mother of Mary Philipse) and Colonel Beverley Robinson, "to



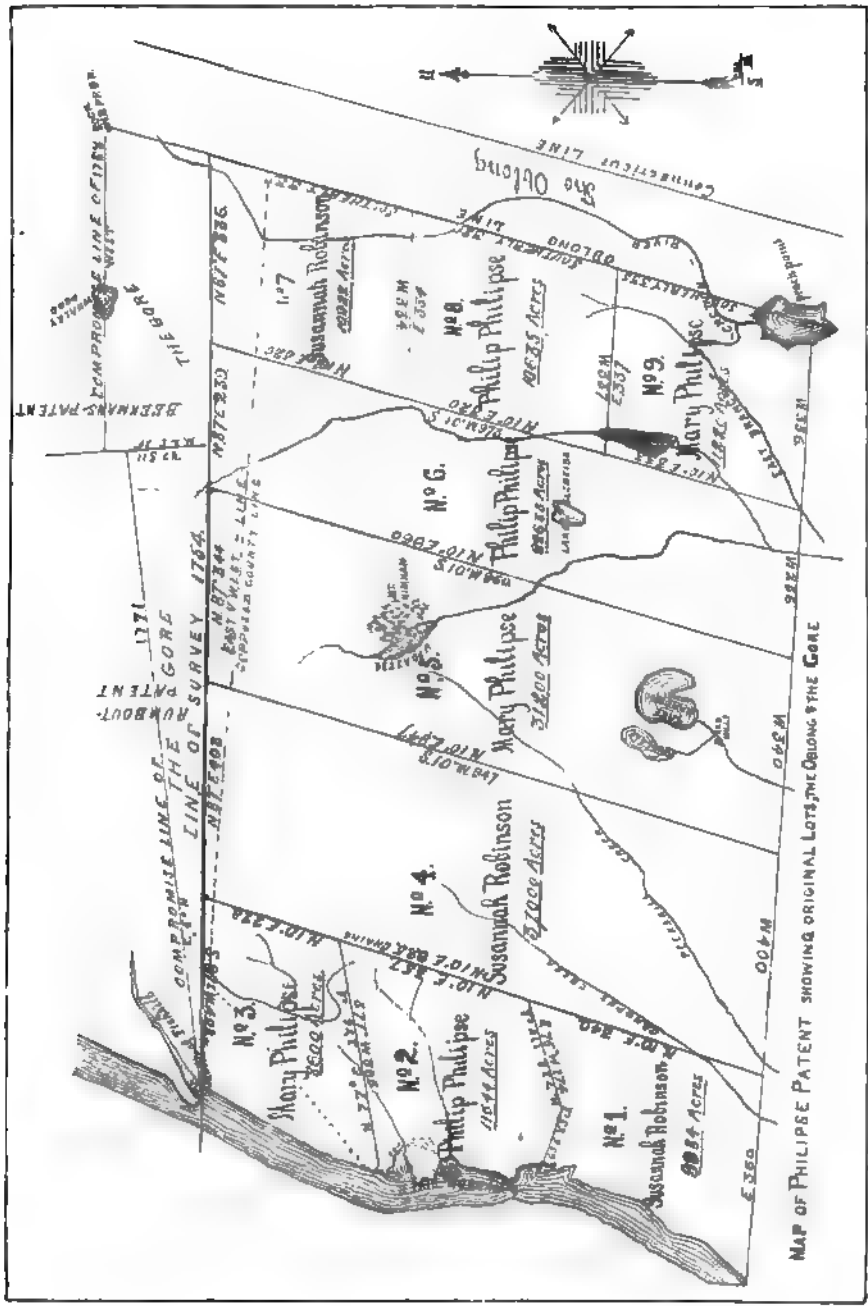
COLONEL ROGER MORRIS.

[From a portrait by West in possession of Rev. F. O. Morris, England.]

the use and behoof of the said Johanna Philipse and Beverley Robinson until the solemnization of the said intended marriage, after which to Mary Philipse and Roger Morris and the survivor of them during their natural lives, and then to the use and behoof of their child or children and his, her, or their heirs and assigns forever." Five days after the execution of this contract (January 19, 1758) the parties were united in marriage at the old manor house at Yonkers, with pomp and splendor worthy of their station and suited to their circumstances. The share of Colonel Roger Morris and his wife, like that of Colonel Beverley Robinson, was confiscated after the Revolution, and they went as exiles to England, from whence

they never returned. The lots, divided into farms, were sold to persons already in possession, who, from being tenants became landlords in a manner that would please the hearts of philosophers of the Herr Most and Henry George school, and the state gave titles which were construed as warranty deeds.

Soon after the Revolution the question was agitated as to what extent the state had the right to confiscate the lands of Mary Morris. It was conceded that it had the power to confiscate her own right, but as that was only a life interest it could not affect the rights of her children. As early as 1787 these children presented a petition to the legislature, stating their claims and praying for relief. The persons who had purchased the farms also became alarmed, and petitions were presented urging that steps be taken to quiet these claims, but nothing definite was done. In 1809 John Jacob Astor purchased from the children of Mary Morris all their title to their mother's share in the patent, and in this way he became the owner of one-third of all the land in Putnam county. Upon the death of Mary Morris, which occurred in 1825, Astor took steps to enforce his claims, by a suit in ejectment in the United States court. The real defendant in this suit was the state of New York, but the nominal defendant was one James Carver, who was in possession of a farm in lot 5, which was sold to his father, Timothy Carver, by the commissioners of forfeitures. The claim of Astor was sustained by the court, and confirmed by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. By act of legislature, April 5, 1832, stock certificates to the amount of \$450,000 with interest were paid to Astor, who with his partners executed deeds to the state for all his rights and claims. Within a few years the question has been raised as to whether the Astor family are not yet the owners of the undivided "mines and minerals" in the other lots, but a careful perusal of the various deeds shows plainly that no such right exists. The portion of the patent which fell to Philip Philipse was left by him to his sons Nathaniel, Adolphe, and Frederick, and to his widow Margaret Philipse, afterward wife of Rev. John Ogilvie, assistant minister of Trinity church. By the death of Nathaniel (who was killed at the battle of Germantown) and of his brother Adolphe, the whole share came into the possession of Frederick Philipse and his daughter Mary, who married Samuel Gouverneur. About 1811 they began to sell farms in the various lots, and the deeds given by them would make a volume of themselves. The only part now remaining to their heirs is a comparatively small part of lot 2 (the mountains called Bull hill being a very conspicuous portion) and one-third of the mines and minerals. The present representatives of the



Philipse family are Mary, wife of John H. Iselin; Margaret, widow of William Moore; Catharine Wadsworth Philipse, and Margaret Gouverneur Philipse—all of whom are at the present time residing in Paris.

The indefinite statement of the south boundaries of the Rombout and the Beekman patents was a source of long and bitter disputes; the owners of these patents claiming that the true boundary was a line running due



A. Philipse

[From a portrait in possession of the Philipse-Gouverneur family, Garrisons, New York.]

east from the south side of Fishkill creek, while the Philipse family claimed with equal pertinacity that the creek itself was their northern boundary. This dispute was settled January 26, 1771, by William Nicoll and Thomas Hicks, who were appointed arbitrators. They decided that a line should begin at the south side of the mouth of the Fishkill and run east six degrees, north sixteen miles, and this should remain the boundary. The triangular lot thus formed was owned by Beverley Robinson, Mary Morris,

and Philip Philipse. The first two shares were confiscated, and by an act passed 1784 the tract was divided into three lots, of which the state of New York had two and the heirs of Philip Philipse one. The last is now the southeast corner of the town of Fishkill.

A similar controversy existed as to the south bounds of the Beekman patent, and on January 18, 1758, Henry Beekman, Catharine Pawling, and Robert Livingston on the one part, and the Philipse family on the other part, "for the ending of all disputes," agreed that a line should be run from the mouth of Fishkill due east to the Oblong, and from this point north along the "Oblong line" two hundred chains, and from thence due west to the rear of the Rombout patent. This tract, like the former, was divided into farms, and after the Revolution the confiscated parts were sold by the state, and the remainder disposed of by the heirs of Philip Philipse.

It is perhaps needless to state that the "Oblong" was a tract of land ceded to New York by Connecticut in return for lands lying next to Long Island sound, and formed no part of the Philipse patent. Politically, the Philipse patent was originally the "South ward of Dutchess county." In 1737 it was established as the "South precinct," and in 1772 was divided into two "precincts," known as Philipse and Fredericksburg, which were made towns in 1780. The whole patent was separated from Dutchess in 1812 and established as Putnam county, and now comprises the towns of Phillipstown, Putnam Valley, Kent, Carmel, Paterson, and Southeast.

William S. Pelletreau.

THE EARLIEST AMERICAN PEOPLE

Editor Magazine of American History :

Apropos of the discussion of the origin of the *Mound Builders*, which has been carried on in the later numbers of your valuable journal, permit me to give your cultivated readers a brief synopsis of a forthcoming publication, derived from the numerous earthen tablets found so plentifully in Peru, Central America, and Mexico. These tablets were engraven on plastic clay, and subsequently burned to render them imperishable. They contain *sixteen* perfect Phœnician characters. The records extend back 1,500 or 2,000 years before the advent of the Messiah, and bring us face to face with that old civilization, its arts and its sciences, during the reigns of Proteus of Egypt and Helen of Troy. When Moses was leading the children of Israel through the wilderness to the promised land, these primitive navigators were overrunning the lost *Atlantis*, and were colonizing the outlying islands which dotted the surface of the Sargasso sea, which extended nearly to the eastern coast of South America. The knowledge that America was inhabited by a highly civilized people centuries prior to its occupancy by the red Indian is not new. For upwards of 400 years, however, all the actual information about this ancient and prehistoric people and of their civilization was that gathered from a careful study of the relics of their former greatness, the crumbling ruins of their temples, their pyramids, and their immense edifices which are yet found scattered over the broad face of this western world, from the frozen plains of Patagonia to the copper regions of the great lakes, and from ocean to ocean. More especially are they found along the western slope of the Andes, up the isthmus, through Central America and Mexico and the vast extent of the fertile Mississippi valley. Their numbers may be realized when we pause to think that there are twelve thousand earth-works and tumuli in the state of Ohio alone to mark the industry of this forgotten people. In the warm zones these temples, etc., remain in a remarkable state of preservation; but in the colder regions, where they have been subjected to a thousand alternate frosts and heats, they have crumbled to dust, and the mounds of to-day mark the site of vast temples, pyramids, and edifices of unknown antiquity, beauty, and grandeur.

According to the records, the *Toltecs* came from a remote country toward "the birth of the sun," and settled upon the eastern slope of what

we now know as South America, north of the mouth of the Amazon (*Matzon*). They settled and improved the fertile soil. Spreading out, as they increased in numbers, both to the south and north, they coasted along the eastern shores of South America, passed up the Amazon, and peopled its fruitful banks. Spreading inland, they multiplied, and rapidly peopled the eastern slope of the Andes. Becoming from natural tastes and instincts an agricultural people, possessing a high degree of mechanical skill, they built towns and cities, constructed roads, built bridges, and improved and beautified the country. They were eminently a religious people, who vested their laws and government as well as their theology in the same persons, after the patriarchal order—rightly judging that those who were capable of guiding their spiritual course were best qualified to direct their temporal. They believed in one God, the *maker* and *ruler* of all things, and in a *mediator* (Tzuma) who should come to guide and teach them aright. They worshiped the sun as the *eye* of Deity and the visible manifestation of the Divine Being. They sacrificed burnt offerings, and believed the fire to be the visible spirit of the Deity which devoured their offerings—these always consisting of the *first-fruits of their flocks and fields* (sic). Human sacrifice was never offered until after the ascendancy of the Aztec dynasty. The civilization of the Toltecs was of a high order, comparing favorably with that of their contemporaneous eastern brothers, such as the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, the Assyrians, etc. Their legendary history of the past recounts with much minuteness the story of the flood, and of the large “Zotcolli upon which Natiz and his family and flocks and herds were saved from the mighty waters which for three moons swept over the lands.”

Society was divided into two distinct classes—the “Olptecs,” or workers, and the “Orptecs,” or thinkers. This latter class included not only their priests and rulers, but their architects, artisans, engineers, and nobility. The Olptecs were in a condition of serfdom, having no voice in anything pertaining to government or to public polity. During the lapse of the slow-creeping centuries, this people spread very rapidly over the entire eastern slope of the Andes—one portion extending out over the pampas and devoting their energies to the raising of maize and other cereals for the maintenance of the whole people; another portion took possession of the hill country, and high table-lands along the foot-hills merging into the mountains, and became herdsmen, producing immense numbers of goats, llamas, cattle, and mastodons; while still another class settled in the cities and villages and became weavers, artisans, etc.; the fourth class sought the mountains and became miners, quarriers of stone,

etc. Thus all branches of industry were represented. These different classes or guilds of workmen never intermarried and never changed their occupation (and we have never a record of a strike or of a lockout). In this way, handing down from one generation to another the traditionary lore pertaining to their peculiar craft, they became wonderfully skilled in their workmanship. There are no records of wars or of armies for many centuries, even after their authentic history begins. This fact gives proof of the extreme peacefulness, industry, and justice of this people.

After over-running and densely populating the eastern slope of the Cordilleras, they constructed broad graded ways across the mountains, making in many cases deep cuts and heavy fillings to facilitate the transit of their beasts of burden and their carriages, upon which were transported the products and merchandise of the eastern provinces to the western slope. These graded ways have been the source of endless wonder and speculation for the last two or three centuries. During this time of internal improvement, the sailors had skirted the northern coast, had passed out into the Caribbean sea, and had established colonies upon the larger islands; thus westward and northward joining and swelling the tide of emigration, which with resistless sweep followed the coast line up the isthmus, and, joining the crews of these vessels, passed still farther inland and farther north and west.

By the year 400 B. C. this rapidly increasing people had settled nearly the entire South American continent and began to penetrate the dense jungles and lagoons of Central America. With surprising hardihood or inexplicable immunity, they peopled those malarial regions. They rapidly spread over Mexico, and passed with resistless sweep up the valley of the great river to the great lakes. Here we find the first mention of an aboriginal race, dwelling on the banks of the streams, and subsisting upon the natural productions of the soil and upon fish and game. They were described by the Toltec historian as a short, dwarfish, and very effeminate race, with no knowledge or disposition to work or war. These people were quietly, peacefully, but relentlessly absorbed and incorporated into the ranks of the Orpteecs, the workers.

For upwards of a thousand years, the Toltecs occupied and improved this vast extent of country, building huge temples, vast numbers of which still remain for us to study and admire. Their systems of water communications, both natural and artificial, were elaborate, extensive, and perfect. Their chief cities occupied the right bank of the larger rivers. Here, as in the southern hemisphere, the different guilds dwelt separately: the agriculturists occupied the level savannas and the vast prairies, while

the herdsmen sought the hills and woody slopes; the quarrymen occupied the mountains, and the miners such localities as experience and legend had taught them would produce the metals they sought. Copper, silver, and lead from Lake Superior; silver, gold, and jasper from Mexico; obsidian, quartz, and flint from the Rocky mountains; mica, marble, and granite from the Blue Ridge—were domestic articles in common use among the entire people of both hemispheres.

This millennium of peace and prosperity was uninterrupted for many centuries. While the Toltecs did not retrograde in intelligence or the arts, they did physically; becoming more weak, short-lived, and effeminate. A wave of lethargic ease seemed to creep over the whole people. At length, something over a century before the birth of our Saviour, there appeared at the mouth of the Amazon a numerous fleet of ships bearing a race differing but little in their physical characteristics from the Toltecs, but they differed widely in their raiment and habits of life, language and religion. These invaders called themselves Aztecs and came from a remote oriental country which they called "Aztlan." They claimed to have been driven by westerly winds into a strong current setting toward "death of the sun," and that seeing vast numbers of sea-fowl, and being constantly surrounded by seaweeds and an abundance of fish and game, they gave themselves no uneasiness. After a voyage of half a moon they sighted land on either side and sailed up the Amazon. They were received with friendly hospitality by the Toltecs, and their every wish was gratified.

The Aztecs were a very warlike and energetic people and were given to conquest and usurpation. But a few ages elapse before we find them rapidly increasing in numbers and becoming aggressive; in a short time not only seizing the governmental power from the enervated hands of the Toltec rulers, but absorbing a portion of their religion, modifying in some degree, to be sure, the Toltec theology and public polity to suit their more stirring and nomadic proclivities. The Aztecs soon began to furnish not only the law-makers, but the priests for the temples. In the course of two or three centuries the Aztec dynasty was firmly established upon the ruins of the Toltecs.

Observing the benefits of the industries and civilizations of their subjugated predecessors, they made fewer and slighter modifications in their laws and plans of public polity. They readily fell into the same habits of life, adopting the general forms of the Toltec religion. In the arts and sciences the Aztecs became apt pupils, equaling their Toltec teachers and in many cases surpassing them in the fine arts, such as painting, engraving, and decorating earthenware. This people reached out over the whole

X Toltec realm and absorbed all the isolated provinces. Thus matters progressed for upwards of seven centuries; then the Aztec supremacy began to wane. Their energy began to subside, and through luxurious abundance, they rapidly declined, and gradually lapsed into an enervated, lethargic, and indolent state below that in which they found the Toltecs upon their arrival in the western world. Commerce was less active and extensive; their temples and religious edifices were suffered to fall into decay and ruin.

About 800 A. D. there appeared from the north and west a horde of rude and barbarous people, the "Chicimecs," who at once began to make predatory attacks upon the Aztec outposts and scattering villages, mines, etc.

The Chicimecs were darker of skin, taller, and more robust than the Aztecs. They were clothed in the skins of wild beasts, and were armed with bows and arrows, spears of rude construction, and huge clubs. They lay in ambush along the roads and streams, in the forests, plains, and in the fields, and slew vast numbers of the defenseless people. They assaulted the miners and the herdsmen alike, and slaughtered the quarrymen, and wherever an isolated or unprotected colony was found it was exterminated.

The Aztecs, seeing the necessity for resistance, retired to their larger towns and enclosed themselves in walled cities. Immense earthworks were constructed, and their engineering skill stood them well in hand in this emergency, and a prolonged and bloody conflict ensued. The ever aggressive and savage Indian drove the enervated Aztecs in from each out-post, destroyed their mines, and burned and pillaged indiscriminately. Gaining strength, skill, and numbers as the years went by, they slew at one onset the miners whom they found at work in the copper mines of Lake Superior, leaving their tools and implements where the terror-stricken workmen dropped them at the first alarm, to be again discovered by us ten centuries later. True to their savage nature the Chicimecs waged a war of extermination, burning, destroying, and obliterating, when possible, all records of the stricken people.

The Aztecs strove as best they could for long, weary, and agonizing years to resist the inroads of their relentless but ever increasing foes. The ceaseless conflict appeared to revive the dormant energies of the Aztecs for a time. They trained their serfs to war and became skilled in defensive engineering; they constructed additional temples to propitiate their offended deities, and in these they offered human sacrifice. From behind their fortresses and in their cliff dwellings they prolonged the unequal conflict for centuries. But, slowly and surely, one after another of

their defensive works were destroyed, and their garrisons slaughtered, until their boundaries gradually receded southward and westward, leaving the fierce and predatory Chicimecs the sole occupants of the Mississippi valley.

The grand overthrow occurred about A. D. 900, when by a combined attack of all the savage hordes—who had during the last century rapidly increased in numbers and warlike attainments, from their almost constant conflicts with their more enlightened but less brave antagonists—the entire frontier line of defensive works was destroyed, and the savages poured tumultuously down the valley, carrying fire and death into the flourishing cities of the gulf states and Mexico. The isolated hill fortresses were cut off and starved out in detail; and the stricken people, in hopeless despair, rushed in vast throngs to their temples, and were slaughtered at the foot of their altars, and their mangled bodies were consumed with the offering which they had prepared to appease their supposititious offended deity. From this point the records become very fragmentary and disjointed, and doubtless very many of the tablets have been broken, defaced, or destroyed. We know that this primeval civilization was wiped out of existence from the northern lakes to the gulf. The fragmentary and legendary continuation of the painful narrative teaches that after the final overthrow the remnants of the stricken people fled to the mountains, where they hewed out cliff dwellings and constructed defenses upon the precipitous cliffs, and eked out a precarious existence. Here for long centuries they were hunted and slain like wild beasts, the savages following the footsteps of the receding and defeated civilization down the isthmus and over into South America, which was over-run in like manner. A few, fleeing to the mountains, fortified themselves in such impregnable localities that they withstood successfully the fierce attacks of their enemies.

At length, after several generations, the Chicimecs, who were now becoming feeble and less warlike and less disposed to active exertion, by reason of their long residence in the hot and fruitful climate, and on account of luxurious living—subsisting largely upon vegetables and the fruits of the soil—ceased to torment the remnant of the stricken people. After a protracted truce communications were opened between the contending races, and a partial amalgamation of the races occurred.

In this manner the Aztec race became extinct. Yet many of their works of art, their paintings upon stone, and their sculptures, etc., were transmitted to their mixed successors. Their religious customs, their habits of life, and their theological beliefs were adopted by the modified

racés, and remain with those enduring records in the cliff dwellings of the Peruvian, Pueblan, and Tuní races.

We make but slight reference here to the legendary portion of the history, for the reason that it is obscure and may have been tampered with by the designing Jesuits in early times, as we know that in their zeal for the cause of their religion they destroyed every vestige of conflicting creeds when possible, and interpolated ideas and dogmas in them when their entire destruction was impracticable. But it carries us back several thousand years, connecting the Toltec civilization by analogy with the Hamitic branch of the Semitic race, through the Phœnician navigators, and then by a like analogy we should class the Aztecs as the Semites proper. We know that for several hundred years the Phœnicians were the explorers of the world; that the results of their voyages were kept secret from their conquerors; and that sooner than reveal their destination, when it was to a newly discovered region, they would run their ships upon the rocks and destroy them. We also know that 1500 years B. C. they had passed out of the Euxine sea, through the pillars of Hercules, and thence down the coast of Africa; and what would be more likely, nay probable, than that they should wander out, or be driven by the westerly trade winds or tropical monsoon, assisted by the equatorial current, across the Atlantic, as these records claim?

How grand the conception, how comprehensive the story!—America first peopled by the direct descendants of Noah, by the Hamitic branch of the Semitic race; ten centuries later, re-peopled by the Semites proper; these in turn over-run and ruthlessly exterminated by the fierce and more war-like Turaneans from the steppes of Chinese Tartary; and to-day, after the lapse of the slow-creeping centuries, the last remaining vestiges of these barbarians are being crushed out of the world's history by the enduring and progressing Indo-European branch of the Aryan race.

And last, but not least, of the achievements of this mighty race, it has turned back the cover of this majestic history, has swept aside the dust and cobwebs of oblivion and forgetfulness which the endless stretch of untold centuries had gathered about the hoary head of the ages, and has read to-day and for us the rich and instructive history of thirty dead and forgotten centuries.

J. T. Everett

ENGLAND'S STRUGGLE WITH THE AMERICAN COLONIES

This story of America is stranger than fiction, and yet true; a by-play of history, that might be called an episode of wonder.

The ending was so likely and unlikely; there was so much to promise it, and so much to forbid; so much to help on, so much to hinder—that a demonstration is made of an unseen, overruling Hand, leading to some great issue. The settlements were so far from the mother country, in a territory unlimited in space and resources of wealth and comfort, necessarily free, obliged to care for and protect themselves, and so trained to self-government, that they needed no outside legislation. Naturally, therefore, they could brook no restraint nor bear the lightest yoke of oppression, and so far they seemed predestined to be a separate, independent, and self-ruling people. On the other hand, there was such a love for and longing toward the mother country, such veneration for the old name and venerable institutions, such a dread of standing alone, and such glory and advantage in being the part of a vast, free empire, that it would seem nothing could arise grievous enough to produce separation.

But, again, fine elements were brought together in the colonies to form a new starting for the human race, free from the roots of royalty and nobility in the old world with their hereditary claims and prejudices ever checking the march of freedom. Lecky, in his English history, eulogizes the original colonists as "a people, who in energy, moral excellence, and practical wisdom were probably unsurpassed upon earth. Moral causes lie at the root of the greatness of nations, and probably no nation ever started with a larger proportion of strong characteristics or a higher level of moral conviction." Pitt and Burke took the same view. Before our independence was gained, they looked upon America as a vast civilized and rapidly progressive country, evidently destined to take a foremost place in the history of the world. But an offset to the hopefulness of the prospect and an insuperable bond against union and separate advancement was found in the mutual rivalries, jealousies, and real animosities of the different colonies themselves. It lay beyond all probability and possibility, in the minds of some, that they would make independence a common cause, without which they could not resist such a power as Great Britain; while, on the other hand, all perceived that England could not conquer a united people.

It was a case where a little less severity, a little more conciliating, with more firmness and perseverance in their measures on the one side, and less passion, impetuosity, and unlawful violence on the other, might have kept both parties together. The colonies might have been offered a representation in parliament like Ireland and Scotland at present, or a parliament of their own like Canada. England, by acting wisely, might have wielded a superior hand and molded American politics; but the obstinacy of the monarch, George III., and the vacillating measures of his ministry in enacting and repealing, the frequent changes in the administration, the divisions, incapacities, and rapid alternations of severity and indulgence, joined to the friendly feelings toward the colonies both in parliament and outside, lured America to resistance and encouraged the people to question the validity of parliamentary acts.

In fact, the two great parties seemed to the very end to have been playing at cross-purposes, misapprehending one another and suffering from mutual illusions respecting each other's condition and purposes; England believing America's protestations of loyalty and affection and trusting in her inability to form a union, whilst America thought her bold resistance and war-like preparations would secure an immediate repeal of grievances.

The question of taxation without representation had at that day two sides; it was discussed early and late by both parties, and never settled by the highest legal opinion on either side. The grievances were in reality slight, compared with the wrongs of Ireland, and a revenue to aid England's treasury, which was the aim of taxation, might have been raised by the colonies in their own way. The navigation act, requiring all trading ships to be built either in England or her plantations, and to be manned by crews of whom two thirds must be British subjects, was not a matter of complaint, for it ruled through the whole empire and was supposed to be everywhere beneficial. The commercial code very early enacted was a different affair, by the provisions of which the interests of the colonists were sacrificed to the selfishness and greediness of manufacturers and merchants at home, who had votes to use in the sharply divided parliaments of that day. By the time the colonies had tobacco, cotton, silk, coffee, indigo, naval stores, skins, sugar, and rice to sell, they were forbidden to make a market outside of the British dominions. No goods could be carried from Europe to America without being first landed in England and reshipped. Every form of colonial industry that could possibly compete with the same manufacture in the mother country was deliberately crushed. Woolen goods could not be exported to any country whatever, nor sold in adjacent colonies. It was the same with hat-making, and Americans were

hardly allowed to make hats for their own use. Steel furnaces and slitting mills were prohibited, and every branch of invention and trade was jealously watched. The importation of sugar, molasses, and rum from the French West India Islands was forbidden, and, for the sake of a few Portuguese merchants in London, wine, oil, and spirit raised in Portugal must be carried to London, a duty paid, and thence reshipped to America.

Still if we can look with candor upon such a code, some drawbacks from its severity may be detected. It was the way of every continental government with their dependencies, and France, the most liberal, was far harder in her restrictions towards Canada. If Virginia could sell her tobacco in England alone, Englishmen were forbidden to purchase elsewhere, except in Bermuda. The cultivation and importation of many articles to England were encouraged by bounties, and obtained almost a monopoly of the English markets by exemption from duties that were heavily laid on the same articles from foreign countries. Besides, the trade with England and the English West Indies was very lucrative, and some of the chief productions of the colonies were left unmentioned in the code, in which they might trade with any nation. Also, the prohibition of trading with the French West Indies was allowed by the government for a long while to become a dead letter, and before 1763 the European goods destined for America were so freed from duties in England that they cost less after crossing the Atlantic than if bought in England; and, finally, by the showing of Adam Smith in 1776, this whole system of commerce was found to be based on false principles, and would soon have been abandoned.

Nevertheless, these restrictions, with all the alleviations, were most grievous, and proved the opening wedge to the disruption of the empire; for the country was growing like a young giant that finds his garments too strait. Great expectations rose here and there—aspirations, as yet undefined, broke forth. More air, liberty of movement, a larger field of action, was the unconscious longing; and, like the natural struggle of the chrysalis to get from its swathings, the growing colonies were making their way, guided by the unseen Hand, towards separation, freedom, and independence.

It may be added, as showing the improbability of separation, that America had many friends in England who wished her to enjoy all her rights, and, like Pitt and Burke, agreed that her union to the British crown was of vital importance to the future of that empire; and then, on the other side, it was a minority of more resolute and determined men that led the rest of the colonists into measures of separation, and even when independence was declared and war entered upon, more seemed to be against than

for them—all things demonstrating a divine Providence directing and overruling for the whole world's welfare.

An easy sort of way, on the part of the English government with the colonies, had been going on for years, that necessarily nurtured the habit of directing home matters and taking care of themselves. It is incredible how ignorant the ministry were of colonial affairs, and how inattentive to what was transpiring among their distant subjects. Prior to George Grenville's administration in 1763, America was almost outside the cognizance of the English government. As Americans had no influence in the corrupt politics of the mother country, the duke of Newcastle, during his long official life under George II. and III., left them entirely to themselves. Official communications innumerable were never opened, but buried in pigeon-holes or piled up in dusty corners and dark closets till they were swept into the streets or burned in accidental fires. Once, when it was suggested that Annapolis ought to be defended against the French, Newcastle assented: "Oh, yes, Annapolis must be defended; Annapolis must be defended. Where is Annapolis?" And some necessary letters from the secretary of state for the colonies were addressed, "To the Governor of the Island of New England." In 1776 the power and resources of Great Britain were not so formidable that they needed to have been feared so much as they were; and had the whole population of the thirteen colonies acted unitedly, the war by land would soon have been over. Had independence been resolved upon twenty years earlier, there might have been no war at all.

It is past belief how low was England's condition at this last-named era, in 1756. In the reigns of George I. and II. the Hanover succession was scarcely settled, and in the wars under George II. England was everywhere beaten by France and her allies, till her military reputation on the continent was lost. At the same time by a long system of political corruption, universal bribery and intimidation, court and family influence, not only did statesmen lose their manhood, but the whole people were drawn down with them, till enterprise and public spirit were changed into indolence, effeminacy, and unconcern for the public welfare.

But a wonderful reaction for the better came over the nation. There was but one man in England, perhaps, equal to the surprising work, but such an one had been provided. He was in public official life, though disliked by the old king George II., and kept in an under position by his colleagues in the ministry. Despite glaring defects this statesman was one of the noblest and grandest ever concerned in English politics.

His intolerable pride, though it made him enemies on every side, was the guardian of many virtues; his soaring ambition was indissolubly linked

with the prosperity and glory of his country. This man, William Pitt, before he became earl of Chatham, gradually made his way to the head of the ministry, October, 1756. He was displaced, and in 1757 recalled, where he maintained his station till October 5, 1761. But although he stood at the helm of state for so short a time, his management was felt like a magician's wand, at home and abroad, for the accomplishment of wonders in every department. Possessing a profound and brilliant intellect, an eagle sight, a daring and adventurous flight, he awoke old Albion, as Pericles, by his oratory at Athens, thundered and lightened and shook all Greece. His haughty and disdainful way subdued the opposition of those whose friendship he forfeited, and his omnipotent will made him sovereign over king and noble and opened to his use all the treasures and resources of the nation. He organized fleets and armies, and found the right men, like Wolfe and Anson, for the right places; formed alliances and sent his own courage and energy into every battle by sea and land that for more than three years resulted in uninterrupted victories: the French flag was driven from the seas; all her possessions in North America that England wanted, with the West India Islands, were captured, and the French settlements in the East Indies brought to the verge of ruin. The nation was intoxicated with victory, as it was covered with glory, and raised to such a height of consideration as had scarcely ever before been equaled. The people were not only roused from their lethargy but animated with energy and daring, heroism and enterprise, to their own and the world's wonder. Every sacrifice demanded by the mighty leader was cheerfully yielded, and notwithstanding their losses, English commerce was multiplied beyond any former record, and the national prosperity in every department was apparent.

The English people were permanently elevated in morality and patriotism, but the secular history of that century attributes this grand improvement only in part to Pitt's genius and political purity. There had gone before his day, to give him something solid to work upon, a religious awakening in the Established Church and outside, through the voices of Wesley and Whitefield; then some of the most debased localities of England became peaceful and sober, the scientific men of the royal society firm believers in revelation, and the middle classes felt the influence of the higher aims and motives. Pitt, however, by the opposition of the king and his fellow ministers, was obliged to resign, and as no other man was fitted even to maintain the nation's greatness, with this great man the soul of the administration passed away.

The next ministry under Lord Bute, by using the grand armaments

that Pitt had provided, continued to triumph ; but all parties were crying out for peace. This was brought about in 1763, and was advantageous to England ; yet, because far better terms might have been obtained, the settlement was tumultuously unpopular, and ratified by parliament against violent opposition.

But the great glory had been costly. Pitt had spared no expense, and now "unprecedented greatness" was reeling under a debt of one hundred and forty million pounds sterling, and measures of economy and income must be introduced. Taxation at home was multiplied till all the paying classes felt it an intolerable burden, causing poverty and distress to abound. In this serious crisis came the necessity of raising money from every portion of the empire, and it was thought that America should do something, and would not be unwilling, in some shape to contribute to the general good. No part of the empire gained so largely by the results of the war as the American colonies, and they felt and expressed it. An outburst of exultation was experienced, and an address to the king from Massachusetts pledged the demonstration of gratitude, duty, and loyalty. Those results had a most singular operation on the subsequent history and good fortune of the colonies, and well deserve to be liberally paid for.

The expulsion of the French from Canada removed a mighty local enemy, in case the colonies ever attained separation and independence ; whilst their participation in the French and Indian wars trained hosts of men to arms, and provided many able and experienced officers like Washington, Putnam, Prescott, Greene, Stark, and Allen, for their own strife. At the same time, the expenses of that war, by making taxation necessary, produced the stamp act that became the occasion of resistance and led on to nationality. Florida, also, was added to colonial territory by its surrender on the part of Spain.

It shows that wise men outside of England were already thinking of an eventful future, in that the retention of Canada by England or its restoration to France became a lively question. It was predicted from Sweden and France that England would lose her American possessions. Such an anticipation consoled the ministers of Louis XV.; and Vergennes, then his ambassador to Constantinople, predicted that England would soon repent of removing this only check which could keep the colonies in awe.

In England, also, many, on the same ground, advised the restoration of Canada to France. But others, like Pitt, took such generous views of the attachment of the colonies to the mother country, and thought it would prove so advantageous to them to hold Canada under British dominion, that they strongly advocated that side of the question : and Franklin, in

"the Canada pamphlet," ridiculed the idea, insisting that the mutual jealousies and animosities of the several colonies would never allow them to combine against England. Reflective history, however, looking back, sees something serious in the picture of the times. Free from passion and illusion, every true statesman must have seen that invisible forces might draw the colonies together, and that if they resolved to be a separate and independent nation all the power of England would be unable to retain a people living in a boundless territory, of endless resources, three thousand miles away from the base of supplies. There was no vital point to strike. They would never imagine they were whipped; they would have to be conquered over and over again, and would never stay down. They had regular colonial governments, assemblies of their own, long accustomed to legislate for themselves. They were hardy, well acquainted with fire-arms, and every man obliged by law to have a musket and ammunition at hand. The militia were organized in companies, regiments, and brigades, embracing in some of the colonies all freemen from sixteen or eighteen to fifty or sixty years. They had seen real war with the French and Indians. The capture of Louisburg in 1749 was mainly their work; they had participated in the taking of Havana and Martinique, and in the latest wars more than twenty thousand provincials were continually in the field, and more than seven hundred privateers had issued from their harbors.

Still no one predicted rebellion. The relations of the colonists to England had been far more severely strained before the English revolution and for several years after than at the present time, when discontents had apparently subsided. The movement toward union was very gradual, and the force that by several steps at length effected a united front was not mutual good-will, nor patriotism, nor the fruit of generous sentiment: it was wrought by strictly mechanical means, out of the deliberate calculation of intelligent men, that by union alone they could reach the objects they desired.

The let-alone policy of Walpole and Newcastle gave no cause of grievance—the colonists only grew upon it; but the measures of George Grenville changed the smooth surface into a troubled sea. The outburst of gratitude and loyalty for the Peace of Paris, 1763, turned to deep resentment when the next year it became known that the oppressive commercial code would be enforced, that ten thousand troops would be quartered in America and the stamp duty laid to aid in their support.

It must in candor be said that Grenville did not originate these measures out of harsh feeling, or prosecute them in an arbitrary way. The troops were not sent to overawe the colonists but simply to provide a show

a place of living and to act as protectors in case of need. The tax would not do very much toward their support—the income would all be spent in America; and a stamp duty was thought to be the simplest and least annoying way of raising money. The stamp act required that all bills, bonds, leases, policies of insurance, and legal documents should have a stamp pasted on the paper, and the tax was in the price of the stamp. The sale of the stamps was put in the hands of Americans and not English officials, and it was left to the colonial agents in England to select persons best qualified and acceptable to their people. The agents accepted the responsibility, and Franklin named an intimate friend in Philadelphia. It appears that Grenville consulted freely with these agents, proposing that the colonial assemblies should raise the money in some other way if they preferred it, and pledged a whole year's delay before the bill should be passed, to see what America would do. But the colonial assemblies dreaded too much the presence of English troops, as strengthening the royal government, to tax themselves for their support. The right of parliament to tax them without representation became a question, which they emphatically denied, with the comment that to submit would make them nothing but slaves. Then the bill was introduced into parliament and passed, receiving the royal assent the 22d March, 1765, to go into effect on the first of November.

This bill is historically recorded by Lecky, as "being in its ultimate consequences one of the most momentous legislative acts in the history of mankind;" yet but few in England saw its importance. It was passed in an almost empty parliament house, and carried, almost unopposed, with little debate, without a division or a protest. Of the two or three objectors, Colonel Barré, who had fought in the American and French wars, was one. He spoke words, unreported and unobserved in England, but transmitted across the Atlantic by the agents who heard them, were there productive of the liveliest effect; for the Americans were called *Sons of Liberty*, who would use indomitable resolution in defense of their violated rights.

The delay in the bill's operation gave time for opposition in America to make exciting headway. The train was laid and indignation burst into a flame. The Virginia assembly set the example of patriotic resolutions, speedily followed by other assemblies; but the most important result was a congress of nine of the colonies—a long step toward a general union. The congress met in New York, whence an extremely able paper was issued, declaring allegiance to the crown and due subordination to that august body the parliament of Great Britain; but no taxes must be laid

without their consent. Unlawful ways of opposition showed themselves. On the first of November, bells were tolled and flags hung at half-mast; followed by popular riots, with violence against obnoxious persons and private and public buildings. The stamps were burned, and as those who had the business in hand were afraid to act, the royal governors had to nullify the measure on the ground that no stamps could be procured.

But all this time no statesman in England was conscious of anything serious taking place in America. The Grenville ministry had fallen and the Rockingham administration came in its place, July, 1765. Not till the close of the year, if not the first days of the next year, did the new ministers learn that the stamp act was bringing the colonies to the verge of rebellion. It surprised them, and they were quite uncertain what further policy to pursue.

One of the first persons in England to realize the magnitude of the situation was the king himself. George III. came to the throne on the death of his grandfather, October 25, 1760, when twenty-two years old. He was more of an English king than either of his two predecessors, who cared for Hanover rather than Great Britain. With a thousand good qualities, the young sovereign was ignorant, narrow-minded, obstinate, and arbitrary—having unbounded confidence in his own judgment and an extravagant estimate of the kingly prerogative, which he aimed to revive. The exercise of a royal veto had fallen into desuetude since the days of Queen Anne; but he sought to enlarge the influence of his individual opinion and push the kingly power and personal influence to the utmost. Lecky records, that by coercion, bribery, and sowing dissensions among his chief men, he inflicted more profound and enduring injuries upon the country than any modern ruler. At this time, however, the king looked with great concern and grief upon the relations of the two great parties, considered the colonial question the most serious matter before parliament, demanding deliberation, candor, and good temper. But whilst he was first to discern the disaffection, he was the last to consent to their separation and independence. It is no wonder the new ministry knew not what policy to pursue.

The relations of the two parties in England and America were now sharply and bitterly defined. Parliament had almost unanimously asserted the right to tax, and the colonies had defiantly and riotously denied it. If the government allowed itself to be intimidated, its authority would be so much lessened. The king was for continued coercion, but the colonists had combined and would purchase nothing in England nor pay their debts, so that an immense trade was ruined and employers and

employees were coming to poverty. It looked as if the act could not be enforced without war; and Pitt rose from his sick-bed, and with his latest eloquence, that had marvelous effect on both sides of the Atlantic, *justified the resistance of America*. He did it on the simple ground that *to tax* is no part of governing or legislative power. Taxation is a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone, in this case represented by the colonial assemblies; if they did not resist, they would be slaves and only fit to make slaves of the rest.

The majority of the ministers desired strongly to repeal the stamp act, but the indignation produced by the conduct of the colonies made it very difficult. The king was against it, and it was in the face of strong opposition against the fiercest and longest debates ever known in parliament, and only by most decisive and resolute action on the part of Rockingham that the repeal was carried. But outside, among all classes, in every part of the empire, it was hailed with joy. A sting, however, was unnecessarily left, for with a repeal of this special form of taxation, a declaratory bill accompanied, which passed almost unopposed, insisting on *the right* of parliament to tax them. In the satisfaction of the repeal, the colonists never thought of the declaratory drawback, and Franklin said it would give them very little concern *if it was never put in practice*. So for a time it produced a complete pacification. John Adams says it hushed every popular clamor and brought a smooth and peaceful calm. "So sudden a calm after so violent a storm," Burke declared in 1774, "had never its parallel in history."

The colonies were enthusiastic in their glad demonstrations. They emulated one another in expressing their sense of duty and loyalty. They raised statues to the king and to Pitt. Commerce was resumed, and the Philadelphia Quakers, to celebrate the king's birthday, June 4, purchased new suits of British manufacture, dressed in the new, and gave their old homespun to the poor.

Still the double action of England was a political defeat and helped on to independence. America gained a political victory, and discerning the weakness of the mother country became self-confident. The colonies had made a signal advance toward union; they had discovered leaders for the coming struggle. With all their professions, however, the assemblies showed no signs of taxing themselves; they were unwilling to compensate those who had lost property by the late outbreak. It was deemed impossible to enforce an unpopular law in Massachusetts, and it was evident that principles of liberty were lurking in many breasts, ready to break forth with an opportunity. The Rockingham ministry was dissolved

and replaced in 1767 by the duke of Grafton as the nominal chief, with Chatham as the real head. But Pitt was soon laid aside by his bodily infirmities from public affairs, and against the entreaties of the king that his great name might be used, he insisted on his resignation, October, 1768. In the scene of anarchy that followed the strongest man, in the person of Charles Townshend, took the helm. But the wisdom, moderation, and tact necessary were conspicuously wanting in the English councils, and from this time the government, in its relations with America, committed a series of blunders. Things were quieting down a little in the colonies, when news came that Townshend intended to enforce the custom-house laws, send over troops, and lay a port duty on tea, paints, and some other articles, to support the army; upon which a new and feverish excitement was created. The tea duty was passed June 29, 1767, when suddenly the English ministry was dissolved by the death of Townshend, September 4, 1767, and his successor was Lord North, a favorite of the king and a strong advocate for coercion. Some of the colonial assemblies about that time were dissolved by the royal governors, but the old members were re-elected or others of like disposition. The governor of Massachusetts refusing to issue writs for a new election, a convention took its place and acted with the same authority as an assembly. In the mean time, September 27, 1768, two regiments, escorted by seven ships of war, landed in Boston, now avowedly to support the government against rebellion. Before they arrived, however, immense meetings, in which Samuel Adams was conspicuous, declared that a standing army should not be kept in America without the consent of the people, and the next Massachusetts assembly pronounced such an act on the part of England an invasion of the natural rights of subjects and a violation of the constitution. When, also, more active attempts were made to enforce the revenue laws, the custom-house officers were assaulted, seized, and imprisoned, while smuggled cargoes were openly landed and stored; the royal governors and officials were insulted by mobs, and non-importation resolutions were again largely made and carried into execution.

England yielded to such a surprising extent as to propose that America should hold its assemblies and also be represented in parliament. But to this the colonists would not listen, on the ground that their representatives, so far away, would be corrupted; but the other side perceived that the true objection was that in such case no ground for disobeying parliament would remain. It was plainly seen that stern disaffection was rising, and that America only needed proper leaders to bring on the great catastrophe.

In December, 1768, and January, 1769, parliament greatly aggravated the situation by the harsh language in which it reproved the disloyal spirit, by thanking the king for urging the coercive measures, by promising support, and finally by hunting up a dusty and obsolete law of Henry VIII., that traitors abroad should be brought to England for trial. In connection with all this, an attempt at compromise was made by Lord North, by repealing all the port duties of the late act but that on tea, which was retained, not for the income expected, but *simply to save their claim to the right of taxing*. It was accompanied by a pledge to raise no further revenue from America; thus marking the whole transaction as a piece of legislative incapacity. The tax, in money value, was no grievance, for, by removing the twelve cent duty per pound in England, it was carried over the sea nine cents cheaper than if purchased in England; but it was a tax involving a principle, and the transaction both gave a triumph to the colonial opposition and left a ground of disaffection. An unfortunate affair soon occurred. When British troops were landed in Boston, their presence greatly irritated the populace. The soldiers could not appear on the streets without being insulted and threatened. March 2, 1770, a scuffle between some soldiers and ropemakers took place, and on the night of the 5th that doubly fatal event, called "the Boston massacre." A single sentinel stood guard before a public building, and a small crowd of men and boys made it their business, it is said, to surround and insult him. He called for help, when a corporal and six men, under Captain Preston, came to his aid with loaded muskets. Forty or fifty men surrounded them, shouting provoking names and pressing upon them, when, either from fear or rage, without orders, it appears a soldier fired and was followed by seven others; the result of which was, that five citizens fell, dead or dying, and six others were wounded. One of the killed was a colored man. This occurrence at once kindled the colonies into a flame. Boston insisted that the soldiers should be removed to Fort William, on an island three miles from the city, and few things did more to precipitate the Revolution. The soldiers were tried by a Boston jury, for their lives, and most honorably, for our memory, acquitted; judges and counsel uniting in the verdict. In the midst of the excitement, John Adams and Josiah Quincy bravely defended the British party, and did it, says Lecky, with consummate ability, showing that it was not a deliberate killing, but the result of gross provocation; and the citizens showed they had no thirst for blood.

All are acquainted with the tea-party story. Although tea was nine cents cheaper than before, and they loved it full well, the people everywhere said they would not buy it nor drink it. In Boston it met a more

disastrous fate. The first of the taxed tea arrived in the harbor in three ships, December, 1773. It was determined by "Sons of Liberty" that it should not be landed, and on the 16th of December, forty or fifty men disguised as Mohawk Indians, boarded the vessels and pitched the whole cargo, three hundred and forty-two chests, into the sea. At Charleston, South Carolina, the tea was landed and stored, till it perished, for the consignees were afraid to claim it. From Philadelphia and New York the ships were quietly sent back to London with their cargoes.

One of the earliest forms of law-breaking was smuggling, which the colonists no doubt justified by the restrictions laid upon their trading. Still it was a direct evasion and violation of the custom-house laws, and grew to be so enormous that nine-tenths of the tea, wine, fruit, sugar, and molasses used were smuggled into ports all along the vast seaboard. As money-making was a popular passion and smuggling was lucrative, any interference with the business was sharply resented. On the plea of making money out of the enemy, the New England colonies, showing a very unfilial spirit toward the mother country, used their opportunities to keep the French fleets and garrisons supplied with provisions during the Canadian war; and such excitement was raised against the use of search-warrants after smuggled goods, and such an outbreak was made against the officers, as were regarded by John Adams and others as the first direct steps toward the Revolution.

Smuggling was also the occasion of a most daring outrage further on in the struggle that took place in Rhode Island waters, on 9th June, 1772. Lieutenant Doddington, commander of an English man-of-war, the *Gaspee*, of eight guns, made himself very busy along the coast, enforcing the revenue laws, stopping and searching all vessels and compelling them to salute his flag. He also used unnecessary harshness, doing some things illegally, and acting altogether without proper authority. in the opinion of the chief justice of the colony. When on a certain day, in eager pursuit of a suspected vessel, he ran his ship aground, the smugglers and people, who were cherishing hot resentment, thought the time of vengeance had come. A drum-beat, sounded openly on the streets of Providence, summoned volunteers for the destruction of the king's ship, and ten o'clock that night eight boat-loads of armed men, with muffled oars, reached the ship in the darkness of early morning. The *Gaspee* was surprised, boarded, captured, and set on fire; and in the light of the flames and of the rising sun the party returned as if from some pleasure expedition, and no evidence could ever be gathered by the British government for the apprehension and punishment of a single transgressor. In England hot indignation

was kindled against America. On our side dislike created sympathy and united the colonies. Committees were appointed to correspond with one another, and agents assisted in England—men of great ability, of whom Edmund Burke was agent for New York and Dr. Franklin for Pennsylvania. The latter, with a true and strong patriotism, was wisely opposed to hasty separation. He thought that if the colonies, already one-fourth of England's population, would only wait awhile, they would be large enough to obtain whatever terms they wanted. Franklin then had the highest reputation in the world of any living American, and his opinions were highly respected by the English government. But some private correspondence between high officials in England and America came into his possession, and as the subject-matter was public affairs of utmost consequence, Franklin thought himself justified, and more than justified, in making it known to some of his leading countrymen at home. This proceeding occasioned bitter resentment, and Franklin was brought before the king's privy council for trial. He listened with unmoved countenance whilst Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, hurled at him furious witticisms and gross insults—invectives sustained by the boisterous merriment of all that high circle except one self-contained member, Lord North. Franklin was ignominiously dismissed from his office of postmaster-general of the colonies, with other significant marks of disgrace, which only added more fuel to the flame of disaffection at home. Intelligent Englishmen soon became convinced, however, that nothing but the sword could enforce taxation; and as war seemed imminent some new views were written and published. Dean Tucker of Gloucester, without any respect or affection for America, thought it would be a profitable policy to let the colonies go. Adam Smith argued that trade monopoly was injurious to England. He would be glad to see a peaceful separation. The usefulness of the colonies to the mother country became a doubtful question to many; and the ministers themselves asked whether America had not better be given up. Burke and Chatham earnestly desired her retention, with conciliatory measures. Chatham held so strong a view of the mutual glory and advantage of a united empire that he became impatient at the riotous and senseless ways of the colonists themselves; he thought them infatuated, and declared that if they entertained the most distant thought of separation he would have England use all her power to prevent it. On our side it is most surprising how universally and strongly the American people disclaimed any intention of setting up for themselves.

In August, 1773, Franklin wrote to the English government in behalf of Massachusetts: "The people desire to be on good terms with the

mother country. They aim at no revolution." In 1774 he assured Lord Chatham, "there is no desire for independence." Public documents show that such men as Jefferson and Washington, as late as October, 1774, thought of taking arms only to redress grievances. John Adams states that when he walked the streets of Philadelphia, a member of congress in 1775, he was avoided as if a leper, because he was suspected of being in favor of separation; and again, at the congress of 1776, he was cautioned by leading patriots not to utter the word independence, because the idea was unpopular in Pennsylvania and all the middle provinces; and, in fact, it was very slowly and reluctantly that the mass of the people became familiarized to the thought of independent government.

Why, then, was not the matter peaceably settled? Both parties were holden under illusions to pursue their extreme measures. The colonies believed bravery would bring immediate redress; and, indeed, the military resources of England were very low. But England depended on the impossibility of colonial union, and they noted that the violence was mainly confined to Massachusetts and Virginia. The officers of the colonial government informed the king that a few troops would be sufficient to quell the opposition. General Gage, made governor of Massachusetts, said that four regiments would be enough; and such advice had great effect on George III. and strengthened him and his ministry to continue the policy of coercion. Thus, under an unseen Hand, things drifted onward, till indignation at colonial doings overcame all prudent considerations and the time for temporizing passed. Authority must be sustained; and government, supported by a majority of the English people, though staggering under its own taxation and plagued with popular riots at home, proceeded against Massachusetts with stringent measures. Boston harbor was closed and English ships stationed to keep trade at a distance. The charter of Massachusetts was remodeled, and an enactment passed that trial for murder or other capital offense in aiding riots should be transferred to an outside colony or carried to Great Britain.

Congress, selected by twelve of the provincial assemblies, met in Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, and though it possessed no legal authority, it was regarded and obeyed as the supreme power in America. This memorable body, whilst it expressed approbation of Boston's proceedings and exhorted them to continued opposition against the invasion of their constitution, also drew up exceedingly able state papers defining its position, and issued powerful addresses to the king and people of England. These appeals were moderate in tone and full of professed loyalty to the crown, declaring that if the present grievances should be redressed the colonies

would use none but peaceable measures. After less than an eight-weeks' session, it was dissolved to meet again May 10, 1775, if affairs were still unsettled. The colonists, not intimidated by the coercive acts, sympathized with Boston and sent help to her unemployed people. Subscriptions and provisions poured in from every quarter to encourage their resistance. Virginia prayed God to give one heart and one mind to the people to resist every injury to American rights, and for this step the assembly was dissolved by the royal governor.

The merchants of Salem and Marblehead offered their wharves and warehouses to the Boston shippers. The Massachusetts assembly was also dissolved for their patriotic expressions, but the movement of resistance was unchecked all over America. The people were called to unite in abstaining from all commercial intercourse with Great Britain; and when King George heard of the proceedings of congress, representing twelve colonies, he said: "The die is cast; America must either submit or triumph." The military force of England was small; men would not enlist, at least to fight America. Press-gangs for sailors and soldiers had to put forth the most violent, cruel, and illegal exactions, and many criminals were pardoned on condition of entering the ranks. Lord George Germaine, becoming chief for American affairs in 1775, though acting with new energy, had no resource but to hire Hessian and German mercenaries to fight against liberty. At length fresh troops and ships arrived at Boston, when General Gage fortified Boston Neck and tried to erect barracks in the town, but could hire no builders. He also seized upon the gunpowder stored in some of the New England arsenals. Riots broke out and outrages were committed against obnoxious individuals, without any one to control them; for the courts of justice could not be held, for want of jurymen. English officials had to fly to Boston for protection. Farmers refused to sell provisions for the soldiers; they set fire to the hay on its way to the encampments, and made the troops feel in every way the effects of their animosity.

An assembly was elected in Massachusetts without the legal writs, and, though irregular, proceeded to organize the Revolution and take measures for enlisting soldiers and appointing regular officers; proposing to enroll twelve thousand men, and have Rhode Island and Connecticut make up the number to twenty thousand. People were arming themselves as volunteers, organizing and drilling. Minute-men were formed, and upon a false alarm, thirty thousand men of Massachusetts and Connecticut were brought together. Still many shrunk from the foreseen horrors of war. Prosperous farmers, money-makers, and men of domestic

tastes dreaded to be drawn into a bloody conflict. There were brave, honest, and patriotic men who entertained as a grand idea continued union with the English blood, language, and liberty, to form a great and leading empire over the globe; and thinking men feared that, if separation was attained, a multitude of small states might arise, or that lawless and violent democracy would rule the land. *The Farmer's Letters* written by Dickinson of Pennsylvania, and letters published in Boston under a *nom de plume* of "Massachusettensis," eloquent and touching, against civil war, had much influence; but the energetic and determined men had their way, and things moved rapidly forward. When news came in 1774 that no military stores were to be exported to America, the colonists immediately proceeded to secure what they could find at home. Forty pieces of cannon and a large amount of ammunition were taken from Fort George at Providence, Rhode Island, and secured in that city. A small fort in New Hampshire was surprised, and the military stores carried off; mills for gunpowder and arms were set up in several provinces, and orders given for casting sixty heavy cannon.

Over the sea, indignation at the proceedings of the colonies rose very high and fierce, and in March, 1775, in the face of many voices friendly to America, parliament pronounced Massachusetts in a state of rebellion, and promised every aid to the ministry in subjugating the peace; resolving, also, to raise the military force in Boston to ten thousand men. At the same time, the colonies were prohibited from all trade and cut off from the Newfoundland fisheries. These measures were adopted in the face of strong voices against them, to which, however, parliament would not listen. Chatham's motion in the house of lords, to withdraw the troops from Boston, gained but eighteen votes, with sixty-eight opposed. February 1 he proposed a bill for the settlement of the troubles, but it was not admitted to a second reading. Burke, in one of his finest speeches, recommended the repeal of some recent acts. Mr. Hartley and Lord Camden and Sir G. Saville made similar attempts, but they were defeated by enormous majorities. The petition of congress to the king, parliament would not receive. The legislature of New York, acting independently of the other colonies, in terms respectful and moderate, made a supreme effort to heal the wound; disclaiming the most distant desire for independence and offering to pay its full proportion of aid to the public service. Their communication was presented by Burke, their agent in England, on the 15th of May, but for some trifling reason the house of commons would not receive it; and Franklin, after making vain efforts for reconciliation, returned home in 1775.

Yet, to show with what solicitude matters were regarded in England, Lord North was careful to publish that all coercive measures would cease upon the submission of the colonies; and further, to the astonishment of all, he himself introduced a conciliatory resolution, on one condition, to give up the right of taxation—to exempt any colony from taxation that would of itself contribute to the common defense of the empire, to an amount that would satisfy parliament. The proposal met with storms of opposition from the minister's own followers; but the king was in favor of the measure, and at the faintest hint from such a quarter the storm subsided, and the old majority of two hundred and sixty to ninety passed the bill. Earlier in the dispute, this measure would have had a good effect, but the quarrel had gone too far and was waged too bitterly on both sides. Besides, it was looked at suspiciously, as if a bait to separate the colonies from each other.

Lord Dartmouth, secretary of state for the colonies, recommended the acceptance of this offer, to the governors, very persuasively, in March, 1775; but a month later, 19th of April, the battle of Lexington shut the door forever. The whole population was aroused to arms. By the battle of Bunker Hill, two months after this, on 17th of June, the war was fully inaugurated, and the same year Ticonderoga and Crown Point were taken. The Americans were not bloodthirsty. Not one political assassination was heard of in all the long quarrel, under all the exasperation. In eighteen years but one criminal execution had taken place in Massachusetts, whereas in London twenty-nine or thirty were executed every year. In fair battle, however, they could kill and be killed, as at Bunker Hill; and with the result of that bloody day, the conviction disappeared from men's minds, that volunteer soldiers would not dare to encounter regular troops. The insulting taunts of the English against American valor were forever silenced, and the best judges predicted the ultimate success of the American cause.

On May 10, 1775, the continental congress, now holding representatives from all the thirteen colonies, having already laid the foundation of independence, met in Philadelphia, and with energy and industry never equaled occupied itself in organizing the war. At the same time, whilst they rejected Lord North's proposal as insufficient, they sent a petition to the king and addresses to the people of Great Britain, Ireland, Canada, and the assembly of Jamaica, professing loyalty to the crown, disclaiming a desire of separation, and asserting that they took arms strictly in defense of their constitutional liberties. In the same year Ticonderoga and Crown Point were taken and the war carried, unsuccessfully, into

Canada. The royal governors had to fly. Lord Dunmore of Virginia tried to resist. By gathering loyalists and troops together, and setting some slaves free, he inflicted much injury on the coast and burned the town of Norfolk, but soon was forced to leave the colony and the country.

After all the bold strokes made for freedom, it was evident to serious men that they were rushing to war without a united people. A powerful minority in every province was ardently attached to England. A large proportion of the people was quietly or actively opposed to war, and Tories, as they were called, abounded all over the land, some even in Boston and other parts of New England, though mostly in the middle and southern colonies; and when actual trial came, calling for personal danger, patience, and sacrifice, there was a painful absence of the heroism and self-denial we love to attribute to the times of the Revolution. But the tide of union and independence was rising. The battle of Lexington, the burning of Charlestown and Norfolk, the rejection of the congressional addresses, and the severe enactments of parliament, all conspired to strengthen the hands of the ardent and intelligent leaders of the national movement. The hostile feeling toward England increased and expanded, the thought of Revolution became less frightful and more familiar, a fiercer spirit flew abroad, and popular opinion began to run strongly in the direction of unshackled freedom. Even Washington, wise and moderate, now expressed the hope "that the whole country would unite in one indissoluble band against a barbarously acting nation." England had done so much in an unmotherly spirit that it was ingeniously claimed parliament had itself enacted separation.

Still congress hesitated about declaring independence. Many and long were the rough and bitter secret debates before they could reach the great measure finally adopted. Could they obtain the neutrality or active assistance of France, they might succeed. France cherished no sympathy for their constitutional liberties; yet for political reasons, the advantages of commerce, and the humiliation of England, she might give aid. Congress must first, however, declare the country independent. A filial spirit toward the dear old home-country still moved in their hearts and lifted its voice against summoning foreign foes against her sons. When, at last, they found that mother marshaling rude Hessian troops against the children, foreigners unacquainted with their language, ignorant of their history, and having no blood affection, such scruples passed away. Still the declaration lingered, being opposed by a large section of congress. The interests of the proprietors in the middle colonies were adverse; the old planter system could not well brook the democratic

equality and government, though the great document was framed by southern intellect and patriotism. The revolutionary party grew stronger; some new features of colonial government were adopted; the proprietors were shaken off, and the democratic tide ran more freely. Virginia gave in, then Pennsylvania, then New Jersey.

July 2, 1776, twelve colonies resolved, "These colonies are and ought to be free and independent states." The words of the declaration offered by Jefferson were reviewed by Franklin and John Adams, other members of the committee, and without alteration recommended. On the 4th of July it was passed, making *that* the auspicious birthday of a new nation, rising on the world a luminary of hope to all the peoples that on earth do dwell.

The bell on the Philadelphia state-house was strangely inscribed, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof," and at two o'clock P. M. it gave the joyful signal to the waiting multitude that the immortal document was adopted.

It still remains to tell of one great act of congress, the selection of a commander-in-chief of the armies. Plenty of brave men were to be found in the different colonies, some of whom thought themselves fitted for the post; others were the favorites of various circles.

It cannot now be doubted that one man stood distinguishably as most highly fitted and God provided. Colonel George Washington was a member of congress, and in his regimentals must have moved as the most striking figure on the floor. He belonged to Virginia, a gentleman of independent fortunes, distinguished in the French and Indian wars, in the forty-fifth year of his age, the prime of health and manhood. He excelled not in brilliant powers, but for endowments that enabled him to discern, superintend, restrain, and direct. Lecky pronounces him "conspicuous for wisdom and unquestionably the greatest man in congress." Patrick Henry calls him the superior of all others for solid information and sound judgment, whilst in purely mental powers he was inferior only to one or two, say Franklin and John Adams. He was so retiring and quiet, that, though his advice in congress on military affairs was always followed, no one suspected such superior intellectual abilities and moral qualities as makes it doubtful, had any one else been appointed, whether the great enterprise of freedom would have succeeded. It took time for his superiority to be recognized and acknowledged. Because of rivalries and peculiar difficulties, he made his way like the sun fighting against the morning mists and clouds; but by his steadfast virtues and successful issues, he reached the zenith, there to abide, his memory acting as a polar

star, an incentive and guide to all the nations who may aim at real constitutional freedom and equality.

This man congress had the wisdom and patriotism, to their own honor and glory, and for the final success of the war and the lasting welfare of America, to choose; an appointment to which history attributes the success of the cause more than to any other single act.

And when appointed, how did he deport himself? He had not sought the post. He took no pay. He did not accept it for personal rank or authority. He has left it on record, that, had he known what the post would inflict on him, he could never have been persuaded to accept it. He was not an original, ardent "patriot" nor a "Son of Liberty," but becoming thoroughly convicted, he took sides with all his heart and understanding, and stood on this position with the firmness of the rock of principle that he believed was under him. Punctual to time and promise, he was able to manage details as well as the highest affairs of military administration. He not only had the courage of battle, but possessed moral courage to carry responsibility, bear suspense, and wait without resentment for deliverance from misrepresentation and unpopularity. On account of short enlistments his army was perpetually fluctuating in its personality. Many of his men were late emigrants, and native Americans were opposed to strict discipline and subordination. They were all half-clothed and half-fed, badly armed and ill-paid. Never wavering himself in his political faith and hope, he kept that army together. By unsurpassing skill and judgment, now a Fabius, now a Cæsar, he made that barefooted, bleeding host, uncomfortable by their own countrymen before whose doors they marched, efficient to turn the battle in their favor, and, by the aid of one friendly power, invincible against every army Great Britain could bring against them. The last battle was fought when Cornwallis was taken October 19, 1781.

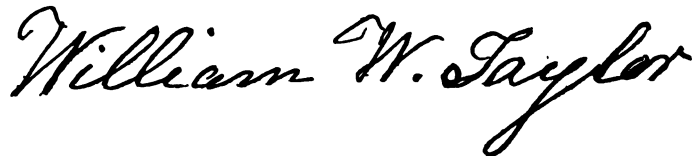
Of the Americans as a class it should be said that twenty-six years before the Revolution a high level of civilization had been attained. Burnaby, the English traveler, who passed through the northern and middle colonies for twelve hundred miles in 1759 and 1760, says he did not meet with a single beggar. Farmers and farm laborers were incomparably better off than the same class in England and Europe. America was accounted the best poor-man's country in the world. Parish libraries in New England furnished excellent reading matter and were well used. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, South Carolina, would have ranked high in intelligence and good manners among the provincial towns of Europe. Philadelphia excited the traveler's wonder and admira-

tion for its beauty and regularity; its well-lighted, well-paved, and well-kept streets; its shipping, and the number of vessels in building at the yards; its stately buildings, libraries, churches, and schools, with a market that might rival London's to feed its nineteen thousand people. Before 1749, when not a single press could be found among the French in Canada, five printing houses in Boston were running, full of work, and the *Boston Gazette* was a semi-weekly paper. Most of the important colonies published a newspaper, and by 1765 forty-three were in existence. Besides these, four literary magazines, if not more, were flourishing, and nine colleges were educating and sending forth their graduates. Such were the people who had won the victory.

Preliminaries of peace were signed November 30, 1782, followed by the treaty of Paris, September 3, 1783.

Under the old articles of confederation, congress could take no national measures; a stronger government was demanded and amidst violent discussions for and against a federal union, a convention met at Philadelphia, of which Washington was chosen its president, and the Constitution of the United States was framed and adopted.

For the first President of the United States all eyes turned to Washington, and he was elected to the great office. With reluctance, he left Mount Vernon for New York, though his way was strewn with flowers, where his inauguration took place April 30, 1789, with John Adams as Vice-President. The crowning work was now achieved. Like the great Corliss engine that set in operation the machinery of the centenary exhibition, Washington gave the sovereign stir that has never ceased its steady motion; and woe to the man, who, for self-lifting or party advancement, shall unhinge a cog-wheel or slacken the patriot fire of the constitutional government, "of the people, for the people, and by the people," on which a world's administration might solidly stand and perpetually and beneficially move.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "William W. Taylor". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the main body of text.

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE.

THE FOUNDING OF POST VINCENNES

Some three hundred and sixty years ago there was a notable conference of reformers at Marburg, which was called chiefly to consider the question of transubstantiation. Luther was the leader of those who adhered to the doctrine of the real presence. Zwingli was the head of the opposition. Without reference to the merits of the question, it is safe to say that the weight of the argument there presented was overwhelmingly with Zwingli, but Luther refused to be convinced. As each knock-down blow was delivered to him, he set his broad jaws, shook his fat head, and doggedly returned to his original starting-point with the words, "*Hoc est corpus meum.*" It was a striking example of the tendency of man to cling to a thing merely because he has clung to it in the past.

With feelings something akin to what those of Zwingli must have been on this occasion, I read in the May number of this magazine an article entitled, "Indiana's First Settlement." Particularly was this the case on arriving at this statement: "I would not pretend either to the ability or the research to answer all the arguments of Mr. Dunn, and yet I will venture to state my conviction that he is wrong as to the date of the establishment of the post, and my belief that the large number of historical writers placing the date very near the beginning of the eighteenth century are correct." And so did Luther hold up the velvet table-cover on which he had chalked his *Hoc est corpus meum*, and answer back, "See! see! This is our text; you have not yet driven us from it, as you had boasted, and we care for no other proofs."

It required many weeks of patient labor for me to remove the mass of débris which local historians had piled over the history of Vincennes. An effort was made, however, to follow every root of error to its beginning, and destroy it thoroughly. How well I succeeded, I am content to leave to the opinions of others; but as the old error has been reproduced by Mr. Bryan, and as there are doubtless hundreds who read this magazine that will never examine the original exposition of the matter, I will re-state the case. I profess some familiarity with the facts, inasmuch as I collected and published such of them as have the flavor of novelty.

The oldest known records of traditions as to the establishment of Post Vincennes are the statements of General Harmar, August 7, 1787, and of Major Denny who accompanied Harmar in his expedition to Vincennes.

Harmar says : " Monsieur Vincennes, the French officer from whom it derives its name, I am informed, was here and commenced the settlement sixty years ago." Denny says : " It was first settled by a Monsieur Vincennes, near seventy years ago [*i. e.*, from 1787], from whom it takes its name." The next record is Volney's, and he, after expressly referring to the confused state of tradition at the time (1796), says : " I was only able to form a conjecture that it was planted about 1735." David Thomas did not say " in 1816, after careful inquiry, that the post was established in 1702." He gives two accounts as furnished him by old residents—the first fixing the date of settlement " about the year 1690," and the second about the year 1702—and says : " I think the chronology of the *first* should be preferred." * This is the earliest known mention of the date 1702 in tradition, and from the confusion in traditional accounts already manifested, it is evident that later statements from traditional sources are not worth considering.

In the way of documentary evidence there is but one authority that by any courtesy can be considered as supporting the date 1702, and that is General Gage's letter to the inhabitants of Vincennes, of April 2, 1773. I omit Father Marest's letter of November 9, 1712, intentionally, as it is evident beyond peradventure, both from the letter itself and from the direct testimony of Father Charlevoix, that it refers to Juchevau's post at the mouth of the Ohio (the lower part of which was called " Ouabache" by the early chroniclers) and not to Vincennes. I also omit intentionally the letter of the inhabitants of Vincennes to General Gage, of September 14, 1772 ; " in which they assert that their settlement is of seventy years' standing." *No historian has seen that letter, or a copy of it, and none knows what it stated.* Mr. Dillon summarized its contents from General Gage's reply, and later writers have easily quoted it as if the letter were before them. What General Gage said was, " As you claim your possession by sacred titles, *insinuating* that your settlement is of seventy years' standing, and that the lands have been granted by order and under the protection of his Most Christian Majesty, it is necessary that his Majesty should be informed very particularly upon these points ; and it is important to you to give convincing proofs of all that you allege in this respect." No one knows what the insinuating words were, but any one familiar with old French manuscripts knows that the English general might easily have mistaken the words ; and, what is of more importance, we know what proofs they furnished in support of their allegations. The only evidence offered as to the date was the certificate of

* Travels in the Western Country, p. 189.

Louis St. Ange that he commanded at Post Vincennes "with a garrison of regular troops from the year 1736 until the year 1764; . . . that, further, the said post was established a number of years before my command, under that of Monsieur de Vincenne, officer of the troops, whom I succeeded by order of the king."

While this certificate does not furnish the date, it establishes one point of importance, and that is that the *Sieur de Vincennes* whom St. Ange succeeded was the one who founded the post; and that man was *François Morgane*. It is gratifying to note, amid all other confusion, that all tradition and all known records agree on this. If this fact be kept in mind, and it be remembered that *François Morgane* was not *Sieur de Vincennes* until after the death of his uncle, *Jean Baptiste Bissot*, in 1719, the solution of the question becomes comparatively simple. At this time the dividing line on the Wabash between the jurisdictions of Louisiana and Canada was the site of *Terre Haute*. The new *Sieur de Vincennes* was in the service of Canada, and took the place of his deceased uncle with the *Miami* and *Ouyatanon* Indians on the *Maumee* and upper Wabash. At this time, too, the French of Louisiana became alarmed at the approach of the English to the Mississippi valley, and repeated calls were made for the establishment of a post on the "Ouabache." These calls are couched in language which shows that there was not then any post on the Wabash or lower Ohio. Orders were given for the foundation of a post in 1725, but it was not done, for lack of supplies.

In 1726 the order was renewed, but in terms allowing an exercise of discretion as to location. In their letter the directors of the Mississippi company, after referring to a report that the English had already made establishments, say: "If it should be confirmed, there will not be a moment to lose in causing the lower part of the river Ohio [*i. e.*, the Ohio above the mouth of the Wabash] to be occupied by the *Ouyatanons*; and he should then establish the fort about the mouth of the *Casquinamboux* [Tennessee], placing there as commander an officer who will get along with *Monsieur de Vincennes*, whom it will not be well to remove from the house of the *Ouyatanons* if you are to get the usefulness from them that is hoped for. *Monsieur Périer*, the new governor of Louisiana, will reflect well on this subject, and consider if, by giving eight or ten soldiers to the said *Sieur de Vincennes*, with the missionary destined for the Ouabache, he will not find himself in condition to assure, by the Indians, the communication between Louisiana and Canada, and to prevent the English from penetrating into our colony, without obliging the company to construct a fort on the lower Ouabache [*i. e.*, the Ohio below the mouth of the

Wabash], of which the expense of the establishment and the support of the garrison make an object of consequence. To induce Sieur de Vincennes to attach himself to the colony of Louisiana, Monsieur Périer will advise him that he has obtained for him from the company an annuity of three hundred livres, which will be paid to him with his salary as half-pay lieutenant." *

The date of this letter is September 30, 1726, and beyond it there is no evidence of the exact date of the founding of the post. It is probable, however, as the marriage records of Kaskaskia show Vincennes and his lieutenant St. Ange to have been at that place in 1727, that the post was founded in that year. It is to be noted also that this date harmonizes with the earliest recorded traditions and with the certificate of St. Ange. So far as direct record evidence and tradition go, it is clear that Post Vincennes was founded after 1726 and before 1736. Now let us look at the negative evidence.

The journal of La Harpe and the relation of Penicaut cover the history of the Louisiana colony from 1698 to 1722, and to them we should first look for information as to the founding of Vincennes, if it occurred within those years, for the site of Vincennes was in the jurisdiction of Louisiana. The most careful examination fails to reveal any mention of the post, and yet there are full accounts of the Illinois and Ouabache countries, and of Juchevau's post at the mouth of the Ohio. An examination of the Canadian documents will be made with the same result. It is particularly noticeable that the memoir of the Indian tribes, of 1718, while it mentions other known settlements and posts of the French, and describes the Indians of the Wabash, has no allusion to any French post on that stream.† If we seek to look through the eyes of the enemy, and examine the British reports, we still find nothing of Post Vincennes prior to 1727. The report of the lords commissioners for trades and plantations for 1721 purports to give "an account of the forts the French have built, and the settlements they have made to secure their communication;" but it has no mention of Post Vincennes.‡

How about maps? My own research has failed to find any prior to 1727 on which any settlement on the Wabash is marked, and no one has offered one in evidence on this question. It will perhaps be fair to say that no known map indicates the existence of Post Vincennes prior to 1727.

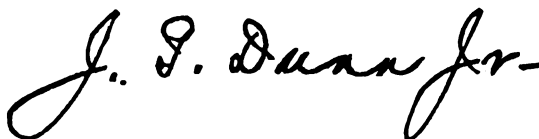
* Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*, vol. vi. p. 660.

† N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. ix. p. 885.

‡ N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. v. pp. 620, 621.

What becomes, then, of the proposition that Vincennes was founded in 1702? I think I will meet general approval in the statement that it rests on pure assertion. To some extent it is the result of confusing Vincennes with Juchevau's post, which was established in that year, but no historian should be misled in that way. The distinction was pointed out in the *North American Review* for January, 1839. Mr. Dillon gave his adherence to the correct statement.* John Gilmary Shea covered the ground in a review of "The Diocese of Vincennes," some five years since.

I would call attention in this connection to the work of Mr. O. F. Baker, an authority cited by Mr. Bryan, who is the head and front of the 1702 school, and who by the vigor of his assurances has led several well-meaning investigators into adopting his conclusions. He always claimed that he had original documents proving his theory, but uniformly refused to exhibit them on account of an intention to use them himself. At length his production appeared in a *History of Knox and Daviess Counties*, published in Chicago in 1886; but it contained no copy of any of his original documents, nor any reference to any authority that had not been within reach of students for years. It does contain, however, some of the most extraordinary statements made by any professedly serious writer since the days of Mathieu Saguean. He gives minute details of the history of Vincennes from 1702 with the same charming nonchalance that he sends Juchevau to Sault Ste. Marie in 1819 (fifteen years after his death), kills Monsieur de Vincennes in an Arkansas forest, and breaks up Post Ouyatanon in 1732 which was unquestionably garrisoned for more than thirty years later. The sketch is so full of delightful absurdities that it deserves a permanent place among works of humor. And yet this is the author who reconstructed the oft-exploded 1702 theory, and on whose authority it now chiefly rests. I will not say what perhaps might properly be said under the circumstances, but I will advise all investigators when dealing with Indiana historians to insist on having the page and volume of all authorities; and to make assurance doubly sure it might be well occasionally to look up the authorities cited.



INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA.

* Ed. of 1859, p. 21.

THE LAST TWELVE DAYS OF MAJOR JOHN ANDRE

(Part III. Conclusion)

The route pursued by Allen with the captive after he left Sands' mills was the road leading to New Castle Corner, which was really the North Castle of the Revolutionary period, and thence over Crow Hill to Pine's Bridge, and so on toward Crompond, the same road that had been traversed by André on the morning of that day. Upon the receipt of the order for his countermarch Lieutenant Allen returned with his prisoner to Sands' mills, and reached that place the next morning. The length of time consumed in the countermarch indicates long travel, and is confirmatory of my theory respecting the distance. They returned by the same route, although the order directed Allen to proceed to Captain Hoogland, at Lower Salem, and then to proceed himself and deliver a letter to Arnold; he was directed also to show that order to Arnold to explain why the prisoner was not sent on. That order seems to have been misunderstood, for André was returned to Colonel Jameson at Sands' mills, where Major Tallmadge for the first time saw him. André was placed in a room of a building which is still to be seen at Sands' mills, constituting the addition to a barn on the premises. He manifested much agitation, walking back and forth across the apartment almost constantly. From the way he turned on his heel in retracing his steps, Major Tallmadge became convinced that he had been bred to arms and was no common personage. It was therefore deemed safest to remove and keep him in close custody until orders should be received either from Arnold or General Washington.

The headquarters of Colonel Sheldon, who commanded the regiment, were then at Lower Salem, now Lewisboro. To this place it was determined to take the prisoner. Major Tallmadge commanded the escort which conducted him thither. This is fairly to be inferred from the statement of Tallmadge himself in his memoirs, although General Joshua King, who was a lieutenant in Sheldon's regiment of light dragoons, and who received Major André there, stated in a letter written June 9, 1817, that he was brought up by an adjutant and four men belonging to the Connecticut militia. They passed over the road leading from Sands' mills, to Coman Hill, then on to the village of Bedford, thence to Cross River, and from there to Lower Salem to the house of John Gilbert, then the headquarters of Colonel Sheldon, the commandant of the regiment. The

house has since been demolished, but it stood on the west side of the road leading north from South Salem village, between the residence of Mrs. Abby Hoyt and John I. Bouton.

Lieutenant King, who received André, says that he looked somewhat dilapidated; that his small-clothes were nankeen, with handsome white top-boots; that his coat was purple with gold lace, somewhat worn; that he wore his hair in a cue, and wore a long black beard, a small brimmed beaver hat, and that all his clothes were somewhat dirty. He also states that when his barber came to dress him he invited his prisoner to undergo the same operation, which he did, and when the ribbon was taken from his hair it was full of powder—a circumstance which, with others that occurred, induced the belief that his prisoner was no ordinary personage. He further says that his prisoner requested permission to take the bed while his shirt and small-clothes could be washed, but that instead of doing so he was furnished with a shirt, which he accepted.

André desired permission to walk in the yard before the door, which Lieutenant King granted, and the two walked and talked together. During the conversation André gave a short account of himself from the time he was taken prisoner at St. Johns by Montgomery in 1775. He also made a pencil sketch of a ludicrous group representing himself and his escort under march, and on presenting it to Mr. Bronson he said: "This will give you an idea of the style in which I had the honor to be conducted to my present abode." So far as we know, the sketch was not preserved. About three o'clock in the afternoon André requested pen, ink, and paper, which were furnished him, and he then and there wrote the letter to General Washington, dated Salem, 24th of September, 1780, in which he disclosed his true character, and avowed himself to be the adjutant-general of the British army.

The express sent by Colonel Jameson with the papers found on the person of André, failing to intercept General Washington on his return from Hartford, as he anticipated, returned to Salem and received the letter which André had written, and bore it to the Robinson house with the other papers, and delivered them to Colonel Hamilton September 25, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and Hamilton carried them to General Washington on his return from West Point, about four o'clock in the afternoon of the same day.

Lieutenant Allen reached Robinson's house about nine o'clock in the morning of that day, and delivered Jameson's letter to Arnold, who was then at breakfast with Mrs. Arnold, Colonel Hamilton, and others. He opened the letter and read it at once. Preserving his presence of mind, he

said it was necessary he should go at once to West Point, and desired the aids to inform General Washington on his arrival that he would return very soon. He then ordered his horse, and leaving the table hastily went to Mrs. Arnold's room, and sending for her told her his situation, and that his life depended upon his flight without detection. In a very few minutes after Arnold left the table the servant of General Washington came to the door and informed Major Franks, one of Arnold's aids, that his Excellency was nigh at hand, and Major Franks went immediately up-stairs and informed Arnold of the fact. Arnold came down in great confusion, mounted his horse, and directing Major Franks to inform his Excellency that he was going to West Point and would return in about an hour, he rode down what has since been called Arnold's path, to Beverly dock, and escaped into his barge, carrying with him his saddle and pistols, and thence to the *Vulture*. General Washington reached the house in about half an hour after Arnold's flight, and taking a hasty breakfast went to West Point. The delay of Lieutenant Allen in reaching the Robinson house has never been explained; but if he started in the forenoon of the 24th, after his return with André to Sands' mills, he was twenty-four hours in traveling forty miles.

At seven o'clock in the evening of the same day, September 25, at the Robinson house, General Washington wrote an order to Colonel Jameson (in whose charge he then supposed the prisoner to be), in these words:

"Robinson's House, 25th Sept. 7 o'clock, P. M., 1780. Sir, I wish every precaution and attention to be paid, to prevent Major André from making his escape. He will without doubt make it if possible; and, in order that he may not have it in his power, you will send him under the care of such a party and so many officers, as to protect him from the least opportunity of doing it. That he may be less liable to be recaptured by the enemy, who will, no doubt, make every effort to regain him, he had better be conducted to this place *by some upper* road rather than by the route of Crompond. I would not wish André to be treated with insult; but he does not appear to stand upon the footing of a common prisoner of war; and therefore he is not entitled to the usual indulgence which they receive, and is to be most closely and narrowly watched. General Arnold, before I arrived here, went off to-day to the enemy and is on board the *Vulture* sloop of war.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

GEO. WASHINGTON."

This letter was dispatched by a courier, who reached Sheldon's post at midnight of the same day. The night was dismal and dreary, and the rain fell in torrents. The message was immediately communicated to André, who was in bed, but he quickly arose and obeyed the summons. On taking leave of the officers he expressed a deep sense of his obligation to them for the courteous treatment he had received at their hands.

The escort, which is said to have been very strong, was led by Lieutenant King, and was joined on the way by Captain Hoogland, Major Tallmadge, and Captain Rogers. They proceeded on the road leading from Lower Salem over Long Pond mountain west of Lake Waccabuc down the northerly side of that mountain, past the place now occupied by Ulysses S. Grant, Jr., to the North Salem meeting-house, where they met a second express from General Washington with an order to the officer commanding the escort directing him to take a circuitous route to headquarters, for fear of recapture. At that time the road from West Point over Gallows hill past the old Episcopal church to Crompond, and so on east to Danbury and Hartford, was known as the *lower route*; and the route pursued by General Washington on his return from Hartford from the meeting with Count Rochambeau, by way of old Fishkill, was called the *upper route*. This second order received by Lieutenant King must have been construed literally, for he changed his course and proceeded by the way of the old Red mills in Putnam county. In so doing he naturally turned west at the corner by the North Salem church, went by the road leading past the present residence of Isaac H. Purdy, and from there to Croton Falls, and so on by the old road to Lake Mahopac and Red mills, where a halt was made at the house of Major James Cox, known in later times as the Johnson mansion. According to tradition, André was taken into that house, and on seeing an infant child in a cradle, who looked up to him and smiled, he said, "Happy childhood; we know its peace but once. I wish I was as innocent as you." The stay there was short, and the cavalcade proceeded on by way of the old road to Shrub Oak Plains over Gray's hills by the old church to the house now occupied by Gardner P. Hollman, near the late residence of General Pierre van Cortland, which building is standing yet. This place was reached in the morning, and another halt was made there for a short time. Resuming the march they passed over Gallows hill to Continental village, then on the road to what was formerly known as Lancaster's corner, thence over the hill by the old Gay place, then down Iron Rock hill to the gate near the old Nelson place, then known as Mandeville's. There they turned in at the old gate and passed down the lane leading to the Robinson house, which was then a private road called Beverly lane. The precise time of their arrival has not been stated, but it was probably well on in the forenoon. The distance they had traveled from Lower Salem after midnight was at least thirty miles, and from Van Cortland corner about ten miles.

André remained at the Robinson house during the remainder of the 26th, and in the evening of that day he was taken back over Beverly lane

to Nelson's Point, now Garrison's, to the old dock on the place now known as the Cromwell property, south of the present ferry dock. There he was placed in a boat and rowed across the river to West Point, where he was confined until the morning of the 28th.

Joshua Hett Smith had in the meantime been arrested at Fishkill village and marched to Robinson's house, and from there had been taken to West Point, and was at the landing with André on the morning of the 28th, and both were to be taken down the river at the same time. Smith was about to address André and take his hand, when Major Tallmadge forbade all communication between them. Thereupon two barges were rowed to the landing-place, and Smith was placed in one and André in the other with Tallmadge, André being placed on the after seat by the side of Tallmadge. As they proceeded down the river André conversed with freedom respecting the contemplated capture of West Point, and pointed out the spot where he was to have landed at the head of a select corps. His animation was admired by his companion, and the delight of Tallmadge reached its climax when André informed him that military glory and the approbation of his sovereign were the only rewards he expected.

On reaching the landing at King's Ferry on the west side of the river above Stony Point, they found a large troop of cavalry which had been sent from the main army at Tappan for an escort to the headquarters at that place. Smith was placed in the van and André in the rear. At his own request Smith was permitted to deviate from the course pursued with André, and to visit his own house. He afterward returned and joined the cavalcade while it was on the road. After leaving King's Ferry André became inquisitive respecting the view which might be taken of his case, and upon being informed that it presented a parallel to that of Nathan Hale, he became very much depressed.

The detachment with André proceeded along the road so frequently traversed by the Continental forces in their marches and countermarches through Rockland county, and across the Hudson river at King's Ferry. The same road was pursued by the allied armies of France and America on their march to the capture of Cornwallis in 1781. That road passes under the foot of the mountain, and they pursued it, crossing the road from Grassy Point near what is now the Stony Point post-office, and passing near Smith's house to the next corner they took the right-hand road through or near what is now known as Garnerville. Then, taking a southwesterly course around the westerly side of the mountain, they continued nearly in a straight southerly course to a place called the Clove, now Hempstead, to the house of John Coe, a distance of about ten miles from the river. At

Coe's house a halt was made for dinner, and Major Tallmadge, who was in command of the escort, posted vedettes and sentinels around the house to secure the party against surprise. This house is still standing opposite the English church in Hempstead, in the town of Ramapo. During the halt at Coe's house André, looking over his dress, remarked that he was positively ashamed to go to headquarters in such a plight. Thereupon Major Tallmadge directed his servant to procure his dragoon cloak, which he presented to André. It was refused for some time, but finally, upon the insistence of Tallmadge, he put it on and rode in it to Tappan.

After dinner the march was resumed, following the road leading nearly east directly to New City. Turning to the right, they passed over the road leading south to the highway near the corner of the road where the present railroad crosses the same; then, wheeling to the left, they went nearly east, crossing a small stream, one of the branches of the Hackensack river. Continuing on to the four corners, they turned to the right and passed through Clarksville. Pursuing the road south from Clarksville to the point where it is crossed by the railroad, they crossed the Hackensack river and continued on the road now crossed by the railroad near the bridge; then continuing southerly again over a point now crossed by the railroad, then over a small stream of water easterly of what is now Blauveltville, they continued southerly on a direct road leading to Tappan, their place of destination, which they reached about dark.

Major André was immediately placed in the house of a Mr. Mabie, where he was well treated but strongly guarded. Smith was placed in the old church, where he was confined for the night.

This Mabie house in which André was confined is still standing, and is known as the '76 Tavern. André remained there until the next day, the 29th of September, when he was taken before the board of general officers convened by General Washington, in the same dress in which he was captured, and which he wore until the day of his execution.

General Washington left the Robinson house for Tappan on the 28th of September, the same day on which André and Smith were conducted there. The next day, September 29, he ordered the board of general officers, which he convened for that purpose, to report "a precise state" of André's case, the light in which he ought to be considered, and the punishment that ought to be inflicted.

The board of officers met in the old church, and André appeared before them. Previous to the commencement of the examination, André was warned of his peril, and informed that various interrogations would be propounded to him, which the board desired him to answer or not, at

his pleasure; and General Greene, the president, desired him to weigh well what he said. André then confessed the authorship of the letter to Washington of September 24, from Lower Salem, and made in addition a full statement of all the facts connected with his visit to Arnold and his capture at Tarrytown. He stated, further, that he did not suppose he came on shore under the sanction of a flag, and that he wore at that time his uniform and considered himself to be acting as a British officer.

The board reported on the same day that Major André ought to be considered as a spy, and ought to suffer death agreeably to the law and usage of nations. General Washington received and approved the report on the 30th, and ordered the execution to take place on the next day, October 1, at five o'clock. The sentence was not executed on that date, in consequence of some negotiations of Sir Henry Clinton. It was postponed until the second day of October at twelve o'clock, when André was executed according to the original order.

Colonel Hamilton, who became interested in André, visited him immediately after the decision of the board, and André said at once he foresaw his fate, but that his tranquillity was disturbed by the reflection that Sir Henry Clinton might reproach himself by the supposition that he (André) had conceived himself bound by his instructions to incur the hazard he had run, and he requested permission to assure him that he had acted under no such impression. That liberty was accorded, and the letter was written and sent the same day to Sir Henry Clinton, dated September 29. It was forwarded together with a letter from General Washington and a copy of the proceedings of the board of officers.

On the morning of October 1 André drew a pen-and-ink sketch of himself without the aid of a mirror. This sketch is still extant. In the evening he sketched from memory the view of the Hudson river that had presented itself to him from the window of Smith's house, with a representation of the *Vulture* as she rode at anchor in Haverstraw bay. This has also been preserved. He also wrote many farewell letters during the day, and among others the letter to General Washington requesting that the death of a soldier might be accorded him; but the request being inadmissible, no answer was returned.

On the morning of the 2d of October, André received his breakfast from the table of Washington as usual, after which he proceeded with composure to prepare for death. He made his toilet with scrupulous care, arraying himself in the rich uniform of a British staff officer, with the exception of the arms. This uniform had been brought to him on the morning of September 30, by his servant Peter Laune. His toilet

being completed, he turned to the guard officers and informed them that he was ready to wait on them at any moment. His face was pale, but his features were tranquil. His servant having entered the room in tears, André desired him to withdraw until he could show himself more manly. The fatal hour having arrived, a large detachment of troops passed in front of the house in which he was confined. Two American officers had attended him night and day during his confinement, while sentinels were stationed around the house.

André came out of the house and marched to the place of execution between two American officers, one of whom was Captain Hughes. He stepped briskly down the steps and immediately fell into the centre of the guard, the place he was to occupy. The order was then given to march forward, at which all started off to the music of the drum and fife. André said to his attendants, "I am very much surprised to find your troops under such good discipline, and your music is excellent."

The guard marched a short distance, then wheeled to the left and turned a corner of the road, then marched a short distance and wheeled again to the left in order to pass through a fence. Here a field was entered, and the march was continued forward again for a short distance, when the guard was wheeled to the right and halted on a level spot of ground. A short distance in front of them rose a moderate hill, on which the gallows had been erected and the grave dug the day before. The gallows was very high, made by setting up two posts with crotches in the top, with a cross-pole laid in the crotches.

At the last halt the gallows came in full view of André for the first time. At sight of it he started backwards and paused. "Why this emotion, sir?" said one of the officers by his side. André then turned to Tallmadge, who was near, and inquired anxiously if he was not to be shot. Being told that he was not he said, "How hard is my fate! But it will soon be over. I am reconciled to my death, but I detest the mode." He had bowed with politeness to many persons on the march whom he knew, and shook hands with Major Tallmadge. His servant, who had followed him, now burst forth in loud lamentations, and André turned aside and conversed with him privately for a short time. The guard then marched to the top of the hill and halted, and the hangman drew the wagon under the gallows. Here the prisoner betrayed much trepidation, and placed his foot on a stone and rolled it to and fro, and choked with emotion. When the wagon was in place, André was requested to mount it. He advanced to the hind part of the vehicle, and, putting his hands upon it, made a motion to spring, but faltered. Then he put his right knee on

first and raised himself up on the wagon, then on his coffin, which was painted black. He then took off his hat and laid it down, and, placing his hands upon his hips, walked back and forth as far as the length of his coffin would permit, casting his eyes at the gallows and looking around on the whole scene by which he was surrounded.

The commanding officer then said to him, "Major André, if you have anything to say, you can speak, for you have but a short time to live." To that André made answer, "I have nothing more to say, gentlemen, than this: you bear me witness that I met my fate as a brave man." The executioner then ascended the wagon with the rope, and as he was about to open the noose, André took the halter with his right hand and adjusted it around his neck, drawing the knot close to the right side. Then he tied a white handkerchief over his eyes, and the executioner, having secured the end of the halter to the top of the gallows, descended from the wagon. The officer in command in a somewhat loud tone then directed his arms to be tied, when André pulled down the bandage from his eyes and drew from his pocket a second handkerchief and gave it to the executioner, and then replaced the handkerchief over his eyes. Then his arms were tied behind his back just above his elbows. The officer then gave the signal, by the falling of his sword, for the wagon to be drawn off. It started suddenly, and the length of the rope, and the sudden jerk from the coffin lid on which he was standing, gave André a tremendous spring; but the body soon ceased to move, and before he had been suspended a half minute a soldier was ordered to bear down on his shoulders to save his agony. This was done and all was still. Death to him was sudden, as he said it would be, "a momentary pang." He made no struggle, and his death appeared to be immediate. He seemed to have been suspended less than the usual time, when two soldiers were ordered to bear him up. Then the commanding officer cut the rope, and the soldiers bore him to the coffin. His uniform was removed and delivered to his servant to be taken to New York, and his body was placed in the coffin and buried.

Such were the movements and such the treatment of Major André from the morning of September 20, 1780, to the second day of October at twelve o'clock.

A few words respecting the justice of the execution of André may not be out of place. Spies are those who introduce themselves to the enemy to discover the condition of affairs, penetrate his designs and communicate them to their employers. Such is the well-sustained definition of a spy given by an eminent writer upon the law of nations, and it seems plainly to comprehend the case of Major André within its scope and

terms. Nay, more, he landed secretly and disguised himself by changing his dress. He assumed a false name and was returning from the American lines, which he had entered clandestinely, after having discovered and ascertained the condition and situation of the enemy. He also bore upon his person important information for his employer.

Efforts have frequently been made to justify the entrance of André into the American lines, by the argument that he came by the invitation of Arnold and to establish his right to a safe passage out by the pass from the same officer; but all such endeavors have proved futile and abortive. André was not only a spy, but he was guilty of subornation of treason. He came to the American lines to corrupt an officer, and he knew full well that a treacherous betrayal of trust of that officer was beyond the scope of his authority. He came for purposes entirely foreign to the legitimate objects of a flag even if one was intended. He came under an assumed name for an infamous purpose, and not as an open envoy from one belligerent to another bound to good conduct. Flags are signals of peace to create mutual confidence and cannot be used to perpetrate a fraud. Neither was the pass of Arnold of more efficacy. It was a sham upon its face, intended as a means of deception. In fact, it was an overt act of treason, because it was issued to an enemy. Besides all this André was an accomplice with Arnold and knew that the pass was collusive and intended to facilitate the execution of his treasonable designs. André sustained the character of an impostor, and it would be absurd to assume the obligation of General Washington to give validity and effect to the pass of Arnold, for if that were valid and effective, his bargain with Sir Henry Clinton made through André was equally so, and if General Washington was under obligations to respect the pass and allow André to go in safety, he was under equal obligations to surrender West Point to Sir Henry Clinton, because Arnold had agreed so to do.

These considerations seem sufficient to place André in the light of a spy and justify the report of the board of officers, and its approval by General Washington.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "J. D. Sherman". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned at the bottom right of the page.

MRS. RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

The admirable portrait of Mrs. Hayes published in this magazine for May, 1887, will now be regarded with tenderly awakened interest. No lady who has presided over the Presidential mansion at the capital of the nation is destined, through her own merits, to hold a higher and more secure place in American history than the late wife of Ex-President Hayes. Her influence and her personality are firmly impressed upon the national memory. Her strong, sweet, expressive face looks down upon us from the picture, which reveals her whole figure seated in a high-backed reception chair in that easy, graceful attitude so well remembered. Her glossy black hair, smoothly parted on her forehead, is drawn back and fastened in a Grecian coil, and her lustrous black eyes are eloquent with vivacity, generosity, and kindly sympathy. Mrs. Hayes was not only heroic in her convictions of duty but a lady of refined culture, spirit, and intelligence, possessing a charm and a magnetism that endeared her to all with whom she was brought into association. It was through the beauty and the symmetry as well as the force of her character that she was able to achieve the famous victory which attracted such wide attention at the time, and made her the object of the warmest praise and the most energetic abuse during the entire four years of her husband's administration. She came to the White House when the temperance crusade, of which she had been an ardent advocate, was at its zenith. She came pledged against the indorsement in any way of the wine-drinking practice. She was at once confronted with the practical question of the use of wine at state dinners, which was a different matter from its use or otherwise at the President's private table, and she decided this problem in the face of the most embarrassing opposition through her own acute sense of right and wrong. Her courage was sincerely respected, and she won great popularity even among those who had no sympathy with her extreme views. The sneers about the dismal state dinners that must necessarily result from the fanaticism of Mrs. Hayes were never echoed by those who actually dined. On the other hand, the most lavish compliments were bestowed by leading statesmen of both political parties and by distinguished foreigners upon the elegance of the White House dinners during her residence under its roof. She had quickly demonstrated that a capable woman as hostess is more successful than wine in producing brilliant dinner effects. All

Washington acknowledged her power and her graceful method of exercising it. Her example was noble in its intent, and its influence will never cease. Mrs. Cleveland's position later on, in declining at all times to take wine at her own table, was made much easier by the sincerity and firmness of her interesting predecessor.

Mrs. Hayes possessed a keen sense of humor and was greatly entertained by the newspaper descriptions of her dress while presiding at the White House. Every detail of her costume on all occasions was in the best of taste, as no one could deny; but her first appearance was in a high-necked black silk dress, and this fact was published with comments to the ends of the earth. No notice was taken of its handsome newness, and the writers did not seem to observe that it was trimmed exquisitely in colors. The public who did not see Mrs. Hayes became so misled into the notion of her excessive plainness, that when it chanced to be recorded in the newspapers that she had worn some dress other than black, there was a wail of disapproval from every quarter of the country—among a certain class. One good Methodist sister wrote her on one occasion, from Wisconsin, that she was "dreadfully grieved to hear that the President's wife was being so carried away by the wickedness and vanities of the world as to wear a white gown all trimmed with furbelows"! Mrs. Hayes' merry laughter when she read this epistle will never be forgotten by those who were present. The dress referred to was a creamy white silk garnished with flowers, in which Mrs. Hayes presided when the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia was entertained at a state dinner at the Executive mansion.

Mrs. Hayes was born August 30, 1831, and died June 25, 1889. She was the youngest child and only daughter of Dr. James Webb and Maria Cook. Her grandfather, Judge Isaac Cook, was originally from Connecticut, but removed to Chillicothe, Ohio, and was for fifty years one of the foremost men of his time, holding high judicial and other positions. Her father, Dr. Isaac Webb, a physician of high standing in Chillicothe, served in the war of 1812. She was carefully educated; for some years was at the University in Delaware, and afterward graduated in Cincinnati. In 1852 she became the wife of Mr. Hayes, then a thrifty young lawyer in Cincinnati. Her marriage was of almost ideal happiness, and it would be impossible to overstate the devotion of Mrs. Hayes to her home, her husband, and her children. During the twenty years of her husband's public life, as general in the army, member of congress, governor of Ohio, and President of the United States, Mrs. Hayes was always the same even-tempered, high-minded, well-poised Christian woman, equal to every emergency, and always happiest when contributing to the happiness of others.

MINOR TOPICS

LIFE AND ITS ACTIVITIES

THE BEARING OF THE PAST ON THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

The eloquent and stirring address of President Merrill E. Gates of Rutgers college to the graduating class of 1889 is so fruitful in thought and rich in practical suggestion—almost every passage furnishing the text for a sermon—that we cannot forbear giving it to our larger audience. He said in part :

“Young men are the future personified and embodied. We sometimes speak of delight in the present as characteristic of youth. But young manhood, when mind and soul are once awakened, lives not in the present. ‘It is of the nature of *animals* rather than of men to give themselves up to the present. Animals are the present personified,’ says Schopenhauer. Young men who have made choice of a liberal course of study have, by that choice, given evidence that they are awake to future values. I see among you here, young gentlemen, more than one or two who on entering college relinquished honorable work—positions where you were already receiving the pay of men for men’s work—that by college and its studies you might develop and train for future usefulness the powers God has given you. *In the future*, you have felt, lay your rewards. *To the future*, your eyes have constantly turned. However we may have striven to emphasize for you the value of the present as it came to you, day by day, with that persistent elusiveness which is characteristic of youth you have slipped on into the more attractive life of the future. And even now, while I speak to you, it is *your own future* that interests you.

My friends, it is your future that interests *us*, too. College life is in itself good. It is a period of life to be lived earnestly, faithfully, and honorably for its own sake. It has great value in itself, and it constitutes no small portion of the years of life which the actuary’s tables tell us may be hoped for by any one of you. Yet, when all is said, college life is of value chiefly for its immense leverage upon the future. If no work as mature men lay before you in life, if twenty-two or twenty-three, your average age, were the allotted period assigned to the life of men, perhaps we should not have advised you to spend your last four years as you have spent them. For pleasant as are the friendships and the work of college years, these years are planned to be the introduction to a future essentially different in its modes of work, in its immediate motives and its daily incentives. Of this your own hearts forewarn you, for the future has been constantly before your

thoughts in these last months. You have lived in the future. 'The thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts,' and much of the work of education consists in lifting the eyes of boys from their immediate surroundings, in imparting steadiness to that impulsive 'boy's will' that is 'the wind's will,' and in teaching young men the true relations of the present and the future.

But *have* we taught you, have you learned that supreme lesson, the relation of the present and the future? Do you believe in your heart that there can be no wise use of the present, no true enjoyment of the present, that is not lighted up by its bearing upon the future? As certainly as your present has been influenced by your past, just so certainly your present is of value chiefly for your future. All turns upon your understanding the value of that eternal, ever-present *now*, in which you must always live. For you will never know any future, no one of us is ever to know or to use an hour of the future, save as it comes to us, moment by moment, as the present—as that omnipresent, mysteriously potent *now*, in which, moment by moment, we shape our life; that *now* which must hold for us, moment by moment, all we think and know and do and hope; that *now* which rules us while we ignore it.

You have spoken to one another and to this audience, in your orations, of entering now upon a life of *action*, as distinguished from a life of study and of thought. But in proportion as an educated man enters upon his heritage, the greater part of his life-activity lies in thought and words. These are his *actions*—these are his *life*. By thought he directs his own action; by thoughtful, earnest words he sways and influences the thoughts and actions of others. Save where his own hands lift the material burden, or in the arts shape the matter that expresses thought and feeling, it is by clear thinking and truthful strong speaking that the educated man does his *life-work*. And recognizing this fact you see clearly that the last four years of your life have been full of action—of action which, by the thought and feeling which prompted it, has already done much to mold your character and shape your future life.

We do not recognize any break in your life on this Commencement Day. We have not been accustomed to see men who have been successful and earnest in college fail in the years that followed the college course. Nor have we seen men whose college years have been marred by unfaithfulness and sloth leap suddenly to positions of trust and usefulness upon leaving college. Conditions of success are the same in college and in later life. Because you have shown yourselves faithful, honorable, trustworthy, open to ideas, and *assiduous in effort* in your college years, we believe that you will succeed in later life.

But hereafter you will, to a certain extent, make your own daily routine of duty. You will in some respects follow more freely your own choices (though you will find, my young friends, that the higher school of life is not organized upon that prettily optimistic theory which rewards a man for choosing 'soft elective courses'). You will be impelled by your own desires and emotions, with less of

guidance from without. Less of stimulus will be purposely applied to you by thoughtful men who love you and study your welfare.

It seems to you now, in the prospect, that the first year's work you do, in what you call the business of life, will be of vastly greater moment than has been the work of preparation. But if you look back, from fifty, upon these college years, with their hours of leisure and their potentiality for noble effort, with their steadily broadening horizon and the ever-quickenings sense of aspiration they have brought to you, as the kindly voices of the great men who have gone before you in other generations have called down to you from the heights above—you will hardly dare to reckon any years of your life as more important than those which lie just behind you now.

College life has involved action. Character has been forming. Will has been growing dominant in intelligent self-direction. Moral responsibility you have felt and acknowledged with increasing emphasis. All these tendencies we have striven to intensify. And still you have felt, and we admit, that in the four years' work in college, such is the emphasis given to the intellectual life, that theories have had a more prominent place than have deeds. And with Carlyle you feel that 'the end of man is an *action* and not a *thought*, though it were the noblest.' It is emotion stimulating a volition, an act of self-control that issues in the manly deed done—it is this that shapes character while it molds the life of the world.

It is *will* that is the essential man. 'What is properly substantial in us is the will.' Society is incorporated will, the steadily inter-acting volitions of many men moving it forward along its appointed course. The sum of your volitions it is that makes the personal identity of each man of you. And as added years of study have given you clearer convictions of what should be brought to pass in the world, you have felt the growing on-thrust from within, impelling you to have your share in the work of noble achievement, to do what one man may do toward bearing the world's burdens, and lifting your fellow-men to a higher vantage-ground of life.

After the mock engagements of the joust and the tourney, there was a thrill of eager delight in the heart of the young knight as he laid his lance in rest and spurred his steed against a real foe in the first engagement that meant life or death for the contestant, success or failure for his cause. And so, as the senior year has drawn to its close, as we have discussed together high themes that bear upon the conduct of life, I have seen from the earnest eye and the changing expression of one and another of you that the trumpet-call has stirred your soul, that you have seen a standard, white, spotless, lifted far above the devices that lure men to selfish gain. And I have learned to cherish the hope (highest and richest reward for the teacher of young men) that there has fallen on many of you that highest gift, the intense *passion to be useful in life*, to be helpers of your fellow-men, to be among those who see and love the truth and put it in practice, and bear others' burdens while they faithfully do their own work. This passion for service it is which is the sword-blow of Christian knighthood, forever setting apart him who receives it to

noble, unselfish service for the sake of One whom he loves, One who loves him with an unchanging love.

That through many years of patient, cheerful, steadfast effort, the high hope and the lofty purpose of this crowning hour of your college course may never fail you, we ask God to grant you his grace, and deep draughts from that unfailing fountain of his love, which alone can strengthen you for such long and high endeavor."

THE WIT AND WISDOM OF KEOKUK

CHIEF OF THE SACS AND FOXES, 1832-1845

At the close of the Black Hawk war, General Scott, in treaty with the Sacs and Foxes and with the assent of the tribe, appointed Keokuk chief, presenting him with the silver medallion of President James Monroe. This was the brave red man's reward for keeping two-thirds of the warriors neutral during the war, and because of his intelligence, tact, sound sense, integrity, and gifts of oratory. His predecessor, Black Hawk, with his two sons and principal advisers, were carried to St. Louis in chains, thence to Fortress Monroe, and Keokuk ruled in his stead and became even more famous as a warrior. In 1833 Black Hawk and his party were released from captivity and returned to Iowa; but Black Hawk was dethroned with much ceremony, and Keokuk, by authority of the President, was installed as principal chief of the nation. Keokuk was of medium height and somewhat stout, but graceful and commanding. His manners were dignified, and his elocution vigorous and animated. His flow of language in speaking was rapid, clear, and distinct, and there was an element of remarkable power in his well-modulated voice. He was a splendid horseman, owning the finest horse in the country, and was excessively vain of his appearance when mounted; he excelled also in dancing.

The wit and humor of this forest chieftain have often been quoted. On one occasion, in 1838, he was invited by the Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith, to attend a council at his palace. Keokuk accepted, and with a mounted escort of Indians appeared at Nauvoo. Smith made an address to the assemblage, referring to the children of Israel and the lost tribes, trying to convince Keokuk that the Indians were the lost tribes—that this had been revealed to him—and that they must come into his fold. Keokuk replied with characteristic cleverness: "If my brother is ordered by the Great Spirit to collect our lost tribes together and lead them into a land flowing with milk and honey, it is his duty to do so. But I wish to ask about some particulars that my brother has omitted, which are of great importance to my people. The red men are not much used to milk. They prefer streams of water.

and in the country where they live there is a good supply of honey. The points we wish to inquire about are whether the new government will pay large annuities and whether there will be plenty of whisky." The conference, it is said, came to an abrupt termination.

Keokuk was one of the shrewdest of commanders in the management of his tribe. On one occasion the savages were flourishing war-paint and demanding that he lead them on a raid against the whites. He was silent until the right moment came; then, rising in council, he said: "I am your chief; it is my duty to lead you if you are determined to go to war. But the United States is a great power, and unless we conquer that great nation we must perish. I will lead you instantly against the whites on one condition—that is, that we shall first put all our women and children to death, and then resolve, that having crossed the Mississippi, we shall never return, but perish among the graves of our fathers rather than yield to the white man." It is needless to add that the argument was forcible and the foray was abandoned.

Another occasion when the wonderful ingenuity of Keokuk was displayed was in his mourning for President Harrison in 1841. John Chambers of Kentucky had been appointed governor of Iowa to succeed Governor Lucas, and by virtue of his office he was superintendent of Indian affairs for the territory. Keokuk had a rival among his leading chiefs, named Hard Fish, who with his band hurried to meet the governor and secure his favor. Chambers declined seeing him, but promised to visit the tribe in a few days. When the governor at length arrived at the agency at Des Moines, both parties were on the alert. Hard Fish came first, showily dressed, his warriors shouting and yelling, making it a festive day, and was received by the governor with much ceremony. Keokuk decked his tribe in mourning, and to the sound of the funeral drum called on the governor. Hard Fish was amazed, for he knew of no death in the tribe. Keokuk, with great solemnity, apologized for his delay in coming to the governor, and paying a touching tribute to President Harrison said: "We had to keep our father waiting while we performed that part of our mourning we must always attend to before we leave our lodges with our dead." Governor Chambers's heart was won, and Hard Fish retired severely disappointed.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

AN UNPUBLISHED WASHINGTON LETTER

[This letter from General George Washington was given, with a relic from his saddle, to Miss C. M. Webster while she was teaching in Marietta, Ohio, in the year 1835, by Mrs Lewis, a near relation of General Washington. Miss Webster afterward married Rev. J. R. Barnes, author of the poem entitled "A Relic of Washington's Saddle," published in the July issue of this magazine, who now presents an exact copy of the letter for publication.—EDITOR.]

WESTERN LAND IN 1770

MOUNT VERNON

Jan. 31 1770

DR CHARLES

If you saw my brother John in Stafford when you were down there at Christmas, if you had any conversation with my Br Sam'l on the subject I mentioned to you; and if any time was proposed for your meeting at this place I should be glad to know it, & beg you will write me a line by the first Post after this gets to hand, informing me of it accordingly; as I want to prepare for my journey, but am desirous before hand of knowing whether I am to go alone, or in company, as it will make some difference in my preparations.

As I expect it will shortly be known whether the Officers & Soldiers under the King's Proclamation have any chance to come in for lands West of the Alleghany Mountains, I should be glad to know if any of them which may fall in yr way would sell their rights; & upon what terms; tho I have little expectation that any of them would sell upon such terms as I would buy, or any person could afford to buy, unless they warranted the lands; For if the number of Grants (which are of older date to the Kings Proclamation) should take place as there is too much reason to apprehend, if they do not by clashing with each other destroy themselves; I would hardly give an Officer a button for his Right; for besides a large Tract of Country reserved for the Indian Traders from Fort Pitt near 150 miles down the Ohio & up to the Laurell Hills there appeared by a list laid before the House of Burgesses by order of the Govt to be between 6 & 7000-000 of acres actually granted and petitioned for—and most of the grants made in such general & indeterminate terms, that if confirmed no man can lay off a foot of land & be sure of keeping it till they are served. Upon my showing Mr Thurston (who was formerly a Lieutnt & thereby entitled to 2000 acres of Land) a copy of the grants & proceedings of the House of Burgesses thereupon he immediately sold his right (tho otherwise very fond of it) to Lund Washington for Ten Pounds. Now could I purchase 12 or 15,000 acres on the same terms

would do it considering of it as a Lottery only; & my reasons for doing so are these. Such a quantity of Land as this added to what I may expect in my own Right, would form a Tract of so great dignity as to render it worth my while to send out a person for the discovery of land, clear if possible of these numerous grants, & to be at some expense & trouble in seating & saving it: for without this the land would be forfeited, which I believe will be the case with half the Officers of this Colony if they should actually obtain the Land—& again it would be worth my while thus situated to buy of some who might under their Grants think I clashed with them. Upon the whole, as you are situated in a good place for seeing many of the Officers at different times I should be glad if you would (in a joking way rather than in earnest, at first) see what value they seem to set on their Lands; & if you can buy any of the Rights of those who continued in the Service till after the Cherokee Expedition, at the rate of about five, or six, or seven pounds a thousand acres I shall be obliged to you & will pay the money on demand—I am of opinion that Chew & some of those who may be in want of a little ready money would gladly sell nor is to be much wondered at if they should, for if those large grants which I have already mentioned should take place the purchaser will have sunk so much money to very little purpose; nor is the Officer's Rights under the Proclamation of any consequence to those who either does not resolve to go after the Land himself or employ others to do it for him, the first I do not suppose any are inclined to, the last is hardly worth the expense for small tracts; and the Officer is as much obliged to find the Land as any other individual; nor is his Title, if he be not entitled to some degree of preference, a jot better than any other man's who will go in pursuit of lands for himself, except that he is to enjoy it 10 years free of Quit rents.—If you should make any purchases let it be done in your own name for reasons I shall give you when we meet.—Take bonds in large penalties to convey all their Rights under the King's Proclamation to you, & they should be obliged to suffer their names to be made use of to obtain the Land, as the King's Proclamation requires a Personal application to the Gov'n'r & Council in order to entitle them to the Respective quantities granted. In looking over the list of grants that were laid before the Hse of Burgesses I perceived one for 10,000 acres to a certain Ambrose Powell (who I believe lives in Cullpeper County) lying above the Mouth of the great Kanaway.—His is comprehended within a grant of 200,000 acres, it is also fixed at a place where two or three other Grants are laid & I believe some of them are older; but as it lyes in the way of a scheme I have in view; & would in some smaller degree promote my plan if I had it, I should be obliged to you if you would enquire in a round about way who this Powell is & where he lives, & tell me who you think the most likely person for me to employ to purchase his right to the grant—You need not let your reasons for enquiring after Powell be known, till you have given me what information you can concerning him, least it may give him or others cause to imagine that his grant is more valuable than it really is; In fact I do not think that it is intrinsically worth a groat (tho I would

give a little, or 10 pounds for it, if I could not get it for less) inasmuch as it is totally swallowed up in other Grants; but several of this sort may in some measure give me a prior claim to have my share of 200,000 acres above the mouth of the Gr Kanaway where I am told the land is very fine, it is for this reason that I would give a little for Powell's—In the whole of your transactions either with the Officers, or on this other matter, do not let it be known that I have any concern therein.—I have enclosed you a copy of the Bond I drew from Thurston to Lund Washington, which will serve you for a Precedent in case you should make any purchases.—I have put your name in the place of Lund Washington's as I would have the title given to you & not to me, till matters are riper than they appear to be at present.—I shall take care to furnish you with money as you may find occasion to compleat the quantity I have mentioned. Show no part of this letter, so that you can be drawn into no trouble or difficulty in this affair.—In the meantime I should be glad if you would write me fully by the first post after this gets to hand.

I am yr most affect Brother

GEO. WASHINGTON.

P. S. Enclosed you will receive 30 p. to pay the within Acct. of James Brown—tho I think it is a most enormous charge as I would be glad you would tell him.

LETTER FROM PIERRE VAN CORTLANDT

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK 1777-1795

Addressed to his son General Philip Van Cortlandt

[From the Van Cortlandt papers, contributed by Mrs. Pierre Van Cortlandt]

Son Philip

Peekskill, July 17, 1766

Received yours of the 3^d July. We are all well. The two Frigates and 3 Tenders laying between the store house and Haversham, are, we expect, waiting for a fair wind to go by the forts in the Highlands. We keep a strong guard from Croton to Peekskill. The Tenders have fired at several times on our people, we have received no damages. The brigades of Ten Broeck & Tellers are here. We now have about 1000 men. The forts are full of men, many sent home. I have moved most of our effects to the mill and Peekskill, all hurry here. Just in harvest a barge with the enemy attempted to land at Gardeniers, Collabugh, were beaten off. This manor abounds with Tories. A Resolution of Congress passed making it Treason for any that shall be convicted to conspire against the States. Independence was proclaimed a few days ago. I pray the Lord to be with us all, from

your Loving father

Pierre Van Cortlandt

NOTES

MARIA MITCHELL—The famous astronomer, Maria Mitchell, who died in Lynn, Massachusetts, on the 28th of June, was the daughter of a bank cashier in Nantucket. She was born August 1, 1818. Her father was interested in astronomy and built an observatory on the bank building, where Maria at the age of eleven years assisted him in making observations. As she grew older she was known as a clever scholar, and finally taught school in Nantucket, and at eighteen became librarian at the Athenæum and filled the place for twenty years. During this period she spent all her spare time in the study of the skies, and soon surpassed her father both in knowledge of and in devotion to their mysteries. She discovered eight comets, for one of which she received a gold medal from the king of Denmark. In 1858 she visited Europe and the principal observatories of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Continent. In England she was the guest of Sir John Herschel and of Sir George B. Airy, then astronomer royal at Greenwich. She was the guest of Le Verrier in Paris, and of Humboldt in Berlin, and all the first astronomers and scientists paid her high honor and attention. On her return a number of the women of America gave her a large telescope. She was long professor of astronomy at Vassar college. Physically as well as intellectually she was of a strong, rugged nature—tall, well-formed, and muscular. When J. Wells Champney painted her portrait some years ago she insisted on literal fidelity to her appearance. "You cannot make

a beauty out of me," she said. She dressed with Quaker sobriety. She attracted the Vassar girls like a magnet, and they regarded her with cordial and enthusiastic affection. In her day and generation she has done noble work, and will always be remembered.

 ENGLISH AND SCOTCH CAPITALISTS

—It is said on good authority, in one of the London papers, that "few persons have any idea of the magnitude of the investments of English and Scotch capitalists in the United States. They hold railway bonds to the extent of £150,000,000, yielding, at the average rate of 4½ per cent., an annual income of £6,750,000. Ordinary railway shares are held to the amount of about £100,000,000."

THACKERAY—In a letter to his wife in 1858 John Lothrop Motley writes: "After breakfast I went down to the British Museum. I had been immersed half an hour in my MSS. when, happening to turn my head round, I found seated next to me Thackeray, with a file of old newspapers before him, writing the ninth number of the *Virginians*. He took off his spectacles to see who I was, then immediately invited me to dinner the next day (as he seems always to do everybody he meets), which invitation I could not accept, and he then showed me the page he had been writing—a small, delicate, legible manuscript. After this we continued our studies. I can conceive nothing more harassing in the literary way than his way of living

from hand to mouth. I mean in regard to the way in which he furnishes food for the printer's devil. Here he is just finishing the number which must appear in a few days. Of course, whether ill or well, stupid or fertile, he must produce the same amount of fun, pathos, or sentiment. His gun must be regularly loaded and discharged at command. I should think it would wear his life out." —*Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley.*

PURITANISM—John Fiske says in his *Beginnings of New England*: "It is curious to reflect what might have been the result to America and to the world had things in England gone differently between 1620 and 1660. Had the policy of James and Charles been less formidable, the Puritan exodus might never have occurred, and the Virginian type of society, varied perhaps by a strong Dutch infusion, might have become supreme in America. When the Long Parliament met in 1640 the Puritan exodus to New England came to an end. It is a striking fact, since it expresses a causal relation and not a mere coincidence, that the eleven years, 1629-1640, during which Charles I. governed England without a parliament, were the same eleven years that witnessed the planting of New England. For more than a century after this there was no considerable migration to this part of North America."

INDIAN LAWS AMONG THE OMAHAS—When the life of a murderer was spared, which was not usual, he was obliged to submit to punishment from two to four

years. He must walk barefoot. He could eat no warm food. He could not raise his voice, nor could he look about him. He was compelled to have his robe tied very closely at his throat, even in warm weather; he could not let it hang loosely or fly open. He could not move his hands about, but was obliged to keep them close to his body. He could not comb his hair, and it must not be blown about by the wind. He was obliged to pitch his tent about a quarter of a mile from the rest of the tribe when they were going on the hunt, lest the ghost of his victim should raise a high wind which might cause damage. Only one of his kindred was allowed to remain with him at his tent. Sometimes he wandered at night, crying and lamenting his offense.

HAMILTON

THE PHILOSOPHY OF JEWELS—An article on this subject, written by Mrs. Haweis, appears in the *Contemporary Review* for July, which is well worthy of careful reading. The author says: "Just because precious stones in dress represent the last touches in the picture, they must be used with judgment. Women of real taste reject, and ever did reject, jewels and trinkets that are not works of art or do not possess some historic or scientific interest. The diamond is thought to be perfectly becoming to every face, besides being beautiful in itself, and in moderation I think a brilliant spark is so. It gives freshness and life. But the huge electric lamps that millionaires lay on their wives and daughters are not becoming. They destroy entirely the brightness of the eyes and darken a fair skin."

QUERIES

COMMODORE TRUXTUN'S LOG-BOOK—
This log-book is said to have been sold
in Washington eight months ago to a
New York collector. Who was the pur-
chaser? Where can it be seen?

M.

PULLEN FAMILY—I desire to prepare
a genealogical history of the Pullen
family in America. I will thank those
who can do so to send me any informa-
tion they may have. C. L. PULLEN

MEMPHIS, TENN.

REPLIES

THE LAST SURVIVING SOLDIER OF
THE REVOLUTION [xxi. 521 ; xxii. 80]—
Editor Magazine of American History:
In your July (1889) number William L.
Stone of Jersey City names Samuel
Downing, "who died near Amsterdam,
New York, February 18, 1867," as the
last surviving soldier of the Revolution.
But on the 29th day of March, 1868,
John Gray, a Revolutionary pensioner,
died at Hiramshburgh, Ohio. John Gray
came to Ohio early in its history, and
was one hundred and four years old at
the time of his death. He was born
near Mount Vernon, Virginia, January
6, 1764.

EDMUND CONE BRUSH
ZANESVILLE, OHIO.

AUTHOR OF PAMPHLET [xxii. 79]—
"Aristides," the author of "An Exam-
ination of the various charges exhibited
against Aaron Burr," was Judge William
P. Van Ness, a prominent Republican
partisan, of New York, and he was one

of Burr's seconds in his duel with Ham-
ilton. The pamphlet, which is scarce
though not rare, is interesting and valu-
able from the light it throws on men
and politics in 1803. WM. NELSON

PATERSON, N. J.

AUTHOR OF PAMPHLET [xxii. 79]—
"Aristides" was the *nom de plume* of
Judge William P. Van Ness, "one of the
most shrewd and sagacious men New
York ever produced." There was a
revised edition, with additions, of the
"Examination" published in 1804, and
the same year was the "Virginia edition
with an appendix by a gentleman of
North Carolina . . . with the ex-
ception of such parts as are of a local
nature." James Cheetham, editor of
the *American Citizen*, replied to "Aris-
tides" in a pamphlet of 134 pages,
published in New York in 1804.

FRANK B. GAY,
Secretary and Librarian Conn. Hist. Soc.
HARTFORD, CONN.

SOCIETIES

THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting on the 25th of June. Its president for the last fifteen years, Hon. James W. Bradbury, declined a re-election, and Mr. James P. Baxter of Portland was chosen in his stead. The other officers elected for the ensuing year are : Rufus K. Sewall, vice-president ; Lewis Pierce, treasurer ; Joseph Williamson, biographer ; H. W. Bryant, secretary and librarian. The usual reports were read and accepted, and a large number of resident members elected.

THE DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY elected at its annual meeting for 1889, Don Gleason Hill, president ; Erastus Worthington, vice-president ; John L. Wakefield, recording secretary ; Julius H. Tuttle, corresponding secretary ; John H. Burdakin, librarian ; Henry G. Guild, treasurer ; Erastus Worthington, John H. Burdakin, Henry W. Richards, A. Ward Lamson, Rev. Carlos Slafter, curators. The librarian reported an increase to the library of five hundred and fifty volumes during the year, of which were mentioned several volumes of the *Magazine of American History*, which enabled the society to complete a full set of this publication. The president's address comprehended an excellent account of the broad work of the society during the year.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The regular quarterly meeting of the Rhode Island Historical Society was held July 2, at three o'clock, with second vice-president Horatio Rogers

in the chair. After the reading of the records by the secretary, the chair announced that the election of a president was the first business to be transacted. Dr. Charles W. Parsons, the first vice-president, was then unanimously elected president. On his declining to accept that office on account of impaired health, General Rogers was elected president, and Hon. George M. Carpenter was elected to fill the office of second vice-president, made vacant by the advancement of General Rogers.

A paper was read by Mr. Perry, secretary of the society, giving a clear and most interesting historical sketch of the society from its beginning, the first movers of which were Stephen Hopkins and Moses Brown.

THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY reconsidered its adjournment for the summer, and met June 13 at the house of Gilman H. Perkins. George H. Harris read an interesting paper, "Aboriginal History of the Genesee Valley, and its Terminology."

Mrs. C. M. Curtis presented a poetical tribute to the memory of the Hon. Henry E. Rochester.

Mrs. Parker gave a brief account of what leading historical societies are doing ; also a biographical sketch of Henry O'Reilly.

An object lesson was given in wool and flax spinning by Mrs. Aaron Erickson, who, by her deft and graceful movements and management of wheel and distaff, made it hard to believe that it was some sixty years since she had practiced the accomplishment.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

Without a never-failing supply of writers and authors, and a refined spirit of criticism ruling the whole atmosphere of letters, there would be no healthful progress in public taste for the best literature. In the early ages, when readers were few, the unfortunate author fell insensibly into oblivion, or became entangled in a net-work of publishers' accounts which plunged him into inextricable darkness. As the world grew and readers multiplied, vanity, not emolument, induced the inexperienced and incompetent to aspire to literary honors; and to oppose such entries into the haunts of the muses, periodical criticism was originated, with a blade sufficiently sharp to chop off every pretentious head. It needed just these warnings in the olden times to teach some of our greatest geniuses to rise. Public criticism gradually interested and enlightened those whose occupations had prevented them from reading much and judging less of literary productions. The reviews, which were long the chronicles of taste and science, consequently became a delight to scholars, and volumes accumulated which outlived their year and now constitute the most important portion of literary history.

The origin of literary journals dates backward two hundred and thirteen years. Dennis de Sallo was the founder of the dynasty of critics. He was a Frenchman who published the *Journal des Savans* in 1665, which before the end of the following year was imitated throughout Europe, although the sharpness of its wit and the asperity of its criticisms created the loudest murmurs and the most heart-breaking complaints. Its services were valuable, however. The periodical flourished until its third volume was published, when the editor quailed before the angry authors and gladly abdicated the throne of criticism. He was sadly missed by the amused public, who clamored for more salt and sourness when the next potentate in that realm attempted to satisfy his readers by simply giving the titles to books, with extracts.

Every one knows that the awakening of general interest in historic inquiry is of comparatively recent date. Historic writing in all ages of the world has been considered the greatest of intellectual achievements; but bread-winners without time for research have rarely invaded its territory, or in doing so have brought forth little of freshness and value, with plenty of misinformation—greatly in excess of the demand. Scholars only of exceptional learning and abundant means have worked in the historic field, or could afford to study sufficiently for the successful production of standard historic literature. Thus, formerly, whatever was rich and rare and delightful fell into the superb collections of the few, and the general public caught little but the crumbs. The movement, however, of the human mind, taken collectively, is invariably toward something better. Instructive material is at the present time rapidly being made accessible to all students. It has become the fashion to be wise, yet no wisdom is satisfactory without familiarity with past events. Authors of every grade are now finding their possibilities enlarged, and inspiration is given to a new race of historians.

Bishop Potter's recent utterances in the *Forum* touch this theme in another form, and are worthy of earnest thought. "The scholarship that has moved the world has not been the scholarship that wrought for a guinea a page nor for a thousand pounds a volume. It has been the scholarship that has been content to be poor and to be accounted obscure, that has not been in haste to speak or eager to rush into print, but which has revered supremely the truth, and sought for it often with tears. And such a place and rank, lofty, self-poised, and serene, is that which should be occupied by the highest scholarship of our time." Bishop Potter deplores, as do we all, that the chief ambition of the present age centres so largely upon having money, and to build with it fine houses, to drive fine horses, and buy fine pictures—irrespective of any knowledge as to who painted them or what is in them worth buying; and that with every invention, or discovery, or new book, the first question asked is, "How much are you going to make out of it? How can learning be converted by the shortest road and in the most effectual way into a marketable product? How will it push, pull, pump, lift, drive, bore, so that, employed thus, it may be a veritable producer?"

Bishop Potter further says, "Surely the time has come when we may ask ourselves whether enough has not been spent in planting institutions of learning, and whether something may not be devoted to enriching them. It is easy to see that in a land like ours, colleges, both small and great, may have each its place. But the want of our American people of to-day in the direction of a higher education is not new institutions, nor more buildings, nor more free instruction. Of all these things experience is every day showing us there is enough and more than enough. But we want place for men who, whether as fellows or lecturers, shall, in connection with our universities, be free to pursue original investigation and to give themselves to profound study, untrammelled by the petty cares, the irksome round, the small anxieties, which are sooner or later the death of aspiration and fatal obstacles to inspiration. It is with the processes of thought as it is with the processes of nature—crystallization demands stillness, equanimity, repose. And so the great truths which are to be the seed of forces that shall new create our civilization must have a chance first of all to reveal themselves. Some mount of vision there must be for the scholar; and those whose are the material treasures out of which came those wonderful endowments and foundations which have lent England's universities some elements of their chiefest glory, must see that they have this mount of vision. . . . Thus wrote one of the most gifted minds of our century: 'I have no hope of acquiring exhaustively even a small portion of the smallest history. But I feel that I want the light which history gives me; I cannot do without it. I find that I am connected in my own individual life with a past as well as a present, and which must have a future. . . . There comes an illumination to us, ever and anon, over our past years, and over the persons gone out of our sight who worked in them.'"

BOOK NOTICES

A HIGHER HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. For Schools and Academies. By HENRY E. CHAMBERS. 12mo, pp. 466. F. F. Hansell & Bro. New Orleans. 1889.

We had occasion to notice Mr. Chambers's excellent "School History of the United States" in these columns a few months ago, a work which we esteemed a vast improvement on the various histories for children in common use. This new volume just issued by the same author is intended for somewhat advanced pupils, and is even more worthy of commendation. It seems to have been arranged with a critical eye to the methods of instruction that bear with them to the young mind the largest amount of information. The events leading to the establishment of the Federal government are treated with fullness and so expressed that there is no waste of words. The pupil is told something of human progress, of the discovery of this continent, its first inhabitants and its first European settlers, and a very carefully prepared feature of the book relates to colonial development. Series of well worded questions accompany the text and topic methods of study, blackboard forms, topical and review outlines, are scattered through the chapters. Under the heading of *Parallel Readings* to serve as guides for original research, references are given for intelligent reading on almost every subject comprehended in the entire work. There are several maps admirably executed and the Appendix contains the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. It is a text book that we can cordially recommend to all teachers and committees.

THE LIFE OF BENJAMIN F. WADE. By A. G. RIDDLE. 12mo, pp. 393. The Williams Publishing Co., Cleveland, Ohio, 1888.

Some of the chapters of this volume have appeared in the "Magazine of Western History," and now with added material form a valuable work. The author begins with the ancestry of his subject, tells us of his early life, education, and career at the bar and on the bench until his election to the senate of the United States. The family of Wades removed to Ohio in 1821. The author describes Mr. Wade as a man of great modesty. He says of him: "He was a careful and persistent destroyer of all the ordinary means from which his own personal history could be composed, or a memoir written of his time and associates. It was his fortune to be as little the object of criticism, through a long and conspicuous career, as any man in our history. He kept no journal, made no diary, notes or memoranda. He

seems systematically to have destroyed papers." The stirring affairs during Mr. Wade's political career, in which he was concerned are brought out with much fullness. "In personal appearance Mr. Wade was of full height and firmly built. He had a frame of iron, head well borne with an up cast, complexion clear; dark eyes, small, intensely black, and deep cut. His jaws are firm and large, the under strong, compact. When sitting silent the old senator has a way of looking at the speaker with his piercing black eyes, that disconcerts a dishonest man, and is often annoying to the innocent and honest." The public career of Mr. Wade closed with the Fortieth Congress, and he was succeeded by Allan G. Thurman.

CHARLES I. DEMANDING THE FIVE IMPEACHED MEMBERS. A reproduction from the painting by John Singleton Copley, R.A. By WALTER ROWLANDS. Prints 11 x 16 inches, on heavy paper 22 x 28 inches, with an India tint and engraved title. The remarque is a head of Copley. Price of the prints, \$3.00 each. Hazleton & Goddard, 66 Boylston street, Boston.

The historic painting, one of Copley's best pictures, from which impressions have been made with exceptional success, hangs in the Boston public library, to which institution it was presented in 1859 by Josiah Quincy and a few other gentlemen, who had purchased it from Lord Lyndhurst, Copley's son, for £1,500. The work was executed over a hundred years ago, and was never before engraved. It represents the great struggle for constitutional liberty in 1641-1642, when Charles I., having accused Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Haselrig, and Strode of high treason, and vainly ordered their arrest, went in person to the House of Commons and demanded of the speaker if they were present. Grouped around these two in the richly decorated Gothic chamber are many of the most prominent men of that time in England—Cromwell, Fairfax, Falkland, Hyde, earl of Clarendon, the younger Vane, Prince Rupert, the learned John Selden, Edmund Waller the poet, and others, fifty-eight in all. The reproduction is admirable in every particular, and a key to the portraits will be furnished with each copy.

THE GENEALOGY OF JOHN MARSH OF SALEM AND HIS DESCENDANTS, 1633-1888. Collected and published by Colonel LUCIUS B. MARSH. Revised and Edited

by Rev. DWIGHT W. MARSH. 8vo, pp. 283. 1888. Amherst, Massachusetts.

The first of the Marsh family recorded as emigrating from England to America was John Marsh, in 1633. He married Susannah Skelton, the daughter of Rev. Samuel Skelton of Salem, about 1635, and their eldest child was named Zachariah. The painstaking author of this volume has traced the family of Marshes from that early period to the present time, and embodied an immense amount of genealogical information in the volume. He was himself of the fifth generation in direct descent from Zachariah the son of John of Salem. There seem to have been some very strong and interesting characters in the various branches of the Marsh family, and the book cannot fail to be greatly prized by all of the name throughout the country.

ANCESTRY OF THIRTY-THREE RHODE ISLANDERS. (Born in the eighteenth century.) Also, twenty-seven charts of Roger Williams' descendants to the fifth generation. And an account of Lewis Latham, Falconer to King Charles I., with a chart of his American descendants to the fourth generation: and a list of 180 existing portraits of Rhode Island governors, and other great men. By JOHN OSBORNE AUSTIN. Square quarto, pp. 139. Albany: Joel Munsell's Sons. 1889.

This admirably arranged genealogical volume is an appropriate companion for Mr. Austin's *Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island*, published a few years since, and will be placed upon the library shelf by its side. It is dedicated very appropriately to the memory of Roger Williams, and consists mostly of tables which bear the evidence on every page of having been prepared with painstaking care. The account of Lewis Latham, from whom so many families in Rhode Island are descended, is exceedingly interesting. The portrait list is also of great value, and the work as a whole one of permanent worth, and should go into every library of importance in the country.

INDIAN NAMES OF PLACES NEAR THE GREAT LAKES. By DWIGHT H. KELTON, A.M. Vol. I. 12mo, pp. 55. Published at Detroit, Michigan. 1888.

The study of Indian dialects possesses more or less fascination for all scholars of antiquarian tastes. In this little volume the author has undertaken the difficult task of interpreting many of the Indian names of places, rivers, etc., in the country adjacent to the Great Lakes, in order, as he tells us, to rescue from oblivion

some interesting historical facts and legendary tales as well as to give a clearer insight into the beautiful and well-equipped language of the fast disappearing race of red-men who once occupied that country. He does not attempt to give the most stringent proofs of the accuracy of his interpretations, but follows a middle course, without going into the detail of the processes by which his conclusions were reached; and in this he seems to have done wisely. The work represents a vast amount of careful research, and is a welcome addition to the literature of the subject.

COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Sixth series. Vol. III. Winthrop Papers. Part V. 8vo, pp. 579. Published by the Society. 1889. Boston.

The preparation of the Winthrop papers for the press commenced nearly sixty years ago, but they have appeared at irregular intervals, owing to the magnitude of the collection and the condition in which it came into the possession of its present owner. The committee in charge of the present volume have so systematized their work as to furnish both letter and answer in close proximity, although in some instances, the answers to the letters now printed must be sought in the preceding volumes. The correspondence of Fitz-John Winthrop embraces the letters of a great number of well known men of his time in Massachusetts and the neighboring states. One letter of special interest, written from New London by Fitz-John Winthrop in April, 1701, is addressed to Mrs. Robert Livingston of Albany, and it is said was carried on her wedding journey by Mary, the daughter of Winthrop, when she went to Albany as the bride of John Livingston, the eldest son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Livingston. It reads thus: "Dear Madame. Since it hath pleased God by his Providence to dispose the affections of your son and my daughter to each other, and that by your concurrence they are now joyned together in marriage, let us pray that they may be a blessing to one another, and to yourselves and us allsoe, and I am sure nothing will be wanting in her to contribute to it with all dutyfull respects. You will find her a temper fit for the impression of all good, and your dictates and insinuations will be commands to her: and being now your owne and most deare to us, we doe earnestly recomend her to your love and affection, which will be soe much the more generous, as she is a stranger and far from her relations. I have great hope of their hapines from their endeared affection to each other, and from the many good qualifications which I have observed in your son, which has greatly endeared him to me, and soe much soe, that I have but one affection for

them both. And now, Madam, being related to you in a neerer than the neere relation of friendship, I will take all opportunity to express my sence of it, and that it will very much please me to be called

Your affectionate Brother
J: Winthrop."

The letters embraced in this volume cover a very important period of early New England history, and throw floods of light upon the affairs of the time. The frontispiece is a heliotype copy of an original portrait of Fitz-John Winthrop, which is supposed to have been painted in London while Winthrop was the agent of Connecticut between 1694 and 1697, when it was the fashion to paint military men in mediæval armor.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE UNITED STATES. By TOWNSEND MACCOUN. Square 12mo, pp. 46. With 43 maps. New York, 1889: Townsend MacCoun.

The object of these maps is to portray in colors the various changes the country has gone through in its development, and the accompanying text points out the historic causes which led to the changes shown by the maps. It is a very useful species of history and geography combined, representing discovering, settlement, and national growth, and it tells the whole story to the eye at one view. We have never seen a better illustration of the divided country at the time of our civil war than appears in the map from 1861-1865, the loyal states and territories represented in one color, the southern confederacy in another. As no collection of maps such as these has before been available to the schools, we bespeak for it cordial examination, assured that no instructor once using it in teaching United States history and geography will ever be willing to dispense with its help.

ALFRED KELLY: HIS LIFE AND WORK.

By HON. JAMES L. BATES of the Ohio Bar. 8vo, pp. 210. Privately printed. Robert Clarke & Co.: Cincinnati, 1888.

The author of this work is a son-in-law of the subject, and therefore writes with knowledge as well as enthusiastic appreciation. Alfred Kelly was born in Connecticut in 1789, and inherited from his parents great intellectual force. He removed with his family to the northern part of New York in 1799. In 1807 he entered the law office of Judge Jonas Platt, one of the eminent jurists of his time, and in 1810 went to Ohio in company with his uncle, Judge Joshua Stow. When he took up his abode in Cleveland the town contained only three frame houses and five or six log houses. One person attended to all

the business of the post-office, the recorder's office, the clerk of the supreme court, and the court of common pleas. When twenty-five years of age Mr. Kelly was elected to the legislature, and from that time forward led an active public life. He was concerned in the public schools, in public improvements, in revising the revenue system of the State, the banking laws, in locating canal routes, and in important political affairs. His life exhibits a series of efforts to develop the state of Ohio and to advance the education and morals and welfare of its people.

HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF HUNTINGDON, and of the Seigniories of Chateaugay and Beauharnois from their first settlement to the year 1838. By ROBERT SELLAR. 8vo, pp. 579. Huntingdon, Q., 1888: The Canadian Gleaner.

The value of local research is admirably shown in this carefully written volume, which seems to have been undertaken from a sense of duty to the community. The author says the French obtained no foothold in the region until long after they had taken possession of the country. This arose from the insecurity caused by hostile Indians, and it was not until after the subjugation of the tribes by Frontenac that it was safe to settle on the south bank of the St. Lawrence. Isle Perrot and the north shore, as far west as the cascades, had been dotted with houses before a single clearance had been made on the other bank. During Frontenac's time a seigniori six miles broad and nine deep was carved out of the bush and given to Charles L. Lemoine, seignior of Longueil. The deed bears date September 29, 1673, and the title given to the seigniori was Chateaugay. Thirteen years afterwards the place was still a wilderness, but in 1687 Lemoine built a windmill in order to hold the property. The settlements subsequently were slow. The author further tells us that "in 1764 Miss Marie Anne Robutel de Lanone sold the seigniori to Madame Youville, who founded the convent of grey nuns at Montreal. When the nuns took possession they adopted Isle St. Bernard for a country residence, there being an old log-house upon it, but they never lived there in any numbers. Five years after becoming owners of the seigniori the nuns built the first dam and a grist-mill, which proves that the settlement had so increased that the old windmill was no longer sufficient. In 1774 they built the present manor-house, and the old Jesuit church was replaced by a spacious stone edifice, dedicated to St. John."

The book gives a comprehensive picture of how Canada was made, and of how its pioneers subdued the wilderness and brought the country into its present state.

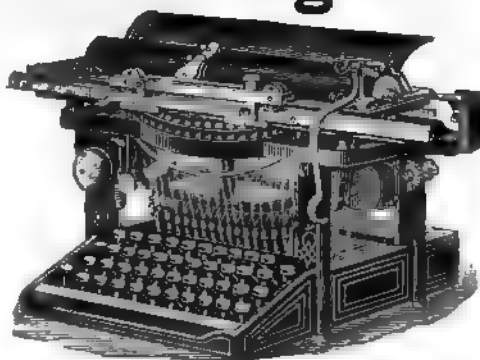
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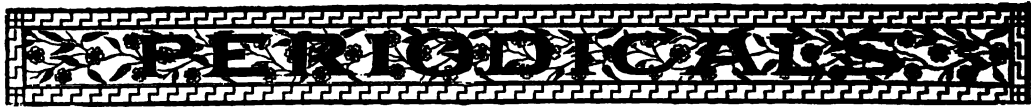
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Surplus at four per cent.,	\$7,940,063 63
Increase in Surplus,	\$1,645,622 11
Policies in force,	158,369
Increase during year,	17,426
Policies written,	32,606
Increase during year,	10,301
Risks assumed,	\$103,214,261 32
Increase during year,	33,756,792 95
Risks in force,	482,125,184 36
Increase during year,	54,496,251 85
Receipts from all sources,	26,215,932 52
Increase during year,	3,096,010 06
Paid Policy-holders,	14,727,550 22

THE ASSETS ARE INVESTED AS FOLLOWS:

Bonds and Mortgages,	\$49,617,874 02
United States and other securities,	48,616,704 14
Real Estate and Loans on collateral,	21,786,125 34
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,	2,813,277 60
Interest accrued, Premiums deferred and in transit, etc.,	3,248,172 46
	\$126,082,153 56

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

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Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Surplus.
1884	\$34,681,420	\$351,789,285	\$4,743,771
1885	46,507,139	368,981,441	5,012,684
1886	56,832,719	393,809,203	5,643,568
1887	69,457,468	427,628,933	6,294,442
1888	103,214,261	482,125,184	7,940,063

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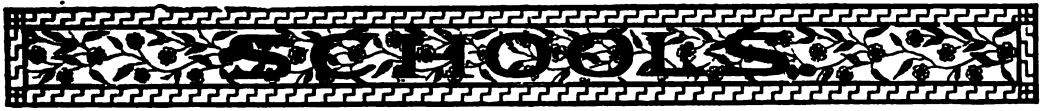
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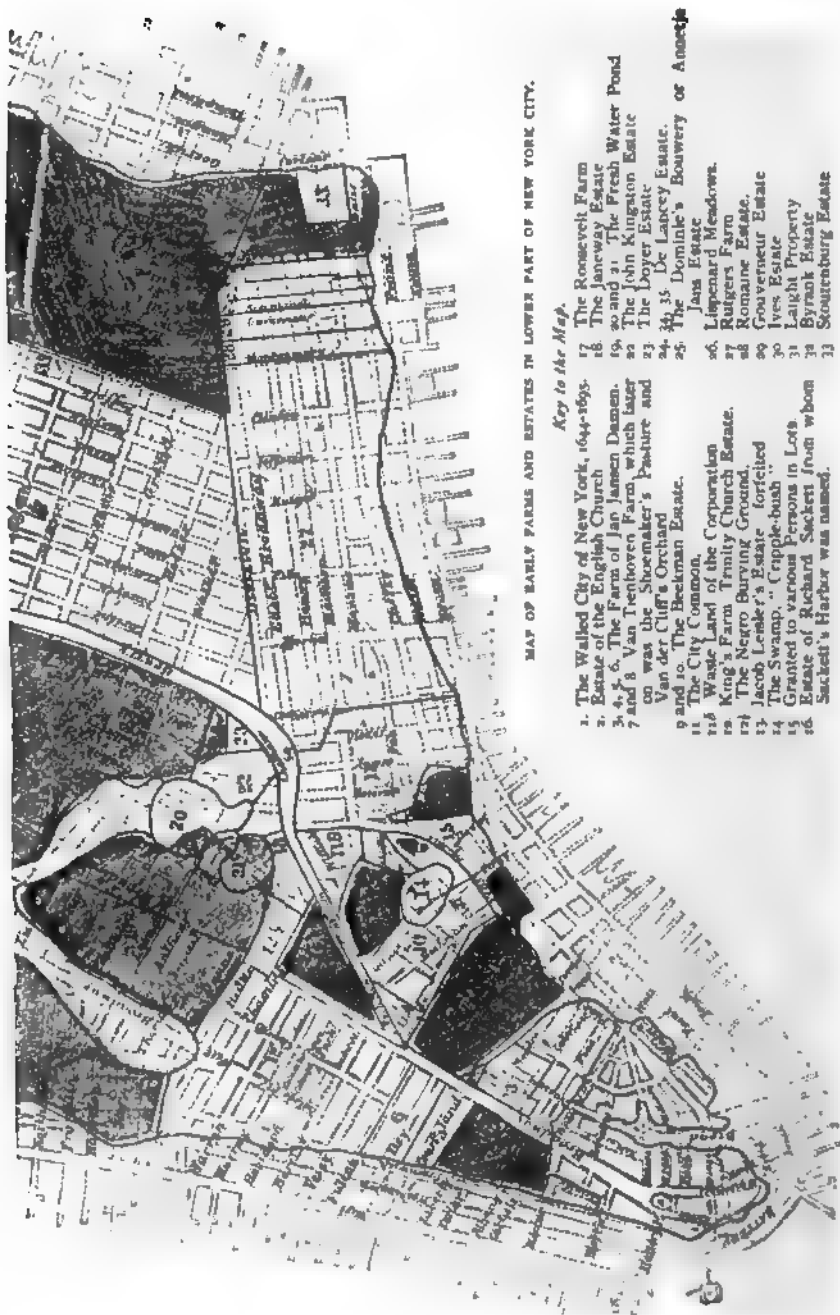
HISTORIC HOMES AND LANDMARKS

THEIR SIGNIFICANCE AND PRESENT CONDITION

CHAPTER III.

DURING the half century that New York was a walled city, with two great gates opening into the outer world at Broadway and Pearl street, a picturesque farm occupied the space between the Wall and Maiden Lane, extending from river to river, that portion of it on the west of Broadway reaching what is now Fulton street. This tract or plantation was granted by Governor William Kieft to Jan Jansen Damen by patent dated April 25, 1644. It was during the same year that the brush fence was built across the island on the present line of Wall street, for the purpose of a fortification, to keep the domestic animals from straying into the woods and to obstruct the too frequent incursions into the little town of savages and wild beasts.

Jan Jansen Damen, or Dam as he was frequently named in the records, was a notable character of his time. He came to New York as a trader in 1631, young, adventurous, and energetic. He first went to the little post at Albany, but the attractions of Manhattan island were so much greater, that he returned and made New York his permanent home. He soon after married Mrs. Vinjé, a widow considerably older than himself with several children. He lived for several years in a house quite near the fort and was on intimate and familiar terms with the governor and the secretary of the province. The latter, Cornelis Van Tienhoven, a sharp-witted but unscrupulous man, courted and married Rachel Vinjé, one of Mrs. Damen's daughters. The ability of Jan Jansen Damen early brought him into prominence, and he figured in all public affairs. He was one of the consistory appointed to superintend the building of the first Dutch church in the fort, and he was one of the "Twelve Men" elected to assist the governor in quelling Indian outrages, when that fussy, self-opinionated little potentate, Governor Kieft, found himself so hedged in by difficulties in 1641, that he called a popular meeting for consultation,



which proceeded to elect the first representative body in New York; but the "Twelve Men" were not long in power, for the majority opposed the governor's fierce war policy, and Kieft dismissed them from service. Damen was also one of the elect "Eight Men" in 1643, for a similar purpose, and one of the "Nine Men" chosen at a public meeting called by Governor Stuyvesant in 1647. One notable incident in the career of Damen was when in February, 1643, he gave a Shrovetide dinner-party at his house. The governor and all the great men of the colony were present, and nearly every person in the company became merry with wine. The chief topic of conversation at the table was some recent Indian murders. Kieft was loud in favor of retaliation. A few agreed with him, while many others thought the colony was too weak to attempt war with such a vague, uncertain, and treacherous foe. Finally, at the suggestion of Damen, Verplanck, and one or two others, Secretary Van Tienhoven drew up a petition asking the governor, in the name of the "Twelve Men," to order an immediate attack upon a party of friendly Indians who had fled from the hostile Mohawks to the Dutch for protection, and were now at Pavonia, the object being chiefly—as represented—to display power and awe the enemy into decent behavior. The governor read the petition, then rose from the table and announced approaching hostilities—to the dismay of Dominie Bogardus, De la Montagne, Captain De Vries, and many others, who immediately tried to dissuade him from such a dangerous course. They assured him the petition did not represent the voice of the "Twelve Men," only three of whom had signed it; they pictured the disasters that would certainly follow, and begged him to wait awhile, at least until help should come from Europe. But Kieft obstinately gave the order, and Van Tienhoven led the soldiery that same night in one of the most brutal massacres of defenseless Indians that ever disgraced a civilized community. The consequences were terrible. The savages fell upon every little outside settlement and tomahawked and tortured every white person they could find. The summer that followed was emphatically a summer of blood. Those who escaped with their lives huddled about the fort, and farmers on Manhattan island planted their June corn in constant fear of death. The swamps and thickets swarmed with vindictive red men. The war-whoop resounded in every direction. If a benighted traveler between Long Island ferry and the town halloed in the woods, it created a panic, the people fearing the Indians were torturing some captive. It was in September that the "Eight Men" were chosen to help govern the governor, and their first official act was to eject Jan Jansen Damen from the board because of his sympathy with Kieft, whose recall to Holland



FARM-HOUSE OF JAN JAKOB DAMEN FRONTING "WAGON ROAD," BETWEEN PINE AND CEDAR STREETS, 1640.
[Tree.]

they were determined to accomplish. The winter following was one of the darkest and most disheartening ever known to the colonists. There was no help near, food was scarce, and the people who had escaped from their burning homes were without winter clothing or shoes. Indians prowled about the town committing thefts every night, often killing men less than a thousand paces from the fort. As the spring opened in 1644, Governor Kieft ordered the brush fence built across the island.



EQUITABLE BUILDING, ON SITE OF JAN JANSEN DAMEN'S FARM-HOUSE, 1889.
[Now.]

Jan Jansen Damen probably secured through his loyalty to the governor the fine tract of rich rolling land which formed his farm, and when peace was established—soon after the brush fence appeared—he proceeded to remove the timber and underbrush, and plow the stubble in, preparatory to cultivation. He selected the highest and most picturesque point for a homestead, between what is now Pine and Cedar streets, fronting Broadway a little back from the road, and erected there an

exceedingly comfortable and substantial stone house. This, it should be remembered, was forty-seven years before Pine and Cedar streets were opened. A narrow lane on the line of Cedar street led from the wagon road (Broadway) to an orchard, which Damen planted in the vicinity of the present Nassau street. He also built a brewery a short distance from his house. He must have worked with vigor, for we find he had quite an extensive garden in a flourishing condition by the time his house was finished, in which were beautiful flowers as well as fine vegetables—white and red roses, tulips, violets, marigolds, red and yellow lilies, and sun-flowers. The latter were of native growth, but most of the others named were imported. His fields yielded good crops of grain, and he experimented in the raising of tobacco. He removed his family to this pretty country home, *outside the city*, and resided here some five years prior to his death, in 1651, entertaining the notables of the province with remarkable frequency. Kieft came here every day until he was superseded by Governor Stuyvesant, after which he was Damen's permanent guest until he sailed for Holland. It was through Damen's loyalty and cleverness that the new governor was made acquainted with certain facts which led him to judge Kieft more leniently than he had anticipated, and to take alarm at the dangerous precedent of "allowing subjects to judge rulers." These two governors met at Damen's house and drank wine together at his table. Could they have peered into the future as we now glance backward two hundred and forty or more years, what would they have thought of the present granite production on the site of the little rural homestead? Nearly an acre—the entire block between Pine and Cedar street, from Broadway to Nassau excepting the Clearing House at the corner of Pine and Nassau—is at present covered by the monster Equitable building with its four entrances, on each of the four streets—a stirring city within itself.

The contrast between the two scenes is impressive, and even without following the successive steps in the interval has the effect of a supreme, inexplicable, glorious miracle in human history.

The military training of Governor Stuyvesant tended to make him imperious, and his instructions from the West India Company were explicit in giving him arbitrary power. But he nevertheless soon recognized to a limited extent the principle of "taxation only by consent," not so much from the pressure of public sentiment in the new province as from the difficulty of collecting the revenues, and the "Nine Men" were elected to aid him in his perplexing work. But he was quickly in a wrangle with his counselors, who proceeded to act as legislators with decided opinions of their own. The secretary of their board was the able

and influential Van der Donck, of whom Kieft had borrowed large sums of money and then granted him the fine lands in the locality of Yonkers. Van der Donck was the guest of Damen, where Stuyvesant, like his predecessor, continued to be a familiar visitor. As quarrels multiplied between the governor and the "Nine Men," Damen sided with the governor, and when the "Nine Men" resolved to send a delegation to Holland with complaints, he was one of the minority in that body to firmly object. Stuyvesant was kept informed of proceedings, and one day in the absence of Van der Donck sent to Damen's house and seized the official journals and papers of the secretary of the "Nine Men," and afterwards arrested and imprisoned Van der Donck himself. Great excitement followed. Van der Donck came to trial and was released, but shorn of all his offices; the "Nine Men" then appointed him with two others to proceed as delegates to The Hague with a memorial of grievances in their behalf. Governor Stuyvesant was by this act compelled at once to send delegates to represent him to the West India Company, and for this mission he chose Jan Jansen Damen and Secretary Van Tienhoven. The West India Company after a long and tedious examination sustained their governor, and the notoriety of the matter put the idea into the heads of thousands of persons in Europe to migrate and settle in the new world. Thus New York was singularly benefited. Damen died on his return, and leaving no children of his own his wife succeeded to his estate, and at her death it was divided among her children.

One of Mrs. Damen's daughters, Maria Vinjé, married Abraham Verplanck, the ancestor of the Verplanck family of New York. Another daughter, Christina Vinjé, married Dirck Volkersten. Rachel Vinjé, as before mentioned, was the wife of Van Tienhoven, who had an estate of his own, granted him by Governor Kieft about the same date as the Damen grant, situated northerly from Maiden Lane. He cultivated very little of it, but he built a house on the hill overlooking the East river, called "Gouwenberg," or Golden Hill, reached by a lane from the water on the line of John street. He was the most unpopular man in New York affairs under Dutch rule; and when dismissed from office for disreputable conduct, in 1656, he absconded. His hat and cane were found floating on the river, and his property was administered upon as if he were dead. His plantation, divided and sold, was known in after years as the "Shoemaker's Pasture" and the "Van der Cliff Estate." About five acres of the Damen farm west of Broadway was sold in the early part of Stuyvesant's administration to George Ryerson. After Ryerson's death his widow married Teunis Dey, and the property descended to her heirs.

Dirck Dey became the owner of a large portion of the property, and Dey street was laid out in his time through its centre and named for him. Next south of this was a strip of land inherited by Mrs. Van Tienhoven from the Damen property, nearly two hundred and fifty feet on Broadway, which was sold by her executors in 1669 to Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlandt, and remained in that family for generations. In 1733 the heirs laid out Cortlandt street forty feet wide near the middle of this tract.

Mrs. Damen had only one son, John Vinjé, the first male child born in New York of European parents, about 1614, who resided in a little farmhouse on the Damen estate at about the present corner of Liberty and William streets. The old ferry road through the valley at Maiden Lane was a short distance north of his house, reached by a lane. He was a brewer as well as a farmer, and kept a huge windmill constantly at work on the high ground near by. In the year 1656 (according to the court records) John Vinjé instituted several suits for damages done his pea-vines and cabbages by school boys running through them. The sisters of John Vinjé, Mrs. Verplanck and Mrs. Volkersten, had farm-houses and gardens side by side in the section along the East river between Smith's valley, Wall street, and Maiden Lane. The brush fence was superseded by a great wooden wall on the line of Wall street in 1653. But however successful this famous fortification with its feint of strength in keeping strangers out, it earned no distinction for keeping light-fingered gentry within the city: we find among the curious records that one Messack Martens, having been arrested, confessed to having climbed over the Wall and stolen five or six cabbages from a garden. He was examined by *torture* before an august tribunal to discover if possible some further offense, and his sentence was "that he be brought to the usual place of execution, to stand in the pillory with cabbages on his head, and be banished five years from the jurisdiction of the city, with costs and mises of justice." The stone house of Damen, with about three hundred and eighty feet front of land on Broadway extending east nearly to Pearl street, was bought from the heirs in 1661 by Augustine Heermans, a merchant, who was also New York's first map-maker.

Real estate hereabouts was beginning to rise in value. Yet as late as 1678 the bears of the forest had not abandoned the haunts of their ancestors. The graphic description of a bear-hunt in an orchard which had been recently purchased by an Englishman of wealth, Mr. John Robinson—situated between what is now Cedar street and Maiden Lane—is handed along to us in the interesting journal of Rev. Charles Wolley, chaplain to the British forces in New York. This clerical gentleman was

here in the summer of that year, and regarded the sport of bear-hunting as one of the most interesting features of his stay. He says: "We followed a bear from tree to tree (in this orchard), upon which he would swarm like a cat; and when he was got to his resting-place, perched upon a high branch, we dispatched a youth after him with a club to an opposite bough, who, knocking his paws, comes growling down backwards with a thump upon the ground: so we all after him again. His descending backwards is a thing particularly remarkable." When Rev. Mr. Wolley was about to sail for England, an old Indian, with great ceremony, presented him with two live, full-grown bears to take with him across the water. He says he ordered his negro boy to tie them fast to the crib where he had left his horse, "and left them to any one's acceptance," after his departure.

Not far from this date the tanneries, which had flourished for many years along the ditch at Broad street, were ordered out of the city, and ere long were removed to Maiden Lane, then a marshy valley with a little rivulet trickling through it, bordered on the south by the fine pasture lands of the Damen farm. This was esteemed a sufficient distance into the country to obviate all objections to what the citizens had pronounced a nuisance.

In 1685 Governor Dongan bought a strip of land eighty feet deep from the Damen heirs, along the northern side of Wall street, which that year was surveyed and established. This purchase, with some additions, was cut into homestead lots and the greater part of it sold to Abraham de Peyster and Nicholas Bayard. The latter was that year mayor of the city. Abraham de Peyster was mayor in 1691, and projected improvements with a lavish hand. In 1692 Pine, Cedar, and Liberty streets were laid out through the old Damen farm. Four years later a cartway was opened from the head of Broad in Wall street to Maiden Lane on the line of Nassau street. It is interesting to note that Broadway, then called "the wagon way," above the city gate, bore no such relative importance to other streets as at present; indeed, the Smith's valley road (afterwards Queen street, now Pearl) from Wall street north was built up much earlier and with a far better class of buildings. In 1695 Mayor Abraham de Peyster built in it a palatial mansion between Pine and Cedar streets, fronting the west, which greatly enhanced the value of property in that vicinity. It was fifty-nine by eighty feet in extent and three stories high, the grounds occupying the whole block to the river's edge, with coach-house and stable in the rear. The style of life of the family was the same as that of the European gentry. They had sixteen household servants, nine of whom were negro slaves. They gave costly dinners and parties,

and nearly all the celebrities from the old world who visited the new were recipients of their elegant hospitality. Lord Bellomont in his day was a frequent guest in this mansion, and after his death De Peyster, as president of the council, was acting governor of New York. At the time he built this mansion, De Peyster was thirty-eight years of age, with a frank, winning face, fine presence, and great polish of manners. It was an interesting, historic home through the entire century following, and until 1856, associated with all the notable events and principal characters of not less than five generations of men. At the time of Washington's inauguration in 1789 it was the residence of Governor George Clinton, and the scene of the first dinner given to the President-elect on the day of his arrival in New York.

The year 1695 was memorable in New York for the marvelous leap forward in the price of real estate. The city had been growing rapidly in population for two or three years, and the best lots in the new streets through the old Damen farm were in the market. There was just then more money in circulation than had ever before been known in New York. Privateersmen, and even the most notorious pirates, paraded the streets without fear, and bought provisions for long voyages in exchange for gold or valuable commodities from the oriental world. Captain Kidd was married in New York in 1691 to the widow of a sea captain, and lived with his family in Hanover square, then in a pretty embowered cottage in Liberty street—while in the city between his voyages. He later bought a lot in Pine street, seventy-five feet front, intending to erect a house that would eclipse even that of Mayor de Peyster, one-third of which lot was sold in 1706 for \$60. Kidd was an attractive and cultivated man, and no one suspected his real character. Robert Livingston introduced him in England as a worthy and able sea captain, and he was employed by the king. It was in 1696 that he sailed from New York under brilliant auspices, ostensibly to aid the government in the suppression of piracy, and, as every one knows, he became the prince of pirates.

The most important as well as the most unique edifice erected in Pine street in the early years was the French church *Du St. Esprit*, the cornerstone of which was laid in 1704. The Huguenots had become very numerous in New York, and their little place of worship in Marketfield street too small. The lot secured by them extended from Pine to Cedar street, and was about seventy-five feet in width. The rear of the structure may be seen in the picture, with the tower and churchyard, the view being from Cedar street. It was built of stone and plastered on the outside; its dimensions were fifty by seventy feet, and in its quaint steeple was a musical



THE FRENCH HUGUENOT CHURCH IN PINE STREET, 1704.

bell. This church was thoroughly renovated and repaired in 1741. Substantial dwelling-houses were built during the next two decades in Pine, Cedar, and Liberty streets; and Nassau, although always narrow, began to assume an air of consequence. In 1726 a committee from the Reformed Dutch church carefully examined the various lots in this locality. The Garden street sanctuary was overflowing, and larger accommodations must be provided for its worshipers. They finally purchased the ground in Nassau extending from Cedar to Liberty streets, the price paid being £575, and erected the Middle Dutch Church thereon. When this famous historic edifice was consecrated in 1729 it had no gallery, and the ceiling was one entire arch without pillars. It was, however, substantially built of stone, one hundred feet long by seventy wide, with a fine steeple, the pride of the town, in which was placed the notable bell ordered from Holland, through directions in Mayor Abraham de Peyster's will—by whom it was a gift to the church; tradition tells us that silver coin was thrown into the preparation of the bell-metal by the people of Amsterdam.*

For upwards of thirty years after its erection the services were exclusively in the Dutch language in this church. But the rapid growth of Episcopacy, and the fact that the educated part of the community understood both Dutch and English, induced the consistory to call a minister who could officiate in English. This created immense dissatisfac-

* In the July Magazine, 1886 [xvi. 4], is a picture of this church bell, which is still in existence.

tion among the sires who were wedded to old customs. In the meantime, the church was remodeled, the pulpit removed to the north end and canopied by a ponderous sounding-board, and galleries were built on three sides. The new minister, Rev. Dr. Archibald Laidlie, preached his first sermon in the English language within these walls April 15, 1764, from which date services were conducted in both languages until 1803, when the Dutch was omitted altogether. A revival of religion almost immediately followed Dr. Laidlie's arrival. At the close of a prayer-meeting one evening many persons gathered about him, saying, "Ah, dominie, we offered up many an earnest prayer in Dutch for your coming among us, and truly the Lord has heard us in English." Peter Van Brugh Livingston, afterwards president of the New York congress, was strongly in favor of the innovation. Although his mother was a Dutch lady, and the Dutch language the first he had been taught as a child, and still spoke with ease, yet he could not understand a Dutch sermon half as well as one in English, and of his children he said there was not one who could interpret a sentence in Dutch. He said the greater half of Trinity church consisted of accessions from the Dutch church, as the young people disliked the preaching in Dutch and were constantly straying there.

A tiny Quaker meeting-house was built near by at about the same date, located in what was subsequently an alley or cross street between Liberty street and Maiden Lane, near where the Real Estate Exchange now stands. As years rolled on, another church was planted in Cedar street, near Broadway. This was in 1757, and it came about through a disagreement in the Wall street Presbyterian church concerning a system of church psalmody. The few members who seceded were strong, resolute men, and in 1761 called Rev. Dr. John Mason, an eloquent Scotch divine, to be their pastor. He came, and in 1768 they built for him a plain yet handsome stone church, sixty-five by fifty-four feet, and it was known as the Scotch Presbyterian or Cedar street church. Dr. Mason died in 1792 and was succeeded by his son, Rev. John Mitchell Mason, D.D., born in New York and educated in Scotland, who attained, if possible, greater celebrity in the ministry than his father and was distinguished for eloquence in other fields. His orations on the death of Washington and Hamilton are historical. Both divines, father and son, were personal and intimate friends of President Washington.

It appears, therefore, that prior to the Revolution four churches were thriving on the old Damen soil, within "a stone's-throw" of each other, and the neighborhood was quite thickly settled. Next to Wall, Pine

street was for some years the most fashionable place of residence in the city. John Livingston, whose wife was Catharine, Treasurer de Peyster's daughter, erected a handsome house here; and his brother, William Livingston, the afterward famous war governor of New Jersey, also resided in Pine street until he built "Liberty Hall," in Elizabeth, New Jersey, in 1773. He was for many years president of the "Moot," a club composed entirely of lawyers—the first lawyers' club in New York—the meetings being often held at his house. It is curious to note that the home of the present lawyers' club, in the Equitable building, rests upon the same site, as if a genuine growth from the seed planted one hundred and thirty or more years ago. William

Livingston's success in law was not due to any remarkable eloquence or fluency of speech, but to the accuracy of his knowledge and the soundness of his logic, seasoned always with dry humor and stinging sarcasm. He was a slight, tall, graceful man in the early years of his stirring life, so thin and slight, indeed, that the ladies called his face the knife-blade. He was severely strait-faced on many subjects, and a fierce opponent in religious and political controversies, but could unbend when he chose, and in the social circle or at the club

was a charming companion. He had four brilliant and exceptionally attractive daughters, and his home was the resort of the cleverest and most accomplished men and women of the day. It was under this roof that John Jay, subsequently chief justice of the nation, asked for the heart and hand of the beautiful Sarah Livingston, and they were married at "Liberty Hall," in April, 1774, a large proportion of the notable people of New York being present at the ceremony. A little to the north of the De Peyster mansion in Pearl (Queen) street stood the pretentious home of Andrew Elliot, lieutenant-governor 1780-1783, whose daughter married Lord Cath-



PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CEDAR STREET.

cart. The Brevoorts, and Whitehead Hicks who married the only daughter of John Brevoort, had elegant houses near by; as did one branch of the Van Zandts, Theophylact Bache, fifth president of the chamber of commerce, Elias Desbrosses, whose name has been perpetuated by a street and a ferry, the lord proprietor of Philipse manor, and several branches of the Livingstons. In Liberty street, alongside the Dutch church, was the great ugly-looking sugar-house of the Livingstons, a gray stone building, six stories high, with immensely thick walls and small deep windows.

The British army found this great structure admirably adapted for the incarceration of their American prisoners-of-war, on taking possession of New York city in 1776. Each story was divided into two great rooms with low ceilings, into which were huddled the sick and the well, indiscriminately, thousands of them; and their captors had little else to furnish except iron bars for the windows, and chains to keep the poor suffering prisoners from walking about within their narrow confines. A ponderous jail-like door opened into Liberty street to the court-yard, through which two British sentinels were constantly pacing night and day. On the southeast a heavy door opened into the dismal cellar used as a dungeon. The yard was surrounded by a close board fence nine feet high. The building was erected long years before for a sugar-refinery, and the genius of an enemy could not have fashioned it better as a place of torture. The prisoners taken on Long Island and at Fort Washington were the first to enter it. The coarsest food was doled out in scanty measure, and the men devoured it like hungry wolves or ceased to eat at all. During the winter months they had no fire or blankets, and in the torrid heat of summer almost no air to breathe. These victims were constantly decreased by death, and as constantly increased by newly captured patriots.

William Dunlap writes: "I went to school in Little Queen (now Cedar) street, and my seat at the desk, in an upper room of a large store-house kind of building, placed me in full view of the sugar-house corner of Crown (now Liberty) street and Nassau. The reader may have noticed the tall pile of building with little port-hole windows tier above tier. In that place crowds of American prisoners were incarcerated, pined, sickened, and died. During the suffocating heat of summer, when my schoolroom windows were all open and I could not catch a cooling breeze, I saw opposite to me every narrow aperture of those stone walls filled with human heads, face above face, seeking a portion of the external air. What must have been the atmosphere within? Andros's description of



THE LIVINGSTON SUGAR-HOUSE, 1776.
Liberty street, just south of Nassau street.



REAL ESTATE EXCHANGE, 1889.
Liberty street, just north of Nassau street.

the prison-ship tells us. Child as I was, this spectacle sunk deep into my heart. I can see the picture now." *

The pretty Dutch church was in convenient proximity to receive the overflow. The pews were torn out and used for fire-wood during that first winter, and the whole interior disfigured, dismantled, and destroyed. A floor was laid from one gallery to another, and three thousand prisoners were accommodated. They were packed together so close they could hardly breathe, and the church became the scene of some of the most harrowing and tragic events in the annals of the country. The sufferings of that winter were scarcely less here than in the sugar house of the Livingstons, which ranked foremost in horrors among the sugar-house prisons, as the old Jersey prison-ship took precedence among its kind upon the water. The inmates of the church were the following year transferred to other prisons, the glass was taken from the windows, the shutters thrown off, and the floor taken up and covered with tan-bark; the sacred edifice was thus converted into a riding-school for the training of dragoon horses. A pole was placed across the middle of the interior for the horses to jump over, and it was a noisy, rollicking meeting-place for British officers and soldiers until the end of the war.

New York city was severely humiliated during its occupation by a foreign foe. It was transformed virtually into a garrison town, all courts

* The father of young Dunlap was an Irish officer who was wounded at Quebec. Being a Royalist he went to New York in the spring of 1777, taking his boy with him. Later on the boy from his school in Cedar street developed into the portrait artist and distinguished author of his generation.

of justice were closed, trade ceased, there was no employment for laborers, provisions and fuel were scarce and extravagantly high, and the poor were in a perishing condition. The poisonous prisons on every hand were agonizing to the inhabitants. A few of the opulent citizens who took no part in the unhappy disputes tried to remedy evils, but military law pre-



MAP OF NEW YORK IN 1776, SHADED PART SHOWING TRACK OF THE GREAT FIRE OF 1776.

ailed, no communication was allowed with the captive patriots, and aid conveyed to them by stealth only doomed the benefactor to the same fate. When the victims confined in the Middle Dutch church crawled to the windows begging for food, a sentinel, pistol in hand, would turn back the gifts of the charitable. Among the notable men associated with these

harrowing scenes was John Pintard, the founder of historical societies in America, then a clerk for his uncle, Lewis Pintard, the commissary of American prisoners, a bright, handsome, college-bred, energetic young man of twenty. He was in New York three of those distressing years, and wrote graphic and thrilling descriptions of what came to his notice.

Among the practical philanthropists who unostentatiously went about doing good while the black cloud hovered over the city was Andrew Hamersley, for whom Hamersley street was named, a rich importing merchant who resided in a handsome house in Hanover square. He tried to alleviate the woes of the sick and dying prisoners, and there was hardly a day that he might not have been seen in Nassau street, near the old church. He was a great favorite with the British officers, and his movements were neither watched nor hampered. He was one of those gentle, unassuming men who inspire universal confidence, with great strength and symmetry of Christian character. His wife was the granddaughter of Thomas Gordon (son of Sir George Gordon) who was one of the twenty-seven original lords proprietors of East New Jersey, and she inherited the interests in that Lords Proprietary which has been handed along in the slow process of division to the Hamersley family of the present day. The Revolution seriously impaired the fortunes of Andrew Hamersley, but he was a lavish giver to the needy all the same. He however inherited an estate in the West Indies from his mother's brother, Louis Carré, a Huguenot, which retrieved the disaster in a measure. He entertained almost every Englishman of note at his house during the Revolutionary period, who chanced to be in New York. His family rarely, if ever, dined without visitors. Lord Drummond was his guest, and pronounced the Hamersley household one of the loveliest within the circle of his knowledge. He had three sons, William, Thomas, and Louis Carré. William was the first professor of the institute of medicine in Columbia college; Thomas was a man of learning, and married the granddaughter of Governor William Livingston; Louis Carré was the father of the late John W. Hamersley, a sketch of whose career will be found on another page.

With the welcome return of peace the ruined church was restored at considerable expense, but remained unfinished until the summer of 1790. It was opened on the Fourth of July of that year, and the first sermon under its new roof was preached by the eminent Rev. John H. Livingston, D.D., afterward president of the college at New Brunswick. It would be interesting if practicable to marshal before us in friendly review some of the many important characters who in the course of its dozen decades of chequered existence were wont to kneel in prayer within its walls. No

church in New York was ever more thoroughly saturated, so to speak, with varied historic associations. Dr. Franklin prosecuted certain of his experiments in electricity in it, using the belfry as an observatory. It was well filled with sabbath worshipers during the first quarter of the present century, and on Sunday evenings crowded. The chief portion of the congregation lived in the vicinity. The tide however was sweeping northerly, and the time came when the old church must be abandoned. Farewell exercises were conducted by Rev. Dr. Knox and Rev. Thomas De Witt, D.D.,



MIDDLE DUTCH CHURCH, NASSAU STREET, 1729.

on the 11th of August, 1844, in presence of an audience that thronged the building to its utmost capacity. Both the Dutch and English language were used on this memorable occasion—the last words of prayer and the benediction being uttered in Dutch. The property was then leased to the United States government for a post-office. It was quickly altered in its outward aspect, and the interior converted into a busy workshop. The post-office authorities found its walls marvelously solid; they bored holes enough into them to have destroyed any

ordinary masonry. They built stories on the top, and stuck little rooms on here and there in convenient places, with an effect that reminded one of a packhorse heavily laden for a long journey. In 1860 negotiations were instituted for the purchase of the church property by the government, and the price fixed was \$200,000. Having obtained authority to sell, a committee from the church proceeded to Washington and tendered the deed to Howell Cobb, then secretary of the treasury, and afterward to Jeremiah Black, the attorney-general. But the country was on the eve of war, and Secretary Cobb was disinclined to allow the money to pass out of the treasury.



MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE BUILDING, ON NTE OF MIDDLE DUTCH CHURCH, 1889.

He finally declined to accept the deed until an act should be procured from the legislature of New York, giving consent and ceding jurisdiction. The committee thereupon proceeded to Albany and secured the passage of the desired law, which is known as chapter 118 of the laws of 1861. In May of that year the deed was again tendered to the government, and notwithstanding the war was in actual progress, the attorney-general was in favor of consummating the purchase. The deed was finally delivered in the early part of July, 1861. Twenty years later the government valued this property at \$600,000 and had built a new post-office in City Hall Park. For a few months after the post-office department was removed, the interior of the old church was utilized as an auction mart, and a dozen large stores were temporarily fitted up and found eager occupants. Then came the announcement that in accordance with an act of congress the premises would be sold at public auction. It was understood that the chamber of commerce desired to secure it; but on the day of sale, October 18, 1882, the successful bidder was the Mutual Life Insurance Company, who paid \$650,000. Real estate experts and others said the land should have been cut up into lots, for in that shape the government might have realized \$1,000,000 from its sale. The final demolition of the church quickly followed, watched daily by thousands of relic-hunters and citizens. And swiftly, as if by magic, arose the building of majestic proportions which now graces the historic site.

The tangled wild which Jan Jansen Damen transformed into an orchard has certainly borne remarkable fruit. Two hundred and fifty years is as one day; yet few localities can exhibit so diversified a record. At noon-tide the church, in the evening an institution with assets of upwards of \$126,000,000, and an income of not less than \$20,000,000 yearly. The Mutual Life Insurance Company was started in 1843 without any cash capital, only \$500,000 of risks on paper, which were taken to enable the corporation to secure a charter. Its first home was a little room in Wall street, and its rent and the president's salary the first year combined did not exceed \$1,500. By the time the civil war broke out it had money legitimately earned, and to spare; at times subsequently more money and better credit than the government, and it was liberally used in numberless emergencies, for the public good. Its enormous edifice has a frontage in three streets, Cedar, Nassau and Liberty, the view in the sketch being that in Nassau extending from Cedar to Liberty, and its rear reaches nearly to William street. Like the Equitable building which corners on Cedar street opposite, it is a city within itself.

The site of the Real Estate Exchange in Liberty street, only a few



FIRST BUILDING OF THE NEW YORK SOCIETY LIBRARY, 1795.

rods distant, was just outside the Damen orchard, in what was known (in Dutch) as Damen's "clover pastures." These were open fields sloping into the romantic valley now Maiden Lane, where cattle could graze with plenty of fresh water to drink in the babbling brook below. When Damen fenced in his sweet pastures, the city cows were driven every morning around through the cow-path (the site of Pearl street) and up through the valley to the commons, then back again at evening. This was a favorite route for many years.

In the early part of this century Grant Thorburn, the seedsman and author, and the first florist in New York, was making his horticultural gardens celebrated on the very spot where clover blossoms and thistles adorned the pastoral landscape in the beginning, and where at present stands the massive Real Estate Exchange, opened in April, 1885, which seems so firmly planted that it sounds superfluous to ask "what next?"

The study of the successive or even the most conspicuous steps of local development in New York, the reflex of what has been taking place throughout the country, brings into the foreground many instructive lessons.

The first building of the New York Society Library completed in 1795, was another of the productions of the Damen farm—or perhaps it might be called the specific fruit of the Damen orchard. The site when purchased was a part of the garden of Joseph Winter's mansion; it was a thirty-foot lot of irregular depth, located in Nassau, corner of Cedar

street, fronting the old church. The tree hovering in the shadow of the building, as shown in the sketch, was a luxuriant apricot, and a grapery may be noticed peeping above the brick wall. The illustration is from a wood engraving made in 1818, by Dr. Alexander Anderson, the father of American wood-engraving. The edifice was of brown stone with three-quarter Corinthian columns resting on a projecting basement, with ornamental iron balustrades forming a favorite balcony, and was decidedly imposing considering its purpose and the date of its erection. The interior was fashioned with a flight of stairs in the centre leading to an oblong room in the second floor lighted with three tall windows at each end, having a gallery, and bookcases on every side protected by wire doors. This library, it should be remembered by our readers, was the earliest loan library in America, founded in 1754; and it included the city library which began its existence in the Wall street City Hall about the beginning of that century, with valuable newspaper files from 1726. The original subscription roll when the society was organized in 1754, comprised about one hundred and forty names. Each member was earnestly requested to bring in a list of such books as he might judge most proper for the first purchase. Invoices of rare, useful, and standard works, were received from London (as appears in the minutes) in 1755, 1756, 1758, 1761, 1763, and 1765. One of the early committees to secure a library room in the City Hall, was Hon. John Watts, William Livingston (subsequently governor) and William P. Smith. Four thousand or more of the books disappeared at the outbreak of the Revolution, and were generally supposed destroyed. But many of them had been hidden away for safe keeping, and re-appeared after the war ended. The twelve trustees elected in 1788 were Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, General Matthew Clarkson, Robert Watts the son of Hon. John Watts, Daniel Crommelin Verplanck, Edward Griswold, Henry Remsen, Walter Rutherford, Samuel Jones, Judge Brockholst Livingston son of Governor William Livingston, Hugh Gaine, the celebrated Dr. Samuel Bard, and Peter Ketteltas, all men of education and culture. Henceforward the society prospered, the library constantly increasing in size and importance; and it occupied this building forty-one years.

The vicinity of the new Library at the time of its erection was crowded with objects of intense interest. Antique churches with pointed moss-grown roofs and grassy graveyards about them could be seen from every window, not least among which was the quaint specimen of Holland architecture opposite, whose history has been found so full of romantic incident. Dwelling-houses half hidden with fruit and shade trees, of all sizes

and styles of architecture, stores, offices, barns, blacksmith-shops and wagon-sheds, were scattered here and there in close proximity to each other, while rosebushes, trailing vines, and other exterior beauties con-



Edw Livingston

Mayor of New York, 1801-1803.

cealed a multitude of interior blemishes. The street scenes were in striking contrast to those of to-day in the same region. Each householder attended to the sweeping of the street in front of his house twice a week; negro boys went their rounds at daybreak seeking chimneys to sweep;

wood-sawyers tramped with their paraphernalia from door to door to cut the hickory wood then used for fuel ; carts with drinking water at so much per gallon rumbled up and down perpetually ; milkmen with yokes on their shoulders from which tin cans were suspended peddled milk in the early morning ; and in the evening the streets were lighted dimly with oil lamps. Yet with all this primitive condition of affairs, nearly every family of any pretension to wealth owned negro slaves.

During the closing decade of the last century Aaron Burr was a familiar figure in this locality. His office was at 10 Cedar street. Here he pored over his law-cases, a well-formed man small of stature, with gigantic ambition, cool, wary, artificial, graceful in manners, and irresistibly pleasing in address. Here he devised his political schemes, and taught his clerks to write in cipher, as he did not dare to trust the public mail with his mysterious secrets ; as, for instance, he requested " 18 to ask 45, whether, for any reasons, 21 could be induced to vote for 6, and if he could, whether 14 would withdraw his opposition to 29, and 11 exert his influence in favor of 22." Here, with matchless foresight, Burr on one occasion drafted an imposing catalogue of names for the city ticket, and then applied himself resolutely to the task of inducing the gentlemen to permit their names to be used—who for a long time were deaf to arguments and entreaties. The art with which Burr worked upon their foibles and judgment was marvelous, and in several notable cases he was successful. Then he devoted his genius to the elections. At his office in Cedar street he superintended the making out of lists of voters with the political history of each appended in parallel columns, to which was added all new information obtained. The finance committee had prepared a list of rich men, with the sum of money it was proposed to solicit from each, attached to his name. Burr looked it over critically, and observing that a certain politician, equally remarkable for zeal and parsimony, was assessed \$100, said quietly, " Strike out his name, for you will not get the money, and from the moment the demand is made upon him his exertions will cease, and you will not see him at the polls during the election." The name was erased. Presently, as he read on, he noticed \$100 placed opposite the name of another man who was liberal with his money, but incorrigibly lazy. " Double the sum," he said, " and tell him no work will be expected from him, except an occasional attendance in the committee room to help fold the tickets." The result was as predicted. The lazy man paid the money cheerfully, and the stingy man worked day and night. In all Burr's lists a man's opinions and temperament were noted, also his habits and the amount of excitement and inducement necessary to overcome any

disinclination to visit the polls. Whenever Burr, leaving his office in Cedar street, chanced to meet a politician, or even the humblest of his adherents, he greeted and treated them so sweetly and blandly that his manners were remembered long after the conversation faded from memory.



ROBERT FULTON

From the painting by Benjamin West.

Morgan Lewis about the same time had an office at 59 Maiden Lane, and his brother-in-law, Edward Livingston, at 51 Pearl street. Morgan Lewis was attorney-general of the state, then judge of the court of

U. G. M.

common pleas, in 1792 chief justice of the supreme court of New York, and in 1804 governor of the state. He urged upon the legislature the necessity of national education, and under his administration a permanent fund for common schools was established and the militia system enlarged. Edward Livingston was a lawyer of high rank, and a member of congress who achieved national fame by the eloquence and vigor of his opposition to the Alien and Sedition Laws. His speech on the 21st of June, 1798, was printed on satin, and produced a thrilling effect. He was an extremely popular man, and in 1801 was elected to the mayoralty of New York City, then a post of great dignity and importance, yielding an income of not less than \$10,000 a year. During the appalling visitation of yellow fever in 1803, he remained in the city and faced the terrible enemy, visiting the hospitals every day, encouraging nurses and physicians by his presence and undismayed cheerfulness, and even went about the city at night to discover for himself whether the watchmen were vigilant. Dr. Richard Bailey lived at 60 Pine (then King) street, whose partner was Dr. Samuel Bard, and the mayor was in consultation with them constantly. The scourge continued until the end of October, and the fearless mayor was stricken down with it on one of the last days of September, but recovered after a severe illness.

Hundreds of men of national reputation whom it would be interesting to mention if space permitted, were associated with this historic locality in the early part of the century. Judge Robert Troup had an office at 11 Cedar street, for several years. Mayor Richard Varick lived at 11 Pearl street, and Robert Kennedy at 21 Pine street. The art rooms of the famous Scotch artist, Archibald Robertson, were at 79 Liberty street, and Washington Irving was living with his mother in William street, corner of Ann. It was here that Irving wrote clever articles for the *Morning Chronicle*, edited by his brother, Dr. Peter Irving; and also his *Knickerbocker History of the City of New York*, which was intended as an extravagant burlesque of Dr. Mitchell's *Picture of New York*, just published. The felicitous style of the work, and its wonderful humor, sufficiently broad not to be confounded with realities, gave it high place in public favor. Everybody read and laughed, and everybody wished for more. It is said the great satirist, Judge Breckenridge, smuggled a copy of the book to the bench, and exploded over it during one of the sessions of the supreme court of Pennsylvania. Sir Walter Scott wrote to Mr. Henry Brevoort of New York, "I have never seen anything so closely resembling the style of Dean Swift as the annals of Diedrich Knickerbocker. I have been employed these few evenings in reading them aloud to Mrs.

Scott and two ladies who are our guests, and our sides are sore with laughing." Robert Fulton was also much in Pine and the adjoining streets. He fell in love with the lady he married in the Livingston home in Pearl Street. The lady was the niece of the Chancellor and of Edward Livingston. It is hardly remembered of Fulton that he was an artist of considerable merit, so closely has his name and fame been associated with mechanical achievements. When he first came to New York, in 1785, he was only known as a miniature portrait-painter. He went to England and studied several years with Benjamin West, who painted his portrait, bringing him before us as it were in the flesh, with all his lovable characteristics and grave disappointments. In traveling, Fulton made the acquaintance of the Earl of Bridgewater, parent of the canal system in England, through whose example and encouragement he turned his attention to civil engineering. The memory of Fulton is dear to all Americans, for while he did not originate steam navigation, or invent the mechanism which rendered steam possible or profitable on the water, he was the first to secure the combination of means which brought the steamboat into every-day use, and the Hudson River was the scene of his triumph. In figure he was tall, slender, and stood perfectly erect. His eyes were dark and penetrating, and over his high forehead and about his neck were scattered curls of rich brown hair. He was a man of quick perceptions, sound sense, graceful and pleasing manners, and a voice of peculiar melody. His refined character rendered him a social favorite, and, although usually reserved and serious, his vivacity at times was singularly engaging. He was forty-two years of age when he demonstrated the utility of the steamboat, and marked an era in the progress of science and civilization.

The Damen farm is a thing of the past. So will be what now flourishes upon its site as the centuries roll on. Yet the future can only be an outgrowth of what has gone before, as the colossal structures of to-day have their roots deeply laid in the soil which has been nurtured through two hundred and fifty well rounded and productive years.

Martha J. Lamb

OLD FRENCH POST AT TREMPELEAU, WISCONSIN

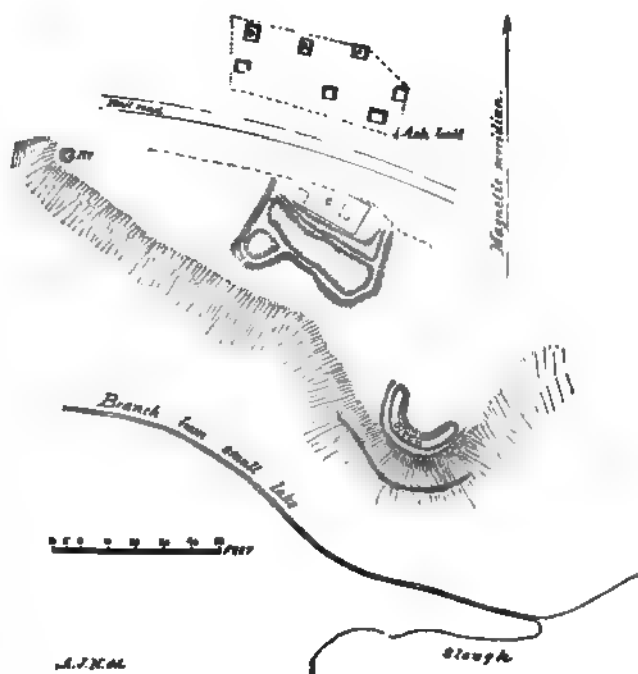
In the latter part of July, 1885, whilst exploring the vicinity of Trempeleau, Wisconsin, for works of the mound-builders, I discovered in the public road an old site, consisting of small heaps of burned stone, of undoubted artificial origin. It was located on the S. $\frac{1}{2}$ of the S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 20, township 18 of range 9 west, about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles above the business portion of the village, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles below the well-known *Montagne qui trempe à l'eau*, or Trempeleau mountain of the upper Mississippi river. At that time I had not heard of the existence of old ruins of any kind there, and did not know of any French post or stopping-place that was supposed to be located in that region.

A year or two afterward, when the Chicago, Burlington and Northern Railway was graded, two of the stone piles were removed and found to be old fire-places. Later on several parties made excavations, and also uncovered the remaining fire-places. The blacksmith-shop, that necessary adjunct of the early trading-posts, was soon recognized, and around the forges, or the places where they stood, were found various modern relics of metal. Amongst the articles several scraps of iron and a few remnants of thin brass and copper plate were found, also two or three wrought-iron nails, a piece of a gun-barrel, one end of which had been fashioned into a punch such as is used at the present time by blacksmiths in punching holes in a horse-shoe, a soft piece of iron some three inches square, and what seemed to be part of an old-fashioned door-hinge.

Last November (1888) I gave this place a further examination and made a correct survey of the site and its immediate surroundings. Within the surveyed lines there is every indication that the buildings which once occupied this place were burned. The charcoal, ashes, and burned earth, which cover the original surface to the average depth of two inches, are visible at every point where the ground has been disturbed, and all the stone found within the burned district shows more or less action of the fire, yet not to the degree that would be expected.

The buildings stood in the northern part of the area surveyed, and there are seven fire-places, including a doubtful one marked *A* on the plan: the one marked *B* had two bottoms, one above the other. At the place marked *C* there were the remains of one and possibly two forges. The one on the east side seems to have been principally built of wood, with a top covering

of stone for the fire to rest upon. The one to the west was smaller and apparently built of stone, though possibly this may have been an ordinary fireplace, but no one can tell now for a certainty on account of its being torn up by those who first made excavations at this point. The building in which they were located was apparently 14 x 28 feet in plan, judging from the débris, or there may have been two contiguous buildings covering that space. The two forges and a



PLAN OF THE SITE OF OLD FRENCH POST.

small space immediately around them had been excavated at the time I made my examination, but some of the stone in the western one was still held in position by the roots of a sapling. Assuming that the best results would be obtained at these forges I made excavations in the undisturbed surface immediately surrounding them. About the east forge there were quantities of slag (cinder) such as is produced in a forge by the use of charcoal, and some of the pieces were fully three inches in diameter. There also I found one wrought-iron nail, two wrought-iron arrow-heads, a small iron wedge, an old-fashioned bit made by a blacksmith, and a small stone pipe. Near the west forge I found three nails and two arrow-heads made of wrought iron, also a part of a hook made of the same material. Around this forge there was not so much slag.

The pipe mentioned above was in a thick bed of charcoal, and is similar in shape to those met with in the ancient mounds and called "ceremonial pipes." In all probability it was found by the occupants of the place whilst demolishing or leveling one of the mounds, for there are the remains of two of them still to be seen on this site, and there are numerous others in the neighborhood.

The outer work shown on the plan is built on an ancient mound, but its use is somewhat of an enigma. Just what it was built for cannot now be fully determined, yet it has the appearance of having been a lunette. If it had been connected with the main work, traces of the palisades intersecting it should be plainly visible, for the ground immediately surrounding it is undisturbed, but there is no indication of any such connection. In all probability a small building or palisaded enclosure once occupied this point, for the purpose of defending the boat landing and insuring a supply of water from the springs at the foot of the plateau. In fact, the occupation of this position would seem to be imperative, as the command of the river front, springs, etc., would have been of great importance in case of trouble with the Indians.



REMAINS OF OLD FIRE-PLACE AT THE FRENCH POST.

The northern part seems to have had no other defense than the walls of the buildings themselves. In the southern part there is good evidence that there was a palisade, there being a low embankment around that portion. There is no surface indication of a ditch or anything to show where the line of palisades stood, but the embankment is composed of refuse, such as bones, ashes, slag, etc., which were probably deposited along the palisades for convenience, and perhaps to strengthen them. It will also be noticed that while the ground plan of this work is somewhat odd, yet as a whole it is well adapted for defense. The southwest corner is evidently a bastion, while the southeast is very much of the same nature.

On the northern side, outside of the railroad right-of-way and beyond

the ruins, there are a few ashes which may have been dumped there or may have been caused by burning brush when the land was being cleared, but there is no evidence of any buildings at that point. The presence of stone protruding through the surface would require considerable quarrying to make room for a building.

Since the above was written I made further examination of this old post, on the 12th and 13th of April last, and set two men at work digging there,



LANDSCAPE VIEW OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY. NEAR CENTRE OF PICTURE THE SITE OF FRENCH POST.

but I did not learn very much more, however, from these supplementary excavations. Along the exterior ridge in front of the blacksmith-shop, at the southwest bastion there were traces of the palisades in the sand; at one place there were five posts which were burned to charcoal, and at another were traces of decayed posts. I judged that the charred ones were five inches in diameter. I also found a few scraps of iron, a flattened bullet, and an old gun-flint, at different points on the site.

The two drawings are from photographs taken after the hearths were

uncovered. The fire-place seen in the smaller picture is that marked *D* on the plan. In the other or general landscape view, the fort site is to be looked for just about opposite the wood-pile seen to the right of the railroad, recognized by the bright reflection from its top of the sun's rays. The peak on the right farther up the river is Trempeleau mountain, seen nearly in its entirety.

T H Lewis

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA.

LINCOLN'S RESTORATION POLICY FOR VIRGINIA

THE TRUTH BROUGHT TO LIGHT

During the years 1876-79 the writer was associated with the attorney, general of Virginia in the defense of what were known as "The Gold Cases." These were actions at law brought in the federal court at Richmond by the United States as plaintiff, against Ex-Governor William Smith and other parties who had been officers of the commonwealth in April, 1865, claiming of the defendants money of the state of Virginia which the governor had drawn out of the banks on the eve of the evacuation of Richmond, and paid to these parties on account of their official salaries.

In the course of the trial certain testimony was given by Governor Smith and Judge Henry W. Thomas of great historic value and importance. The testimony of Judge Thomas was of especial interest as bearing upon the question how far Mr. Lincoln was prepared to go, and did actually go, in putting into execution his admitted views in favor of the immediate restoration of the Southern States, more especially Virginia, to the Union. Recently, in glancing over Admiral Porter's *Incidents of the Civil War*, and reading his account of Mr. Lincoln's visit to Richmond, the importance of Judge Thomas's testimony became too clear to admit of further delay in giving it to the public. Admiral Porter's account, so far as it relates to the subject of this paper, is as follows:

"Next morning, at ten o'clock, Mr. John A. Campbell, late justice of the supreme court of the United States, sent a request to be allowed to come on board with General Weitzel. He wanted to call on the President. He came on board and spent an hour. The President and himself seemed to be enjoying themselves very much, to judge from their laughter.

I did not go down to the cabin. In about an hour General Weitzel and Mr. Campbell came on deck, asked for a boat, and were landed.

I went down below for a moment, and the President said: 'Admiral, I am sorry you were not here when Mr. Campbell was on board. He has gone on shore happy. I gave him a written permission to allow the state legislature to convene in the capitol in the absence of all other government.'

I was rather astonished at this piece of information. I felt that this course would bring about complications, and wondered how it had all come to pass. I found it had all been done by the persuasive tongue of Mr. Campbell, who had promised the President that if the legislature of Virginia could meet in the halls of the confederate congress, it would

vote Virginia right back into the Union, that it would be a delicate compliment paid to Virginia which would be appreciated, etc.

Weitzel backed up Mr. Campbell, and the President was won over to agree to what would have been a most humiliating thing if it had been accomplished.

When the President told me all that had been done, and that General Weitzel had gone on shore with an order in his pocket to let the legislature meet, I merely said: 'Mr. President, I suppose you remember that this city is under military jurisdiction, and that no courts, legislature, or civil authority can exercise any power without the sanction of the general commanding the army. This order of yours should go through General Grant, who would inform you that Richmond was under martial law; and I am sure he would protest against this arrangement of Mr. Campbell's.'

The President's common-sense took in the situation at once. 'Why,' he said, 'Weitzel made no objection, and he commands here.'

'That is because he is Mr. Campbell's particular friend, and wished to gratify him; besides, I don't think he knows much about anything but soldiering. General Shepley would not have preferred such a request.'

'Run and stop them,' exclaimed the President, 'and get my order back! Well, I came near knocking all the fat into the fire, didn't I?'

To make things sure I had an order written to General Weitzel and signed by the President, as follows: 'Return my permission to the legislature of Virginia to meet, and don't allow it to meet at all.' There was an ambulance wagon at the landing, and giving the order to an officer I said to him, 'Jump into that wagon, and kill the horse if necessary, but catch the carriage which carried General Weitzel and Mr. Campbell, and deliver this order to the general.'

The carriage was caught after it reached the city. The old wagon horse had been a trotter in his day, and went his three minutes. The general and Mr. Campbell were surprised. The President's order was sent back, and they never returned to try and reverse the decision.

Mr. Campbell evidently saw that his scheme of trying to put the state legislature in session with the sanction of the President had failed, and that it was useless to try it again. It was a clever dodge to soothe the wounded feelings of the south, and no doubt was kindly meant by the late Justice Campbell; but what a howl it would have raised at the North! . . . [pp. 305-6.]

'Yes,' the President answered, 'let us go. I seem to be "putting my foot into it" here all the time. Bless my soul! how Seward would have preached, and read Puffendorf, Vattel, and Grotius to me if he had been here when I gave Campbell permission to let the legislature meet! I'd never have heard the last of it. Seward is a small compendium of international law himself and laughs at my "horse sense," which I pride myself on, and yet I put my foot into that thing about Campbell with my eyes wide open. If I were you I don't think I would repeat that joke yet awhile. People might laugh at you for knowing so much, and more than the President! I am afraid that the most of my learning lies in my heart more than in my head.'" [p. 309.]

It is but fair to the admiral to note that in another connection, page 313, he says: "I made it a rule during the war to write down at night before retiring to rest what had occurred during each day."

Having heard Judge Thomas's sworn evidence above referred to and below recited, it is needless to add that I read Admiral Porter's narrative with astonishment, and at once began an investigation of the subject. I read the account which General Grant gives of the matter on pages 505-6 of the second volume of his *Memoirs*, as follows:

"While I was in pursuit of General Lee the President went to Richmond in company with Admiral Porter, and on board his flagship. He found the people of that city in great consternation. The leading citizens among the people who had remained at home surrounded him, anxious that something should be done to relieve them from suspense. General Weitzel was not then in the city, having taken offices in one of the neighboring villages after his troops had succeeded in subduing the conflagration which they had found in progress on entering the confederate capital. The President sent for him, and on his arrival a short interview was had on board the vessel, Admiral Porter and a leading citizen of Virginia being also present. After this interview the President wrote an order in about these words, which I quote from memory: 'General Weitzel is authorized to permit the body calling itself the legislature of Virginia to meet for the purpose of recalling the Virginia troops from the confederate armies.' Immediately some of the gentlemen composing that body wrote out a call for a meeting and had it published in their papers. This call, however, went very much farther than Mr. Lincoln had contemplated, as he did not say the 'legislature of Virginia,' but 'the body which called itself the legislature of Virginia.' Mr. Stanton saw the call as published in the northern papers the very next issue, and took the liberty of countermanding the order authorizing any meeting of the legislature or any other body, and this notwithstanding the fact that the President was nearer the spot than he was.

This was characteristic of Mr. Stanton. He was a man who never questioned his own authority, and who always did in war time what he wanted to do."

By way of preface to Judge Thomas's evidence it should be remarked that he is a gentleman of high character, capacity, and position, having been second auditor of the state in April, 1865, lieutenant-governor after the war, for years a circuit judge, and at all times recognized as one of the most cautious, well-balanced, and accurate lawyers in the commonwealth. His testimony was given in support of the main point of Governor Smith's defense, which was that he had drawn and expended this money as governor of Virginia, in the public service and for the public good, in the preservation of order and the institutions of civil society in that debatable ground from which the Confederate government and forces had retired, and over which the United States had as yet established no settled authority. Judge Thomas himself vouches for the correctness of the following record of his testimony, he having read every line of it; indeed every word, with the specific exceptions indicated, being now in my possession in his handwriting.

It is also of consequence to note that, when Judge Thomas prepared

and sent the writer this sketch, he had not, neither had the writer, examined the files of the *Whig*, nor was either aware of what they contained, and Judge Campbell's pamphlet—also below quoted—had not even been published. Judge Thomas's draught of his testimony is as follows :

" Early in April, when it was known, after the fall of Richmond, that Mr. Lincoln was coming there, it was deemed advisable to hold a public meeting, with the view of expressing such views as would tend to show that we were willing to accept the situation, and to declare our purpose to renounce all opposition to the restoration of civil government under the authority of the government of the United States. The meeting was held in the room adjoining the *Whig* office, and the proceedings were published in the Richmond papers.

Judge Campbell, Mr. Myers (deceased), and myself were appointed a committee to confer with the President and submit the resolutions. This we did, and Mr. Lincoln was much pleased with the views presented by us. . . .

In the conversation I had with the President upon that occasion, reference was made to the consequences which might ensue from the condition in which we were placed—the absence of civil government, the demoralization prevailing, and our utter inability to control the passions and excited feelings of a part at least of our community—and I remarked, 'Mr. President, we would all be much gratified if you would send Governor Pierpont here as early as possible, so that civil order may be re-established.' I recollect Mr. Lincoln's action and utterance. He said he did not regard the division of Virginia as permanent, and that the matter, if tested in the courts, would, he thought, result in overthrowing it, that it could only be justified as a war measure, and therefore he did not want Mr. Pierpont. 'The government that took Virginia out is the government that should bring her back, and is the government that alone can effect it. I shall appoint a committee for the purpose of summoning the governor and the legislature to meet at an early date in Richmond for this action, and I shall direct General Weitzel to issue you passes through General Grant's lines; I presume (he added), you will need none in passing General Lee's; and I shall take care that you have safe conduct in the discharge of this duty, as also those you may summon, in repairing to the capitol. They must come here to the very place they went out of the Union, to come back; and your people will doubtless all return, and we shall soon have old Virginia back again.' . . .

I recollect distinctly his replying to my suggestion that we could get the members of the existing legislature in session without difficulty. 'But no,' he said, 'the government that took the state out must bring her back.' My impression is that Mr. Lincoln asked who was governor at the time of the secession of the state, and my reply was Letcher. He was the man, then, to come and to participate in the action of the legislature; and Smith, who was the present governor, was to be here and ratify it. . . .

He proposed that messengers should be dispatched to summon these gentlemen, and, if my memory serves me correctly, that General J. R. Anderson and a gentleman who then represented Richmond, and myself, with others, should undertake the task. . . .

The orders were given to General Weitzel, and passes in conformity thereto issued by General Weitzel, by order of the President. I have mine now. Before, however, we could act, the passes were revoked. This was done immediately after his return."

In the brief sketch of Judge Thomas, his modest and retiring nature

and his kindly spirit should have been mentioned. The first characteristic explains if it does not excuse the delay in the publication of this article. He repeatedly declined "to obtrude his reminiscences upon the country," while heartily approving any attempt to rescue and preserve this bit of history. To the regret of the writer, he struck out from the record certain quaint and characteristic remarks of Mr. Lincoln, which I distinctly recall as recited in his testimony in court, and which he did not dispute, but protested that some of these remarks and expressions reflected somewhat upon certain persons still living, as to whom the President freely used popular nicknames and phrases not altogether complimentary.

The few additions, therefore, to his written statement rest upon my authority alone, and I deem myself entirely within the kindly limitations imposed by Judge Thomas, when adding to his own recollections of his evidence, that he testified that Judge John A. Campbell (of the United States supreme court, and later of the confederate war office) was chairman of the committee appointed by the citizens' meeting to wait upon Mr. Lincoln; that Mr. Lincoln, when he spoke of Governor Smith, called him "Extra Billy"—which title, originating in a half-sneering, political reference, was ever after lovingly applied to the old hero by Virginians all over the country—and that he added, making use of the expression "By Jove," or some such expletive, and smiting the table with his clinched fist, "I want that old Game Cock back here."

What is meant, and all that is meant by these additions, is, that Judge Thomas's testimony, as given at the trial, bristled with vivid details which convinced every hearer of its truth, and that much of the vigor and quaint homeliness which enlivened the court recital of Mr. Lincoln's utterances is wanting in the above transcription; but with these qualifications it is, according to my best and quite distinct recollection, the same testimony which Judge Thomas gave in the trial of the Gold Cases in 1879.

In a recent pamphlet entitled "Reminiscence and Documents relating to the Civil War during the year 1865," Judge Campbell has given his own recollection of these occurrences, a paper prepared by Mr. Lincoln expressive of his views upon the subject of peace and restoration, with certain testimony of Mr. Secretary Stanton bearing upon the main point to which this investigation is directed. As this pamphlet may not be readily accessible to the readers of this article, we quote what it contains (pages 38-44) bearing upon the history of this matter:

"Richmond was evacuated the 2d of April, and was captured on the 3d of April. I informed the Secretary of War that I should not leave Richmond, and that I should take an opportunity to see President Lincoln on the subject of peace, and would be glad to

have an authority to do so, but that I would do so if an occasion arose. President Lincoln came to the city on the 4th of April, in less than forty-eight hours from the departure of the confederate President and his cabinet. Richmond had experienced a great calamity from a conflagration. I represented the conditions to him, and requested that no requisitions on the inhabitants be made of restraint of any sort, save as to police and preservation of order ; not to exact oaths, interfere with churches, etc. He assented to this, the General Weitzel and Military Governor Shepley cordially assenting. On the following day I visited him on the *Malvern* gunboat on which he had come into Richmond upon the 4th. He had prepared a paper, which he commented on as he read each clause. The paper was not signed nor dated. This paper he handed to me, and on the 13th of April I returned it to General Ord, by direction of the President. I retained a copy, as I informed that General I should do. This is a copy :

'1. As to peace, I have said before, and now repeat, that three things are indispensable : The restoration of the national authority throughout all the states.

2. No receding by the executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to congress, and in preceding documents.

3. No cessation of hostilities short of an end of hostilities and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government.

That all propositions coming from those now in hostility to the government, and not inconsistent with the foregoing, will be respectfully considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality. I now add that it seems useless for me to be more specific with those who will not say that they are ready for the indispensable terms, even on condition to be named by themselves.

If there be any who are ready for those indispensable terms on any condition whatever, let them say so, and state their conditions, so that such conditions can be strictly known and considered. It is further added, that the remission of confiscation being within the executive power, if the war be now further persisted in by those opposing the government, the making of confiscated property, at the least, to bear the additional cost will be insisted on ; but that confiscations (except in case of third party intervening interests) will be remitted to the people of any state which shall now promptly and in good faith withdraw its troops and other supports from further resistance to the government. What is now said as to remission of confiscation has no reference to supposed property in slaves.'

On the 13th of April, the day before the assassination of the President, General Ord addressed me a letter, stating that by the instructions of the President he wrote, that since the paper was written on the subject of reconvening the gentlemen who, under the insurrectionary government, had acted as the legislature of Virginia, the object had in view and the convention of such gentlemen is unnecessary ; he wishes the paper withdrawn. I sent to General Ord the only paper I had ever received, being that I have copied.

After the President had read and expounded that paper he delivered it to me. It was not dated nor signed, nor directed to me or other person. When he had concluded this he said he had been meditating a plan, but had come to no conclusion upon the subject ; that he should not do so till he returned to City Point ; that if he was satisfied he would write to General Weitzel.

This had reference to a convention of the legislature which had been sitting during the preceding winter and recognized the confederate states. The President said 'he had a government in Virginia the Pierpont government. It had but a small margin, and he

was not disposed to increase it. He wanted the very legislature which had been sitting up yonder '—pointing to the capitol—'to come together and to vote to restore Virginia to the Union and recall her soldiers from the confederate army.'

The suggestion came from the President, and its object was plainly stated. As the suggestion had some tolerance for the existing state governments, I was pleased to hear it and strongly supported the suggestion. I told him 'there had been discussions during the winter in respect to both peace and union; none could be found to make peace. Each man would now make his own peace.'"

It appears that Edwin M. Stanton was examined in relation to this intercourse before the committee appointed for the examination of charges preferred against President Johnson in 1867. He testified before that committee that "President Lincoln went to the city of Richmond after its capture, and some intercourse took place between him and Judge Campbell, formerly of the supreme court of the United States, and General Weitzel, which resulted in the call of the rebel legislature to Richmond. Mr. Lincoln on his return from Richmond reconsidered that matter. The policy of undertaking to restore the government through the medium of rebel organizations was very much opposed by many persons, and very strongly and vehemently opposed by myself. I had several earnest conversations with Mr. Lincoln on the subject, and advised that any effort to reorganize the government should be under the federal government solely, and to treat the rebel organizations as null and void. On the day preceding his death a conversation took place between him, the attorney-general, and myself upon the subject, at the executive mansion. An hour or two afterwards, and about the middle of the afternoon, Mr. Lincoln came over to the war department and renewed the conversation. After I had repeated my reasons against allowing the rebel legislatures to assemble or the rebel authorities to have any participation in the business of reorganization, he sat down at my desk and wrote a telegram to General Weitzel and handed it to me. 'There,' said he, 'I think this will suit you.' I told him, 'No: it did not go far enough; that the members of the legislature would probably come to Richmond; that General Weitzel ought to be directed to prohibit their assembling.' He took up his pen again and made that addition to the telegram and signed it. He handed it to me. I said it was exactly right. It was transmitted immediately to General Weitzel, and was the last act ever performed by Mr. Lincoln in the war department."

Judge Campbell adds: "General Ord had succeeded General Weitzel and communicated the intelligence to me."

But perhaps the most interesting and conclusive contribution to the history of this matter is the contemporaneous record in the daily press of Richmond. Most of the newspaper offices of the city were laid in ashes

at the great conflagration of April 3, 1865; only the *Whig* and *Sentinel* escaped. Whether or not the *Sentinel* was published continuously during the early days of Federal occupation, I have not been able to determine absolutely, but am inclined to believe it was not. Certainly I have failed to find any numbers of the paper covering the period between the 3d and the 15th of April. The *Times* was the first paper started after the great disaster, but its earliest issue was later than the last of these dates. So far as appears, then, to the *Whig* alone we must look for the daily record of events in Richmond just after the evacuation. Immediately upon this change of masters this newspaper, the *Whig*, passed under the control and conduct of a Northern man of Union sentiments, and was promptly issued Tuesday evening, April 4, amid the smoking ruins of the city, with the sanction of the United States military authorities, as a Union journal, in a single sheet about the size of an ordinary Sunday-school paper.

It may be pertinent to remind the average reader that—as the columns of this journal abundantly show—the confederate rear guard retired from Richmond very early Monday morning, April 3, and the federals entered the burning city close upon their heels; that Admiral Porter brought Mr. Lincoln up the river in the gunboat *Malvern*, Tuesday, April 4, landing at Rockett's about three P. M.; that the President walked through the city, for the most part east and north of the "burnt district," to General Weitzel's headquarters, which were in President Davis's mansion at the corner of 12th and Clay streets, and that he spent that evening meeting and conferring with military officers of the United States and the leading citizens of Richmond, returning to the *Malvern* to sleep that night, and going back down the river to City Point say about noon the next day, which was Wednesday the 5th.

Several reportorial notices of and editorial comments upon what it was pleased to term "the first step toward the reinstatement of the Old Dominion in the Union" appear in the columns of the *Whig* during the week beginning Friday, April 7, and ending Friday, April 14—the day of Mr. Lincoln's assassination. Suffice it to say, that the *Whig* commended and advocated the proposed scheme for the immediate rehabilitation of the state just so long as the military authorities of the United States appeared to approve it, and denied all sympathy with it when their approbation and co-operation were withdrawn. We give below all the *Whig's* references to the matter which tend to the clear and consecutive development of the facts as they actually occurred. The earliest notice is as follows and is found in the "*Evening Whig*, Friday, April 7."

"AN IMPORTANT MOVEMENT—RECONSTRUCTION—MEETING OF THE VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE.

An informal meeting of the members of the Virginia legislature remaining in the city was held in the Law building, Franklin street, this morning, for the consideration of the proposition of President Lincoln to re-assemble the legislature for the purpose of authorizing a convention to take Virginia back into the bonds of the Union. The proposition of the President was laid before the meeting. A formal meeting was appointed to take place at four P. M. this afternoon, to which time the meeting adjourned."

Then, next day, Saturday, April 8, we have the following:

"CORRECTION.

The statement that there would be a meeting last evening of such members of the Virginia legislature as still remained in the city was not strictly correct. There was no meeting of legislators or others, but simply an informal conference and consultation of private individuals, among whom were five or six members of the legislature. The motive of these gentlemen in coming together was to hear from Judge Campbell the terms upon which President Lincoln had expressed himself as willing that Virginia might return to the Union. Messrs. Joseph R. Anderson, David I. Burr, Nathaniel P. Tyler, and H. W. Thomas were appointed a committee to inform the legislature and Governor Smith of President Lincoln's terms; and Judge Campbell was requested to accompany the committee, who were to leave the city so soon as passports could be procured. It was said to be probable they would get off this morning.

We prefer not to state our understanding of Mr. Lincoln's terms, as our information on that head is not official."

The next publication of importance, and the most important of all, appearing in the issues both of Wednesday the 12th and Thursday the 13th of April, is the following address:

"TO THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA.

The undersigned, members of the legislature of the state of Virginia, in connection with a number of the citizens of the state, whose names are attached to this paper, in view of the evacuation of the city of Richmond by the confederate government, and its occupation by the military authorities of the United States, the surrender of the army of Northern Virginia, and the suspension of the jurisdiction of the civil power of the state, are of opinion that an immediate meeting of the General Assembly of the state is called for by the exigencies of the situation. The consent of the military authorities of the United States to the sessions of the legislature in Richmond, in connection with the governor and lieutenant governor, to their free deliberation upon public affairs, and to the ingress and departure of all its members under safe conducts, has been obtained.

The United States authorities will afford transportation from any point under their control to any of the persons before mentioned.

The matters to be submitted to the legislature are the restoration of peace to the state of Virginia, and the adjustment of questions involving life, liberty, and property, that have arisen in the state as a consequence of the war.

We, therefore, earnestly request the governor, lieutenant-governor, and members of the legislature to repair to this city by the 25th of April (instant).

We understand that full protection to persons and property will be afforded in the state, and we recommend to peaceful citizens to remain at their homes and pursue their usual avocations, with confidence that they will not be interrupted.

We earnestly solicit the attendance in Richmond, on or before the 25th of April (instant), of the following persons, citizens of Virginia, to confer with us as to the best means of restoring peace to the state of Virginia. We have procured safe conduct from the military authorities of the United States for them to enter the city and to depart without molestation: Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, A. T. Caperton, Wm. C. Rives, John Letcher, A. H. H. Stuart, R. L. Montague, Fayette McMullen, J. P. Holcombe, Alexander Rives, B. Johnson Barbour, James Barbour, Wm. L. Goggin, J. B. Baldwin, Thomas Gholson, Waller Staples, S. D. Miller, Thomas J. Randolph, Wm. T. Early, R. A. Claybrook, John Critcher, Wm. Towns, T. H. Eppes, and those other persons for whom passports have been procured and especially forwarded that we consider it to be unnecessary to mention.

(Signed) A. J. MARSHALL, Senator, Fauquier.
 JAMES NEESON, Senator, Marion.
 JAMES VENABLE, Senator-elect, Petersburg.
 DAVID I. BURR, of House of Delegates, Richmond city.
 DAVID J. SAUNDERS, of House of Delegates, Richmond city.
 L. S. HALL, of House of Delegates, Wetzel county.
 J. J. ENGLISH, of House of Delegates, Henrico county.
 WM. AMBERS, of House of Delegates, Chesterfield county.
 A. M. KEILY, of House of Delegates, Petersburg.
 H. W. THOMAS, Second Auditor of Virginia.
 ST. L. L. MONCURE, Chief Clerk Second Auditor's office.
 JOSEPH MAYO, Mayor city of Richmond.
 ROBERT HOWARD, Clerk Hustings Court, Richmond city.
 THOMAS U. DUDLEY, Sergeant Richmond city.
 LITTLETON TAZEVELL, Commonwealth's Attorney, Richmond city.
 WM. T. JOYNES, Judge of Circuit Court, Petersburg.
 JOHN A. MEREDITH, Judge of Circuit Court, Richmond.
 WM. H. LYONS, Judge of Hustings Court, Richmond.
 WMS. C. WICKHAM, Member of Congress, Richmond District.
 BENJ. S. EWELL, President of William and Mary College.
 NAT. TYLER, Editor Richmond *Enquirer*.
 R. F. WALKER, Publisher of *Examiner*.
 J. R. ANDERSON, Richmond.
 R. R. HOWISON, Richmond.
 W. GODDIN, Richmond.
 P. G. BAYLY, Richmond.
 F. J. SMITH, Richmond.
 FRANKLIN STEARNS, Henrico.
 JOHN LYON, Petersburg.
 THOMAS B. FISHER, Fauquier.
 WM. M. HARRISON, Charles City.

(Signed) CYRUS HALL, Ritchie.
 THOMAS W. GARNETT, King and Queen.
 JAMES A. SCOTT, Richmond.

I concur in the preceding recommendation.

J. A. CAMPBELL.

Approved for publication in the *Whig* and in handbill form.

G. WEITZEL, Major General commanding.

RICHMOND, VA., April 11, 1865."

And last of all, from the *Whig* of Friday, April 14, we copy the following military order.

" HEADQUARTERS DEPT. VIRGINIA, }
 RICHMOND, VA., April 13, 1865. }

Owing to recent events, the permission for the re-assembling of the gentlemen recently acting as the legislature of Virginia is rescinded. Should any of the gentlemen come to the city under the notice of re-assembling, already published, they will be furnished passports to return to their homes.

Any of the persons named in the call signed by J. A. Campbell and others, who are found in the city twelve hours after the publication of this notice, will be subject to arrest, unless they are residents of the city.

E. O. C. ORD, Major-General commanding the Department."

In the light of the evidence above collated, need we refer again to Admiral Porter's account of how he ran down the entire scheme for re-assembling the Virginia legislature on that Wednesday morning (April 5), when, with that old three-minute ambulance horse, he overhauled the flying carriage containing General Weitzel and Judge Campbell, nor how the admiral made the President admit his clumsy ignorance and beg the admiral not to expose him? No: it is not treasonable to say of the admiral's narrative that "it does not read like history," and it is but fair to add that perhaps it was not really intended to read, or to be read, in any such prosaic and critical style. The whole scope of the book puts it outside the category of grave history.

But General Grant's book is of very different character, and is certain to be largely consulted by future historians of the civil war. It is the more to be regretted, therefore, that the illustrious author appears to have been led into error about this particular matter. Passing by some minor details as to which we raise no issue, it will be noted that the general differs with the admiral in that he admits the "restoration" scheme and policy survived the disastrous set-back of the 5th of April; indeed, the general seems never to have heard of that disaster. He quotes the words of President Lincoln's order given after the interview on Admiral Porter's

flag-ship, the *Malvern*, "from memory." Memory of what? Of those words and that order certainly, but whether as read by himself or as repeated to him by another, it would be very interesting to discover.

Of course Judge Campbell is the "leading citizen" referred to as having been present at the *Malvern* interview (though not strictly a "citizen of Virginia"), and Judge Campbell not only publishes a copy of the paper handed him on that occasion, being the only paper he ever received from Mr. Lincoln, and which contained no reference to the meeting of the legislature, but he also says that Mr. Lincoln, while expressing verbally and freely to him (as he had done to Judge Thomas) his views as to "a convention of the legislature" and "a government for Virginia," at the same time distinctly stated that he was only "meditating a plan," had "come to no conclusion," and was not yet prepared to commit anything to writing on this subject.

The general says the "call" for the legislative convention, afterwards published upon the basis of the President's order, "went very much further than Mr. Lincoln had contemplated;" and that Mr. Stanton, seeing this "call," immediately "took the liberty of countermanding the order, . . . notwithstanding the fact that the President was nearer the spot than he was." Now, is it conceivable that Mr. Lincoln, who was the author and sponsor of this movement, never saw this "call," although Mr. Stanton saw it in "the very next issue of the northern papers"? If Mr. Stanton saw it, is it not certain that he showed it to Mr. Lincoln during their prolonged and repeated discussions of this subject? And if Mr. Lincoln saw it, when and where did he ever express his dissatisfaction with it, upon the ground mentioned by General Grant or upon any other ground? In short, this entire statement about this "call" and Mr. Stanton's suppression of it, and "the order" authorizing it before Mr. Lincoln's return to Washington, is totally swept away by the sworn deposition of Mr. Stanton himself, who relates how difficult it was for him and the attorney-general to induce Mr. Lincoln, after his return to Washington, to abandon his policy and recall his order.*

Mr. Stanton undoubtedly was a man who seldom "questioned his own authority;" he may even at times have assumed authority to countermand one of Lincoln's orders, but he certainly did not do so in this instance.

We have yet two further contributions to make to the record of this interesting crisis. It will be remembered that Mr. Lincoln, during the conference on board the *Malvern*, said that while he was meditating a plan, he had as yet come to no conclusion upon the subject of a convention of the legislature, and should not do so until he returned to City

* See pages 43 and 44 of Judge Campbell's pamphlet.

has been received. I suppose that, if he assents, the matter will be decided and executed between Generals Grant and Lee.

Very respectfully yours,

(Signed)

J. A. CAMPBELL.

A true copy. J. A. CAMPBELL."

General Anderson remembers that during the reading of this paper to his committee, when he came to that portion which contained Mr. Lincoln's expressions upon the subject of amnesty, Judge Campbell stopped, and said that it occurred to him to mention, as illustrative of the magnanimity of the President upon this subject, that he remarked at the conference, "I would gladly pardon Jeff. Davis himself, if he would ask it."

But the special importance of this report lies in the fact that it shows conclusively that, after Mr. Lincoln had returned to City Point and reflected quietly over the whole matter, he adhered to the views he had thrown out in conversation with Judge Campbell and Judge Thomas, and wrote to Weitzel (not to Campbell) a letter which Campbell read, the substance of which he gives in the report, and which fully authorized the issue of the call of April 11.

And now, to sum up briefly, we think these three positions have been clearly established: to wit, that

1st, As late as the afternoon of the 13th of April, 1865, General Weitzel and the other military authorities of the United States in Virginia were going on in good faith to carry out Mr. Lincoln's policy of immediate restoration, and they regarded the address or "call" of the 11th of April as a fair expression of that policy and the first step in execution of it.

2d, Mr. Lincoln himself was not only the author and sponsor of that policy and that "call," but as late as the afternoon of the 13th of April, 1865—four days after the surrender of General Lee, and when he must be concluded to have seen the "call"—he had found no reason to abandon this policy or to repudiate this call.

3d, To Edwin M. Stanton belongs the responsibility (or glory) of breaking up the policy of restoration, and inaugurating in its stead the policy of reconstruction.

A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Robert H. States". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned in the lower right quadrant of the page.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

JOHN W. HAMERSLEY

"Whether or no we shall roam the hereafter
Together, as once in the days that are dead,
I hold that this life, with its tears and laughter,
Is blessed, thrice blessed, for the love that it bred.

Yes, yes, we shall meet at this life's seeming ending,
Love more, and not less, not forgetting nor dazed ;
We have lived, we have loved, and in measure ascending,
We shall live, we shall love, when the curtain is raised."

Forsan et haec olim meminisse Juvabit.—VIRGIL.

JOHN JERVIS BERESFORD, M.A.

According to that most truthful remark of Sir Henry Taylor, "The world knows nothing of its greatest men." And so it is in this, a lesser world, this mongrel city which knows little of its best citizens. It is a sorrowful fact, that in the history of communities, the most worthy, the most useful, the most devoted, and the most self-sacrificing seldom attain marked celebrity, nor, as a rule, are their services or examples generally recognized. A man to be prominent among the masses must possess unlimited force, or push, or be the creature of a party or the representative of a popular idea. This is especially the case in a very large city or state, and it is for this reason it has been conceded by philosophers that small states are more productive of great men than extensive empires. A great nation or a vast city like our own seldom permits the rise of the best, especially one of the old stock almost buried out of sight by the succeeding swarms of foreigners who fill our offices and streets, steal our taxes, and ignore if they are not ignorant of the few and heroic families who laid the basis of this metropolis, and, indeed, established the principles through which this New Amsterdam or New York has developed.

One of the representatives of an old family, an extraordinary man, passed from our midst on the evening of the 7th of June, 1889, with less notice in the newspapers than is usually accorded to successful men whose deaths are a benefit to the community. John W. Hamersley's death has left a void in many hearts that cannot be filled. He was one of the few who will be the more sincerely missed the longer those who knew him intimately live to remember him. He was born on the 24th of May, 1808, in Hanover square, New York, then one of the centres of fashion, opulence, and

business. His remote ancestor was originally from Provence, in France, and the earliest on this continent was a Huguenot who sought a home in America. The first of the family on record was Hugo le Kinge, who went over to England in the fourteenth century, established himself there, and from the estate he subsequently acquired the family took the name by which they are known in this country. The English branch is proud to acknowledge the American, and the family resemblances after such a long and distant separation are something not usually to be observed even among near kinsmen. Sir Hugh (which is English form for Hugo) was lord-mayor of London in 1620, and his portrait, by gift, came recently into the possession of the subject of this memoir.

William Hamersley, born in 1687, died August 3, 1752, was an officer in the British navy in the time of Queen Anne, settled in New York, embarked in mercantile pursuits, and married Lucretia von Grovenroort, a lady belonging to one of the old Dutch families of New York. Their second son, Andrew Hamersley, born 1725, was twice married: first, in Trinity church, in July, 1761, to Margaret Stelle—of French Protestant descent, belonging to Newport, Rhode Island, where the family house was standing a few years ago—who, having inherited, brought into the Hamersley family the rights of one of the lords proprietors of East New Jersey, of which holding her descendants have ever been specially proud. Their second son, Lewis Carré (who died November 4, 1853), married Elizabeth Finny of Accomack County, Virginia, who died March 30, 1870, in her eighty-ninth year, in her house, 257 Fifth Avenue. John William Hamersley, the subject of this memoir, was their second son.

Observing the peculiarities of our deceased friend, the purblind majority could not perceive the true and sterling character of the man. He was a gentle, genial gentleman, whose excessive politeness might have been mistaken at times for an appearance of policy, because he was so strongly influenced by fear of mistakes of judgment or of hurting the feelings of those with whom he came in contact. He resembled one of those Egyptian monuments, which, covered with ornamentation, are supposed to be of soft material from the delicacy and clearness of the chiseling, whereas they are of the hardest granite. He was a successful lawyer, of consummate tact and dexterity, until his large fortune converted him from an earnest worker into an elegant "looker-on in Vienna."

If ever a man in these days of nullifidianism, or worse than Laodicean lukewarmness, could be a Protestant champion, he was such an one, whose spirit would have rejoiced the heart of Luther. He was also the decided opponent of High Churchism, and adhered heart and soul to the simplicity

of primitive Episcopalianism as it first manifested itself in this country. As an evidence of his earnestness, he published through Sampson Low's Son & Marston, London, in 1867, in a quaint and attractive form, a work entitled "A Chemical Change in the Eucharist," comprising four letters, showing the relations of faith to sense, a translation from the French of a noted work by a noted author, Jacques Abbadie, with an original preface. In this and many other lines he gave evidence of being a scholar of large attainments and a most observant traveler. Had he devoted himself to literature like his friend, associate, and legal room mate, John Lloyd Stephens, the explorer and traveler, he could have produced for the reading world journals of travel of equal value. His interesting reminiscences of the famous Lady Hester Stanhope were published, and he was capable of presenting vivid pictures of intercourse with the magnates of the East—Mohammed Ali, viceroy of Egypt, Ibrahim, his victorious son, and others of contemporaneous influence and celebrity. By Ibrahim Pasha he was so well received that the Egyptian general offered to place young Hamersley at his side in his advance to Jerusalem, which he soon after undertook and executed at such a cost of life.

Mr. Hamersley's collections of curiosities gathered abroad were rare and valuable, but he seldom exhibited the contents of his storehouses; one of these, of coins and medals, is so precious that he made it a special bequest. It required intimacy to discover how much he knew and what treasures he possessed. He was one of the first, perhaps the very first American, to penetrate the great Pyramid and descend to the bottom of the well therein, which was said to communicate with the waters of the Nile. In fact, his boldness in venturing into dangerous places, coupled with his exquisite courtesy and manly independence, won for him the friendship of very distinguished people, at times when Americans were not especial favorites with aristocratic representatives of the old countries.

In more recent times, at his Friday evening gatherings in what he styled his "den," veritable *Noctes Atticæ*, were assembled some of the most remarkable men of the day in every branch of art and science, military, naval, philosophical, etc., professionals as well as laics, representatives of every branch of business and every kind of specialism; nor were the reverend clergy wanting, of all ranks in the church hierarchy and ability of every evangelical belief.

In the basement room or apartment, this "den," elaborately fitted up and lighted, in which he held his *Noctes Atticæ*—almost too brilliantly illuminated materially, but not so vividly alight with flame as it was spiritually with intellectuality—he dispensed an elegant hospitality. When it became

too crowded the meetings were adjourned to the more spacious drawing-rooms above, which witnessed not only "feasts of reason and flow of soul" but banquets worthy of the host and of the guests. He was in every sense a bountiful provider, and it can be honestly averred that he no sooner became aware of the peculiar taste of a visitor who was likely to return, than he took care that the latter should find his favorite brand and beverage ready to welcome him. These *Noctes Atticæ*, or Ambrosianæ,* can be most justly and truthfully compared to those famous gatherings in certain Parisian salons, wherein brilliant companies assembled around bright hosts and thereby rendered the amphytrion as renowned as the guests and their tournaments of wit and intellect. Such assemblages as those of Mr. Hamersley required in the host peculiar talents and consummate tact to make them a triumphant series of successes, such as they are universally acknowledged to have been.

These delightful Friday evenings, which continued year after year without the slightest eclipse or shadow, are not likely to find parallels in New York; and it is not at all probable that the "colonel," as he was saluted by those who "have us'd their dearest action in the tented field," will find a successor, or that his place with its manifold attractions will soon be filled, if, indeed, it can ever be at all.

A detailed and interesting account of these *Noctes Atticæ* was written quite a number of years since by the noted American philologist, Edward S. Gould, and published in the *Oriental Magazine* (Vol. II., No. 1, March, 1860), where it attracted much attention. A more circumstantial account was afterward drawn up by the author of this paper, who for a number of years made notes of those who appeared in "the den." It became at last too sad a task to continue the record, because death began to make such ravages that, year by year the veterans falling out, but a very, very few only of those who originally constituted the circle are now alive to throw a flower upon the last resting-place of the lamented central figure. Whoever did keep any tally of those who met at 255 Fifth avenue, and was a constant visitor, could recall his meeting there with all of the first men of the day in every direction of celebrity. The mere list would astonish with its variety and value. It is very seldom that a private citizen exerts himself to win distinction through such an elegant phase of hospitality, and his house was a rendezvous of hundreds upon hundreds who will never again

* Few are aware that such *salons* are not a French idea, but owed their origin to Greek thought. Four centuries B. C., in the time of Philip of Macedon, there was a literary club called "The Sixty," which met in the temple of Hercules; and the phrase "An old Joe" was known throughout Greece as "An old Sixty," equivalent to the "Chestnut" of to-day.

enjoy an equal opportunity of common intercourse or the salutation and entertainment of a more genial host. One who should have known him best said, "Mr. Hamersley had made a dozen trips to Europe and the East, and was possessed of conversational powers that could make the most of what he had seen. He was witty in repartee and prompt with anecdote, as well as accomplished and learned, had a great knowledge of history, particularly of dates, and manifested sterling traits of character. Whatever may have been his motives he never would accept any public office and always avoided every position of public trust. Honorable, true, and upright in active life, he was patient, nay heroic, in Christian endurance at the end; a self-sacrificing father, warmly beloved by friends, and endeared to all about him, whether in business or service." What is more and best of all, the same friend bears witness that he was an "earnest Christian." Nothing but regret follows his demise. He could not have left an enemy; he must have left a multitude of sorrowing friends. In almost every line he was a purist, and perhaps that in itself added to the misunderstanding of the man. Peace be to his ashes, but peace there must be, for he endeavored to do his duty thoroughly; and in his duty to his associates and fellow-men, beyond his immediate circle, he will leave behind an infinitely few of citizens upon whose tombs can be inscribed with so much truth as upon his own: "Here lies 'a gentle gentleman.'"

"Dear friends, when I am dead,
Think, sometimes say,
At morn, or noon, or point of dying day,
I wish that he were with us—had not fled.

For whether far or near,
In earth or sky,
To you, I think, I must be somehow nigh,
And such regret it would be sweet to hear."

JOHN JERVIS BERESFORD.



GROWTH OF A GREAT NATIONAL LIBRARY

1800-1889

The great library of congress, numbering now well on to a round million of books, pamphlets, and miscellaneous publications, was born with the century. When it was finally decided by congress, after long and heated debate, that the seat of the government should be located upon the Potomac, far removed from the cities which at different times that body had occupied during the Revolutionary struggle, the more sagacious members were not unmindful that in their new location there would be the utmost need for a library of reference to which they might have ready access during the daily sessions. Thus it came about that at the very last session before the removal, the sum of \$5,000 was appropriated for this purpose, upon the motion of Samuel Livermore, a graduate of Princeton college and a senator from New Hampshire.

This sum was intended for the purchase of books and for the fitting up of a suitable library room in the new capitol building in the wilderness; and a joint committee of congress, with Senator Dexter of Massachusetts as chairman, was appointed to have direction of the matter. This committee expended about \$2,200 of the appropriation, and made their report at an early day in the first session held in the new capitol.

This report was referred to a new committee, of which the celebrated John Randolph of Roanoke was a member. It is evident that the subject was a paramount one in that first session, for we find that this committee in turn reported in a few days, setting forth a series of resolutions looking to the establishment of a library upon a permanent basis and asking an annual appropriation for that purpose.

Upon these resolutions there were hot debates. The Federalists were disposed to make liberal appropriations for the new enterprise, one member going so far as to advocate the annual outlay of ten thousand dollars; while on the other hand the Democrats were opposed to the use of any considerable sum. An establishing act was finally passed, but for the next five or six years it seems that the increase of the little nucleus was dependent upon the uncertain chances of the contingent funds of the two houses of congress.

The first catalogue was issued in April, 1802, and gave the titles of

nine hundred and sixty-four volumes. In 1806, upon the urgent appeal of those most interested in the matter, an appropriation was made of one thousand dollars per annum for five years.

In 1811 this appropriation was extended to a period of five years longer. On the 24th of August, 1814, after the disastrous battle of Bladensburgh, the British forces took possession of the new metropolis, the first object of their vandalism being the new capitol building. The two wings of what is now called the old building had been erected, and were connected by a wooden passageway extending across the space at present occupied by the great rotunda. Everything combustible in the building was put to the torch, the books of the library being used to kindle the fires. It was one of the most wanton outrages ever perpetrated by the soldiery of a civilized government. The collection at this time contained about three thousand volumes.

After this disaster to the enterprise, a new beginning was made by the purchase of the private library of ex-President Jefferson, numbering six thousand seven hundred volumes, for which the sum of \$23,950 was paid. The final vote upon the passage of the bill authorizing the purchase, at the price named, was eighty-one yeas and seventy-one nays.

Daniel Webster, then a member of congress from Massachusetts, opposed this purchase, and another member from the same state desired to have rejected all books of an atheistical, irreligious, and immoral tendency. The purchase was made, however, and lo, the collection was found richer in Bibles than in any other work!

In 1818 the annual appropriation was raised to \$2,000; in 1824 it was made \$5,000, and this continued about the average annual amount for many years thereafter. About 1850 it was raised to \$7,000, and soon after the beginning of the civil war it was made \$10,000.

In 1825 the library narrowly escaped destruction a second time from fire, though in point of fact the actual damage done was inconsiderable. At the end of fifty years of its existence it contained about fifty thousand volumes; but in 1851 occurred a third fire, which destroyed about thirty-five thousand volumes, or three-fifths of the whole collection. Congress being then in session at once took measures to repair the damage; \$72,500 was appropriated for the work, and \$75,000 for the immediate purchase of books.

The structure this time was made thoroughly fire-proof, and on July 1, 1853, the west hall was occupied. This now forms the main room of the library, and is ninety-one feet long, thirty-four feet wide, and thirty-four feet high. Since then, two additional halls of about equal dimen-

sions have been added, the whole being fire-proof throughout, and the total cost of erection for all three amounting to \$280,000.

The law library was established during President Jackson's time, and the two thousand law books then in the collection were set aside as a nucleus for this department. In the quality of its material it soon outstripped the original collection, and now it is said to be the most complete law library in the world. It contains the statutes of all civilized nations, together with full sets of American, English, Irish, and Scotch reports.

But the true era of the library's growth dates from the appointment in 1864 of Mr. A. R. Spofford as librarian. His predecessors had all been appointed for political reasons; he has filled the position for more than a quarter of a century, because of his eminent fitness therefor. He was a born librarian, just as now and then a poet is born. When he assumed charge, the collection numbered some seventy-five thousand or eighty thousand volumes. His first work was to make a new catalogue upon a different plan from the cumbrous and unwieldy one inherited from the Jefferson purchase.

Soon after, in 1866, the library of the Smithsonian Institute was by consent of the regents of that trust and a special act of congress transferred to the collection. It consisted of forty thousand volumes, representing twenty years' accumulation since its establishment, and was particularly rich in works on the natural and exact sciences and in the publications of learned societies in all parts of the world and in nearly all modern languages. This collection has been increased from year to year by deposits from the same source. In 1867 the library was still further enriched by the purchase of the Force collection, containing some sixty thousand books, pamphlets, maps, and manuscripts. The owner, the late Peter Force of Washington, had been fifty years in gathering it, with a view of drawing therefrom the material for "A Documentary History of the United States." It was especially valuable for its works upon the early history and colonization of our country, and being altogether one of the richest and most unique historic collections ever gathered by the efforts of a private individual. For this purchase congress appropriated the sum of \$100,000. By these accessions the library of congress became at once the most extensive and valuable repository of material for the wants of scholars to be found in the United States.

In 1881 or 1882 was acquired by gift from Dr. Joseph Meredith Toner of Washington what will be known for all time as "The Toner Collection." It numbered some twenty-eight thousand books and eighteen

thousand pamphlets, and is valuable for its medical, scientific, historical, and biographical works. Especially is it distinguished for works upon small-pox, yellow fever, and medical biography.

This was presented to the government upon certain conditions, the chief of which were that the books should be kept separate from others, that they should be treated as rare books, that they should be bound with a distinguishing mark, and that the donor might have the privilege of adding to the gift and of making permanent provision for its increase in the future.

Aside from these particular facts of accretion, three distinguishing features have marked Mr. Spofford's administration of this great trust: First, the collection and filing of public journals, especially of American newspapers. Little attention had been paid to this feature before his incumbency; but now the library contains some sixteen thousand bound volumes of these, and they are being received and filed at the rate of at least one hundred newspapers per day. No argument is needed to show the value these journals will possess for future generations of students and statesmen, or how that value will increase with age. Second, in the particular attention he has devoted to rendering the library complete in jurisprudence, history, and in everything that may be called Americana. In this feature especially will future generations note the footprints of Mr. Spofford's genius. Third, in the growth of the collection under the workings of the copyright law. Previous to 1870 a work might be copyrighted, by compliance with certain formula, in any district court of the United States. In that year, however, all this business was by act of congress transferred to the congressional library.

Under the provisions of this law, two copies of every book or other article that may be copyrighted must be filed with the librarian, and these copies must be of the best edition issued of the given work.

During the year 1887 fifty-three thousand nine hundred and twenty-four articles came into the library under the workings of this law. They were under the head of books, periodicals, dramatic compositions, musical compositions, photographs, engravings and chromos, maps and charts, designs and drawings, prints and paintings. This law operates as a veritable drag-net in the field of American letters. It brings in everything—good, bad, and indifferent. A given book may be utterly worthless; it may be the rankest plagiarism; it may be vicious; it may be of such character that Uncle Sam will refuse to carry it in his mails—and yet he will give its author the benefit of copyright.

The librarian has neither the time nor the authority to pass upon the

morality or the originality of the works presented. In this behalf his functions are purely clerical. All such questions are relegated to the courts. While the operations of this law may bring to the library many works of little individual intrinsic worth, yet collectively the result will be of infinite value, in that for all time it will afford a perfect exhibit—a reflex of the growth and progress of American thought. "As a single example of this," says Mr. Spofford, "consider how great a benefit it must be for those who are interested in the profession of education to be secure of finding in a national library a complete series of school-books, produced in all parts of the United States for the period of half a century. What seems trash to us to-day may come to-morrow to have a wholly unsuspected value, while that which is worthless to one reader may contribute a very solid satisfaction to another. No one who has sought in vain for a coveted volume, which has become almost lost to the world from the small number of copies printed and the swift destruction through the accidents of time, can fail to appreciate the value of a collection thus truly complete and national."

The magnificent new library building will come none too soon. The present quarters have been crowded for years. Now they are overflowing—books, books everywhere. They fill every inch of shelving; they lie in heaps in the alcoves, upon the floors, in the passages—everywhere.

Fifty years from now, when we shall have the greatest and most unique collection of books in the world, what will be thought of the statesmanship that, in order to save the expense of building, proposed to give away the treasures gathered at so much care and expense?

Milton N. Adkins.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

ST. JOHN DE CRÈVECŒUR

FIRST FRENCH CONSUL TO NEW YORK AFTER THE REVOLUTION

The one of whom we write was not an American, and yet few Americans have felt greater enthusiasm for their native land—for its climate, its people, and its institutions—than did St. John de Crèveœur, who was the first French consul in New York after the Revolution. Michael William John de Crèveœur, who has chosen to make himself known to us as St. John de Crèveœur, was born at Caen, in Normandy, January 31, 1735. His father was John de Crèveœur, Esq., and his mother was the noble lady Mary Ann Theresa Blouet. He came into the world amid calm, patriarchal surroundings, in a society which cared not for changes and adventures, and his family home had been in the same spot for more than one hundred years. Occasionally his father would make a short visit to Paris, where he formed acquaintances at court, who later on were useful to his son. But the elder De Crèveœur was happier in his vineyard, in the company of his children and of his wife, who was a woman gifted with rare good sense and better educated than most ladies of her day.

At an early age young De Crèveœur was placed in school with the Jesuits, in Caen, and it was through his dormitory window that the little fellow observed for the first time the north star, which so often in after years guided him in his adventurous excursions in the new world. He soon developed a liking for mathematics, and took great pleasure in wandering through the ancient God's acre and making out the moss-covered epitaphs. When he had nearly finished his studies at the Jesuit college, he visited an aunt who lived at Salisbury, England, staying with her more than a month, and it was after this visit that he determined to go to Canada. There is a tradition in his family which says he began his long journey to the west toward the end of the year 1755, and that he touched at Lisbon, where he strolled through the ruins of the city which had so lately been destroyed by an earthquake. He landed in Canada in his twentieth year, but we do not know in what capacity, whether he was a gentleman of leisure or a government official. We know, however, that his aptitude for mathematics soon gave him plenty of topographical work; and this was quite to his taste, for it led him to make expeditions into the interior of the colony, and from some remarks in his *Letters of an Agriculturist*—

a book which brought him not a little fame—we gather that in the longest of these expeditions he crossed the whole length of lake Ontario and lake Erie, and landed at Detroit, whence, descending the Miami river, he reached the grand portage of the Wabash ; and the map which he drew shows that before going back to Canada he must have visited the headwaters of the Hudson as well as lake Champlain.

During what is known as the French and Indian war we find De Crèveœur employed as an officer of engineers, and in 1757 he was with Montcalm in the attack on Fort George. But the handful of brave men who were fighting for France in North America received scant attention from the mother country. France was too occupied with the seven years' war in Europe to care for distant Canada ; and when in 1760 the remnant of the French army returned home, the name of De Crèveœur disappears as a soldier, nor do we know why he quit the service. Perhaps the new world had too many charms for him ; and as he spoke English fairly well, which might enable him to conceal his nationality, and calling himself now for the first time St. John de Crèveœur, a more English-sounding name, he boldly crossed over into the colony of New York. He was young, robust, inured to woodcraft, and did not doubt but he could earn a living as a surveyor. While De Crèveœur was passionately fond of penetrating wild and unexplored regions, he at the same time yearned for civilization and home life. There seemed to be two distinct beings in him ; one would have made him lead the life of a savage, the other impelled him to settle in a fixed abode. Two years after he left Canada he was in Pennsylvania, enchanted with a small town called Shippensburg. In one of his letters he writes : " I have known this town in its first infancy ; I have seen the surrounding forests change to blooming meadows. Never shall I think of this spot without feelings of the deepest gratitude toward the respectable founders of this little settlement." And the energetic and hospitable people who entertained him at Shippensburg were the forefathers of the Shippens—a well-known and honorable family of Philadelphia.

In 1764 De Crèveœur bought a tract of land in the province of New York, two thousand acres of which, being a marsh, he had to drain. And now after this is prepared for cultivation, when he has built himself a log house, we might expect him to be at rest and abide where he is. But no, off he wanders into the region which became in after years the state of Vermont ; and embarking in a canoe with two Indians, he paddled down the St. Lawrence, and was wrecked after having safely passed through the rapids. Winter was near. Without means to light a fire—for there were

no matches in those days—without an ax to build a cabin, obliged to eat raw fish, the miserable party resolved to hasten southward. On the third day of their painful march they saw smoke. It was from a village of Christian Mohawks. The Indians, touched by their wretchedness, fed and clothed them, and the chief persuaded De Crèveœur to stay with him through the long winter. It was well he did, for De Crèveœur might not have lived to get back to his farm. And as he never went anywhere without his flute, he often entertained his swarthy host with music.

One day, hearing that two of the Mohawks who were jealous of each other were about to fight a mortal combat, he resolved to test the power of harmonious sounds upon them. Accordingly he hid himself behind an oak tree, and just as their tomahawks were uplifted to strike, he began to play a sweet melody. At once their weapons dropped. The savages were dumfounded. They listened in awe, then shook hands; and De Crèveœur attributed this happy ending of the duel to the charm of his flute. But he innocently adds, that at the very same moment two angry squaws appeared on the scene, each flourishing a stick, so that we are left in doubt whether it was the flute or the squaws who made everything end so well.

When spring returned De Crèveœur journeyed back to his clearing. But he found himself unable to settle down to the plow. He had rich land and a roof to shelter him; yet he wanted something more than acres and a roof, and this something was a wife. Where was he to find one? Young women were not many in the backwoods. So determined, however, was he to secure a wife, that he actually crossed the ocean in his eager search for one. He was not able, however, to find a partner in Normandy. He does not tell us why. Perhaps the long sea voyage—ten times longer then than now—made the pretty girls shake their heads. So westward De Crèveœur sailed again alone; and finally, in 1769, in his thirty-fourth year, his perseverance was rewarded in the person of Miss Mehetable Tippet, who was a native of Yonkers. But her home at the time he wooed and won her was in Dutchess county, New York. Being fond of change De Crèveœur settled on a new piece of land near Cornwall, in Orange county, and named his new farm Pine Hill. In 1770 he cut down the first tree on it. In the log cabin was born, December 14, 1770, his eldest child, whom he resolved to name "America Frances," a good patriotic name, and he wrote to the Rev. Mr. Têtard to come and baptize young "America Frances." But the clergyman answered from the town of Westchester, on January 6, 1771, as follows: "I regret to say the season is too severe, the roads impracticable on account of the snow, and

the rivers too dangerous to cross, for me to undertake so long a journey. All I can do is to promise you to fulfill this office as soon as the season will permit." But for some reason—perhaps the parents felt hurt by his answer—the child was not baptized till December, 1776, the blessed year of our independence. And as by this time "America Frances" had two little brothers, the reverend gentleman was able to make his visit the occasion for three baptisms.

Having become the father of a family De Crèveçœur devoted himself with greater zeal to the labors of a colonist. He farmed his land, surveyed land for others, and wrote a book. He soon abandoned his log house for a more pretentious dwelling. The new abode had one story, a portico, and five front windows. On the left was a garden lined with sassafras trees, on the right stood a barn and ten negro cabins, and the whole was surrounded by a palisade. He tells us that cider was the universal beverage, ginger the only medicine, and that the beds of the poorest were made of the feathers of wild pigeons.

The farmers consumed in winter-time half the fruits of the summer, and they were consequently all happy and fat. Perhaps the most interesting part of his book, *Letters of an Agriculturist*, is where he describes Nantucket, which island he visited three years after his marriage. Nantucket, he says, was settled by twenty-seven Quakers, or Friends as they are better called, who had obtained from the crown a concession of the island. These good people, little dreaming of the riches they were to derive from the sea, turned their attention at first to agriculture. But they found the soil so sandy that it was not worth dividing. Therefore, after each one had taken a lot styled a "homestead lot," whereon he built a house (and the twenty-seven houses were the beginning of the town of Sherburn), it was agreed to enjoy the rest of the island in common. Then, believing that the scanty grass could be made better by having sheep on it, they decided that each person might introduce five hundred and sixty sheep, by which agreement the common herd would number fifteen thousand one hundred and twenty sheep. Hence the land was cut up into as many parts as there were sheep. It was, moreover, agreed that after the pasturage had been improved by these sheep, then one cow might represent four sheep, and two cows represent one horse. It was also agreed that later they would seek the most equitable mode of determining the exact quantity of land which would be equivalent to the pasturing of one sheep. This plan was faithfully carried out, and, as a result, what became known as "pasture titles" were given to the inhabitants. At the time De Crèveçœur visited Nantucket the quiet, serene-looking Friends had changed into daring fisher-

men. He says, "I observe with pleasure that no political convulsion has ever tarnished the glory of this settlement. Yet its founders had never heard speak either of Lycurgus or of Solon. The first thing which struck me on landing was the smell of whale-oil, an inevitable smell, which one soon gets accustomed to, and which the people of Sherburn, clean as they are, cannot prevent, for this oil is their principal harvest." The Friends of Nantucket, he adds, were always kind to the Indians whom they found there, and all dwelt in harmony together. But what pleased him most on the island was to find only one lawyer, and this lawyer had wisely made sure of his bread and butter by marrying the daughter of a whaler.

The character of the Friends pleased him exceedingly: "They are grave without being sad, reserved without coldness, and accomplishing much business without noise or precipitation. The different degrees of prosperity have not produced among them arrogance and pride on the one part, nor degradation and servility on the other." Idleness, he tells us, was looked on as a great fault: "And when one of these Friends has nothing else to do he will draw from his pocket a piece of cedar-wood and a knife, and even while conversing and saying, 'Thee knows, thee knows,' will begin to make a bung for an oil-barrel."

So wedded were they to their habits of simplicity that once when a Friend brought over from the mainland a one-horse chaise—which was only to be used by his wife when she paid visits to her neighbors—it caused great scandal, and ended by the chaise being sent back to the mainland. It was only on First day—Sunday—that they put off their homespun garments and wore cloth made in England. But the rich and those of moderate means dressed alike. From Nantucket De Crèvecoeur passed over to Newport, of which he says: "It is the healthiest country I know of. Hence Newport has become the rendezvous of all the sickly Englishmen, Dutchmen, and Frenchmen of the West Indies."

He visited Connecticut where, strange to relate, he found a great contempt for money, so great that he met a citizen of Northampton (Massachusetts) who, having made a fortune, was in consequence unable to be elected to the lowest office, his fellow-citizens preferring a man like themselves, neither rich nor poor. He also relates how one day a tavern-keeper of New Haven bade an English sailor who had come in for refreshment to stop swearing. "God's law as well as the state's law forbids profanity," said the tavern-keeper. And the sailor continuing to swear, the other had him put in jail. Here it may be explained that in those primitive days tavern-keepers were often justices of the peace, in order that profanity and overdrinking might more easily be put down.

De Crèvecoeur was nowhere received with more hospitality than in the city of New York. He says of New York: "The streets are often cleaned and on dark nights they are lighted. It grows rapidly too, and has now twenty-eight thousand inhabitants, and an old woman told me she had once been whipped for stealing apples from an orchard which stood where the town hall now stands." Then he adds, "The people of New York expect shortly to have an abundant supply of water for use in the dwellings and to freshen the streets, and they are actually building a fire-engine. All the inhabitants are divided into companies, and when a fire breaks out they must hasten to it with their buckets with the greatest speed." De Crèvecoeur felt sure that the city would one day become a great metropolis: "It may be possible," he says, "at some future time to unite the source of the Mohawk river with the waters of Wood creek, which empties into lake Ontario at Oswego. Thus the productions of this immense lake and the harvests of all the colonies which will be planted on its shores, will be carried to Albany and from thence to the city of New York, and this will give New York a prosperity and a supremacy over all the other cities of the continent, which nothing will take away from her. It may require only a century of independence to accomplish this great work."

But pleased as he was with what he saw in his travels through New York and Pennsylvania, De Crèvecoeur recognized in New England the heart and soul of the new nation that was being formed. And nothing interested him more than the spectacle of Europeans turning into a new English-speaking race, and becoming Americans. Occasionally he is sad and speaks of the loss of Canada to France with tender regret. This loss was mainly due, in his opinion, to the efforts of her kings to govern the far-off colony in all matters, no self-government being allowed. Yet De Crèvecoeur believed that the Canadian emigrants were well fitted to get on by themselves. They were great explorers. He had met some who had penetrated into the remote northwest and not returned home for three whole years. He found them, however, wanting in money-making enterprise. They were content to do as their fathers had done. Nor did they care much for schools. De Crèvecoeur says, they had been told in France that winter wheat would be smothered by the deep snow of Canada; therefore the credulous Canadians sowed no winter wheat. Apple-trees, they had been told, would not grow in such a climate; therefore no apple-trees were planted. And if they got on better with the Indians than did their Anglo-Saxon neighbors, he attributed it to the fact that they were in many things a good deal like the Indians.

When De Crèvecoeur returned home from his tour through the different

provinces, he saw that grave events were approaching. Like many other moderate spirits, however, he believed that revolution might be averted. As the breach grew wider he did not hesitate how to act. He was an American above all things. Finally war broke out, and his house and barn were destroyed by Indians in the service of England, and he and his family watched the flames from a hiding-place in the woods. They owed their lives to a royalist whose own life De Crèvecoeur had saved a short time before. In 1779 business matters called De Crèvecoeur to France. His mother had been dead some years, his father was nearly eighty, and the loss of his farm induced him for the sake of his children to renew the too long neglected ties with his family across the sea. Accordingly, armed with proper papers from General Washington as well as from Sir Henry Clinton, he passed through the lines to New York, taking with him only Ally his eldest boy. In New York he hoped to repose a little and visit some old acquaintances. But being accused anonymously of having drawn a map of the harbor for Washington, he was thrown into prison. Meanwhile his little son fell ill at the house of a kind gentleman on Long Island, and this increased his distress. The prison was an old sugar-house, where the food of the prisoners was often devoured by rats. Here De Crèvecoeur found languishing the Rev. John Mather, pastor of the church at Greenwich, Connecticut. Mather had been arrested as a rebel because every sabbath he used to go to meeting carrying a musket. For this one of his parishioners had denounced him, saying that "his pulpit was an ecclesiastical drum with which he beat up recruits for General Washington." The parishioner did not know that the custom of carrying muskets to meeting was an old one handed down from the times when the Pequots occasionally put a stop to the prayers and the preaching.

At last William Seton, a merchant of New York, to whom he dedicated *Letters of an Agriculturist*, obtained a hearing for poor De Crèvecoeur, and Sir Henry Clinton gave him his liberty, Mr. Seton going on one of his two bail bonds, five hundred guineas. Being now free and finding his son recovered, De Crèvecoeur took up his abode with a tailor named John Pickering, who, with his worthy Quaker wife, had been forced to leave Albany on account of his royalist opinions. The dwelling was a stable under a grain loft. The good couple gave him the stable, they retreating to the upper floor, which was reached by a ladder. While De Crèvecoeur lived here he earned a little money by helping the English along the wharf at Corlear's Hook. His services were paid for in wood, which he brought to the tailor in lieu of rent. By and by he was given the more congenial task of laying out anew the boundary lines of Trinity Corpora-

tion. He set to work with zeal, but unhappily he made use of white handkerchiefs to mark his alignments, and one day a couple of tipsy sailors mistook them for French flags, and fell on him and beat him. On the 1st of September, 1780, De Crèveœur and his son managed to sail for Europe in one of a convoy of eighty vessels, and were wrecked on the coast of Ireland.

Little is known of De Crèveœur's stay in the British isles. He was in London in 1781, and on the 2d of August of that year he reached his paternal home in Normandy, after an absence of twenty-seven years. He found only his aged father to welcome him, and the son had almost forgotten his native tongue. De Crèveœur soon visited Paris under the escort of Etienne François Turgot, eldest brother of the great Turgot. By him he was introduced to the naturalist Buffon, who was much interested to hear about America. He was also presented to Madame d'Houdetot, wife of Count d'Houdetot; and his meeting this lady was like a new birth to De Crèveœur. Her husband's family and his own had long been intimate, and she determined to befriend him. De Crèveœur was bashful at first, and begged in barbarous French to be allowed not to enter society. His imploring, ungrammatical letter made the countess all the more desirous to have in her salon a being so original, who had traveled so much, and who was already known as the "wild American." In a little while Madame d'Houdetot made him accompany her everywhere; and at one place—Le Val, near Saint Germain—De Crèveœur made use of Franklin's discovery and put up a lightning-rod. In the courtyard of the château he erected an unsightly pole, eighty-nine feet high, formed of two poplar trees spliced together. The pole was crowned by a metal rod which was connected with the earth by a chain, while a gaping crowd looked on at the strange doings of the "wild American," who declared that the lightning would not hurt the château so long as this pole was allowed to stand. Madame d'Houdetot also made De Crèveœur sit beside her at all her banquets, to the great delight of her husband, who once said to him on the eve of a dinner party: "Ah, my friend! don't imagine that to-morrow you will give us the slip. You must take my place at table—do you hear? This superabundance of wit at my wife's dinners bores me to death. I'll go and dine in the Rue de l'Université with some boon companions, who, like myself, are fond of a jolly time. Ah, my friend! beware of becoming a learned man and a wit. God knows, we have too many already."

But this life, much as De Crèveœur grew to like it, did not make him forget America. It was now two years since he had sailed from New York,

and he had had no tidings of his wife. Therefore it was with impatience that he waited for the signing of the treaty of peace. It was signed at last. Yet it brought unlooked-for results for himself. While the English and American commissioners were arranging the details at Versailles, the countess d'Houdetot had kept constantly flitting between this place and Paris; and one day, bidding De Crèveœur hasten to her presence, she informed him that the minister of marine wanted to see him, and that he must be prepared to give full information about the geography, population, industry, and government of the American states. "Are you ready to do this?" she asked. "Angel of goodness," exclaimed De Crèveœur, "I am ready." Accordingly he presented himself to this high official, and so well did he answer all questions, that he was offered any consulship he might wish for in America. De Crèveœur chose that of New York, and his commission as consul was signed June 22, 1783. Before leaving France he put his son in his aged father's care; then, having been made a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences, he sailed for New York on the *Courrier de l'Europe*—the first of a line of packets established by the French government between France and America. He arrived on the 19th of November, after a passage of fifty-four days, and just as the last British soldiers were evacuating the city. De Crèveœur's first thought was to find his family. Alas! his wife was dead, and the two children whom he had left with her had been carried off by a stranger, he knew not whither. Happily William Seton, who had lost his fortune by the war, again came to his aid. He took him home, helped him search for his children, and after seventeen days of anguish De Crèveœur learned they were in Boston, tenderly cared for by Mr. George Fellows, father of Lieutenant Fellows of the American navy.

De Crèveœur sent his boy Louis to join Ally in France, but kept with him his daughter Fanny, then thirteen years old. Although naturally modest, De Crèveœur took a pardonable pride in being the first consul of France in New York. He found the country still much excited. The commercial marine of the United States was in a precarious condition. How would it thrive under the new flag? The people, however, were full of hope, for they had independence. Home industries were beginning to revive, and De Crèveœur tells us that the American mechanics were the most ingenious in the world.

Before long the friendship between France and America cooled somewhat. The truth is, the mere fact of separation had not broken the many natural ties which linked the American to the English people. English merchants offered the largest credits, although the duties imposed

on American goods were heavy. So evident was the good feeling between the mother country and the United States, that a French writer declared in 1788 that England now enjoyed all the advantages without having to fulfill the duties of a mother country. Seemingly no right had been lost except the right of naming the governors. But while the other French consuls wrote home complaints and dispatches full of jealousy toward England, not so De Crèveœur, and here he revealed his strong common-sense. He sent to France only practical letters describing American machinery. He likewise sent home models of our machines. Nor did he fear to praise our institutions, for De Crèveœur was no blind reactionist. Among the things considered by him most useful to France was American wood, especially live oak, against which French ship-builders were foolishly prejudiced. He strove to open their eyes, and succeeded in getting permission of his government to have a vessel built here of live oak. A shipwright of Boston, named Peck, the best in the country, was chosen to build this vessel, which was launched in 1786, and named the *Maréchal de Castries*. Even her sails were of American manufacture, and as De Crèveœur had foreseen, she was much admired by French seamen. He also tried to infuse a more honest spirit among French merchants, some of whom during the Revolution had taken advantage of our straits and flooded our markets with wine not fit to be drunk. He took an active part, too, in drawing up a postal treaty between France and the United States. In fact, it was De Crèveœur who first proposed such a treaty.

Religion also engaged his attention, although he had been somewhat lax in his religious duties; and having been requested by the Catholics of the city to assist them in erecting a church, he set to work with enthusiasm to raise a subscription, and even interested the archbishop of Paris in this good work, which was crowned by the dedication of St. Peter's church in Barclay street.

De Crèveœur had been consul little more than a year when New Haven, in appreciation of his good-will and his services (he had earnestly called the attention of his government to the rising industries of New England), presented him with the freedom of the city. But, as we have said, he was a modest man, and at once furnished the municipality of New Haven with a list of names of Frenchmen who, he declared, merited this high honor quite as much as himself. Accordingly all his old friends at home were offered the freedom of the city of New Haven; and this raised such an outcry—for it was impossible to include all Frenchmen in the list—that the whole of France became alive to the existence and importance of New Haven! Before long Hartford, not wishing to be outdone, also decreed

him one of her citizens, and then as never before the eyes of all Frenchmen were drawn to the existence of Hartford ! To use a not very elegant expression, it proved a good thing all around ; so good that a little later Vermont, on the proposition of Ethan Allen, conferred on De Crèveçœur, as well as on his three children, the title of citizens of Vermont, and even named a town after him—St. Johnsbury—which soon became very flourishing.

In 1785 De Crèveçœur made a visit to France. His leave of absence was for six months, but it was lengthened to nearly two years. He was warmly received by his government, and his first efforts were to establish a better line of packets between the two countries ; at the same time he insisted that Havre, and not L'Orient, should be the port of sailing from France. Needless to say, his old friend the countess d'Houdetot opened her house to him. There De Crèveçœur met Lafayette, whom he induced to help him introduce American wood into the French naval arsenals. He was almost immediately made a member of " The Royal Society of Agriculture of Paris," and he quickly called the attention of the society to an improved American churn and to our sweet potatoes. He also wrote to all his friends about our locust trees, urging their usefulness ; and he planted some locust slips in the park of the duke de la Rochefoucauld. Nay, De Crèveçœur even suggested a world's exhibition of all useful trees, plants, and machines from other countries, giving a conspicuous place in the exhibition to whatever came from the United States. At length his vacation ended and he returned to New York, having first placed his sons at an excellent school in Paris, where they had as companion a young American, George Washington Greene, a son of General Greene ; and the good countess d'Houdetot promised that his boys should find in her a mother, and she kept her promise.

In 1788 De Crèveçœur wrote to the duke d'Harcourt, governor to the dauphin of France, an interesting communication on the use of steam on boats. He had watched with attention the controversy between James Rumsey and John Fitch as to priority of invention of the steamboat, and De Crèveçœur urged the duke d'Harcourt to have Fitch given a small sum of money with which to make a little model of his steamer. He intended to bring this model to France on one of the packets. At about the same time De Crèveçœur also wrote to Franklin, and Franklin's answer, dated February 17, 1788, is interesting : " Although I have never doubted that steam properly applied would be able to make a boat go against the current of most of our rivers, nevertheless when I considered the first cost of such a machine as a steam vessel, the necessity of always

having a skilled mechanician to manage the boat and to repair it, a man who would demand high wages, and when I considered also the space which the machinery would occupy, I was inclined to fear, I own, that the advantages of the invention were not great enough to bring it into general use; but the opinion of Mr. Rittenhouse which you send me, who is an excellent judge, has given me a more favorable impression.

BENJ. FRANKLIN."

Unhappily the revolution in France was approaching, and this prevented De Crèveceur's ardent efforts in behalf of Fitch from bearing fruit. Had the political sky of France been brighter it is not improbable that the first steamboat might have paddled up the Seine instead of up the Hudson. On 13th April, 1790, De Crèveceur's daughter was married in St. Peter's church, New York, to Louis William Otto, secretary of the French Legation. She was his second wife, his first having been Miss Livingston, daughter of Peter Van Brugh Livingston and Mary Alexander. At the wedding in old St. Peter's were present Thomas Jefferson, Richard Morris, and many other distinguished persons.

A few weeks later De Crèveceur sailed for France on the packet-ship *Washington*. He was destined never to see America again. The terrible upheaval in his native land brought about sad changes. Many of his friends were beheaded. He became very poor, but he lived on and on to a good old age, and died November 12, 1813, surrounded by his children and grandchildren. Let us not forget him. When ours was a young and weak and struggling nation, it had no better friend than St. John De Crèveceur.

William Seton

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS.

NEW YORK'S GREAT LAND-OWNER, GEORGE CLARKE

George Clarke, whose death at Richfield Springs has recently attracted wide attention, was the lineal descendant of a prominent character for forty years in New York colonial history. It was in 1703 that George Clarke was appointed secretary of the province, and subsequently served for a long series of years as one of the royal counselors, and then as lieutenant-governor and acting governor of New York. His wife was Anne Hyde, a cousin of Queen Anne, and at the time they came to New York Lord Cornbury (Edward Hyde) was the governor. Mrs. Clarke was one of the most accomplished and charming of women. She was regarded with such enthusiastic affection by the people, that when she died, in 1740, the whole city was thrown into the deepest affliction. Her generosity to the poor had given her the title of "Lady Bountiful," and on the day of her funeral the corporation ordered "that, as it was a pleasure to her in life to feed the hungry, a loaf of bread should be given to every poor person who would receive it." Her great-great-grandson, George Clarke, the subject of this sketch, was born at Hyde Hall, at the head of Otsego lake, in Springfield township, New York, in June, 1822. Lieutenant-Governor George Clarke had, by grant of the crown, come into possession of some sixty thousand acres of land in the counties of Otsego, Montgomery, Oneida, and Dutchess, and the larger share of this property descended to George Clarke of Hyde Hall. The following biographical sketch appeared in the *Utica Press* of a recent date:

"George Clarke was a handsome, intellectual-looking man, with a decided stamp of the old Puritan self-denying hardness plainly marked on his face. It is said he would allow none of his family, except his son, near him in his last sickness. His face showed that characteristic of sternness we call a 'good hater.' If the circumstances had come to him, Clarke was a man who could have left the tracks of bloody feet upon the frozen Delaware without a murmur, or have watched a Jesuit burn without a pang. As it was, he sacrificed talents, ambition, property, and perhaps even life in an obstinate and determined struggle for one end—to own land. He worked for that with the tireless and unswerving energy of a Napoleon. If he could have written his own biography, Clarke would have simply said: 'The great land-owner of the state of New York is dead.'

It was the ruling passion of his life to be known as 'the great land-

owner of the state of New York,' and he was given to speaking of himself in this impersonal way. Some years ago, in his efforts to keep all the land he had and to buy more, he became rather deeply in debt. As he used every cent that came in beyond his living to buy more land and to litigate against his creditors, this matter rapidly became serious. For many years he could have sold part of his possessions and been freed from debt and enormously rich ; but he bought rather than sold, and spent fortunes in paying interest and contesting lawsuits. In 1882, when hops rose to the marvelous price of a dollar per pound, Clarke was said to have had three hundred thousand pounds, but, with his usual idiosyncrasy, he was a purchaser to the last, and what would have helped him out of his financial troubles became almost worthless. In 1885 his creditors began to close in on him, and soon forced him to an assignment, in spite of his most tireless efforts to save his beloved land. There was something pathetic in the sight of the already broken-down old gentleman, traveling from one creditor to another, arguing, threatening, and beseeching by turns in an almost superhuman effort to preserve the altar and shrine of his life from the hands of its desecrators.

George Clarke was educated at Flushing, Long Island. He was always scholarly in his address, courteous in his manner, and gentlemanly in his bearing. He was a charming talker and very agreeable to meet. Even in his business matters he would amuse his creditors by introducing some curt epigram, such as, 'Your necessity does not aid my inability, and my inability does not aid your necessity.' His marriage was clouded with romance, and few people of the present day know the actual facts. It seems at least to be true that his wife had little love for him before their marriage. She was Maria Gregory of New Jersey, and Dame Rumor reports her as very handsome and very much in love with somebody other than George Clarke. It is even said that she once started for the church with her own true love, but was intercepted by her parents and eventually persuaded or compelled to marry Clarke. Whatever may have been the truth of these stories, Mr. and Mrs. Clarke lived together for several years, had five children, and then separated. She is at present in England, where three of their daughters, Maud, Maria, and Blanche, are living with their husbands. One child died, and the fifth, George Hyde Clarke, is married and lives at the family homestead, Hyde Hall.

George Clarke's old faded overcoat and his ragged clothes were as well known in this country as the man himself. In outward dress he had a striking resemblance to the captain of a band of beggars ; but those who attributed this to petty parsimony were very much mistaken, and probably

did not know that under his shabby clothes he wore the finest of silk under-clothing, and that he was in the habit of paying five dollars each for the stitching of his shirts. The story about his son being fooled by his selling a nice suit of clothes the son had tricked him into buying is probably groundless, as Clarke did not wear old clothes because he was too stingy to buy new ones, but rather because he was fond of attracting comment by the rusty, ragged garments. He was extremely proud of his family, his possessions, and himself, and it doubtless tickled his pride to have a person point out the 'cove in old clothes' as the great and rich landlord, George Clarke. The paradox of a millionaire in rags probably gratified his extremely whimsical mind, just as it gratified him to waste his splendid brain power in foolish litigation, and his magnificent fortune on a monomania for land.

The Hyde family (from which he descended) was affluent and prominent, tracing the name back to Walter de Hyde, who fought in the bloody battle of Hastings, in 1066 A. D., when King Harold was killed and William of Normandy became the conqueror of England and its king. The first George Clarke (who came to this country) was a protégé of Sir Robert Walpole, and probably through the influence of Lord Cornbury was appointed in 1703 secretary of the colony of New York. He continued as such until 1736. After that time, until 1743, he was lieutenant-governor and acting governor of New York. His son George became secretary of the colony in his father's place in 1738, and continued until 1777 as such. George Clarke the first died in England in 1759, the owner of a large acreage of land. He was reputed to be worth \$500,000, or £100,000. At that time he had two sons, Edward and George, and owned 60,000 acres of fertile land (in this country), as follows: One-ninth interest in 40,000 of Nine Partners' patent, situated in Dutchess county; one-half of Corry patent of 25,000 acres, in Schoharie and Montgomery counties; one-half of Oothoudt's patent of 13,000 acres in Otsego county; one-third of four tracts in Otsego and Delaware counties; one-half of Cherry Valley patent of 7,000 acres; one-quarter of a patent in Greene county, near the present village of Catskill, besides lands in Washington county and Oriskany patent.

In his will he devised to his son, George Clarke second, the Oriskany patent and other lands. Major Edward Clarke, the other son, became possessor of the old Cheshire homestead (in England), but dying soon, it fell to his son, George Hyde Clarke. The second George Clarke never married, but died suddenly in England in 1777. He devised his lands to two sons of George Hyde Clarke, his nephew, son of his brother Edward. Their names were Edward Clarke and George Clarke. One of these (George Clarke) was the father of the deceased. In 1791 he

secured a conveyance of his brother's (Edward Clarke) interest in the Oriskany patent. He was twice married. His first wife was a daughter of Gen. Rochfort of the British army, by whom he had five children. One, Edward Hyde Clarke, died without issue; another, George Hyde Clarke, was lost at sea about 1821; still another, and a daughter, Elizabeth, died a few years ago in England; one of the sons, George Rochfort Clarke, still lives in England, although over eighty years of age. None of these were married. His second wife was Mrs. Annie Low Cary Cooper, relict of Richard Fenimore Cooper, son of Judge Cooper of Otsego county, and eldest brother of James Fenimore Cooper, the celebrated novelist. She was a daughter of Colonel Richard Cary, who was on General George Washington's staff. By her the father of George Clarke of our sketch had five children—George Clarke, who died in infancy; Georgianna Clarke, who died aged seven years; Arthur Clarke, who died an infant; Annie Clarke, who married Duncan C. Pell of New York, and now—a widow—resides at Newport, Rhode Island; and George Clarke, the deceased, who was the third child of this group. The father, George Clarke, died in Springfield, Otsego county, in 1835. His widow died in 1850 in the same township. All the vast landed estates of the family, at the death of his father in 1835, fell to the late George Clarke. He did not prosper in the same way as his ancestors. The constitutional provisions prohibiting the renting of agricultural lands more than twelve years, foolish purchases of life leases of his properties, and other difficulties placed him in great debt. Furthermore, he had a mania for buying real estate, and oftentimes when bonds and mortgages were given by him to cover the cost of purchase. The tenure of his tenants being short, they became interested in sacrificing the fences, buildings, and woodlands to their own uses and benefits. The result of all was a collapse in 1887, on April 14, when he made a general assignment to the Hon. George Barnard of Rome for the benefit of his creditors. The estate is still unsettled.

The deceased was constantly in litigation. He did not himself know how much land he owned, so vast was the territory and so diversely situated. Certainly it was over fifty thousand acres. He was unwilling to sell, but ever ready to buy and increase the domain, which he finally lost."

AN INTERESTING HISTORIC CHARACTER

MRS. AMASA J. PARKER, 1814-1889

At the time of Mrs. Amasa J. Parker's birth this country was engaged in the second war with Great Britain. William Eustis, who married her aunt, Caroline Langdon, was secretary of war. Afterwards he served for eight years as United States minister to The Hague and Brussels. On his return to this country he was elected governor of Massachusetts and died while in office. Another uncle, Walter Langdon, married Dorothea Astor, daughter of John Jacob Astor, and that branch of the family has inherited wealth. Mrs. Parker's mother was Catharine Whipple Langdon, the youngest of the children of Woodbury Langdon, who after the Revolution served his state in many important directions. He was sent to the continental congress of 1779, was many years a judge of the supreme court, and in 1782 and from 1786 to 1790 was state senator and president of the state senate. He was one of the handsomest men of his day as well as notable for ability, position, and wealth. His brother, Governor John Langdon, was president of the senate of the United States just prior to Washington's inauguration in 1789. Mrs. Parker's father was Edmund Roberts, whose life was full of interest as the first American diplomatist in Asia, and in many ways romantic with adventure. When at home he was surrounded by a charming and clever set of men, who made Portsmouth well known for many a day, among whom were Rev. Dr. Burroughs, Dr. Buckminster, Daniel Webster, and Jeremiah Mason, in their early professional career, also army and navy officers, and the large and brilliant family connection of Mrs. Roberts, including not only the Langdons but the Sherburnes, Wentworths (Henry Sherburne, Mrs. Roberts's great-great-grandfather, married the sister of Sir John Wentworth), Whipples, Warners, and Sullivans. Governor James Sullivan of Massachusetts married Martha Langdon. Mr. Roberts was an extensive ship-owner, and in course of events was appointed the special diplomatic envoy of the United States to make treaties with Muscat, Siam, and Cochin-China. In 1835 he went again to the eastern courts, to exchange ratifications of the treaties that had been effected with Muscat and Siam, and to visit Japan for a like purpose. He died at Macoa, and a monument was erected over his grave by the Americans in China; his unfinished work was consummated many years later by Mathew Perry and Townsend Harris. Of his daughters who survived him, Catharine became the wife of Rev. Dr. A. P. Peabody of Harvard, and Harriet Langdon, the subject of this paper, was married in 1834 to Judge

Amasa J. Parker, then a resident of Delhi. In 1845 they removed to Albany, where Judge Parker was appointed circuit judge and vice-chancellor.

Mrs. Parker inherited the best traits of her notable ancestors and was highly cultivated by reading and study. Her manners were captivating, and the beauty and amiability of her character endeared her to hosts of admiring friends. During the last forty years of her life Mrs. Parker has been more prominent in social matters and in entertaining strangers than any other lady in Albany. One of the great features of her hospitality was her regular Sunday evening teas, at which she would entertain on each occasion about a dozen special guests. These teas were given by her on forty or forty-five Sundays each year, and it can thus be seen that during the later years of her life she acted as hostess to many thousand people. But not alone was she distinguished for her sweet hospitality : she possessed strong religious convictions and high ideals, and was a woman of singular force, with all the many graces and charms that are embodied in a strong, refined character. She was a lady, also, of extraordinary unselfishness and was always solicitous for the comfort and welfare of others. No doubt her remarkable mental and physical energy went far towards prolonging her life beyond the allotted years of the human family. Of her eight children four are now living—Mrs. John V. L. Pruyn, General Amasa Parker, Jr., who is in command of the third New York brigade which made such a fine showing in the metropolis, April 30, 1889, Mrs. Erastus Corning, and Mrs. Selden E. Marvin. Fifteen grandchildren also survive Mrs. Parker. Their golden wedding was celebrated by Judge and Mrs. Parker in 1884, at the summer home of Mrs. Pruyn, "The Cliffs," Newport.

WASHINGTON'S RULES OF CIVILITY AND DECENT BEHAVIOUR

Editor of Magazine of American History :

In the interest of accurate historical statements the following observations are made. Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge in his recent work on George Washington adopts without verification a statement which originally appeared in the *New York Tribune* in 1866, to the effect that the "Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour" found in manuscript among the early writings of Washington were printed in the thirteenth edition of W. Mather's *Young Man's Companion*.

This is a well-known English publication and has gone through many editions, and once found a considerable sale in the American colonies ; and while I have not been able to find a copy of this particular edition of Mather's books, I have seen and examined earlier and also later editions, but none of them contain rules of civility or etiquette comparable to those attributed to Washington. I was

familiar with the *Tribune's* article as printed in the *Historical Magazine*, but my investigations of the question of authorship made me dubious as to the value of this anonymous statement.

As I have published a literal and complete copy of these "Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour in Company and Conversation," from the original manuscript, and at the time earnestly endeavored to solve the question of their authorship, I would call Mr. Lodge's attention to my introduction to that work.

In view of the interest which the publication referred to has attracted to this subject, I feel justified in emphasizing more fully than I did in the introduction referred to my efforts made to discover the author or source of these maxims of good behavior usually referred to as "Washington's rules of civility."

These rules exist in the hand-writing of George Washington when a boy of about thirteen years of age, and to the end of discovering whether he had copied them as a study or exercise from some published works, search was made through all the French and English publications upon this subject printed before 1750 contained in the library of congress. More than one hundred works on etiquette and kindred subjects were consulted, but in no one could I find rules either identical with or similar in form or arrangement to those by Washington.

Etiquette in all the early works on the subject is treated of by chapters, as "on etiquette at court," "at a ball," "in the parlor," "at a dinner," etc. But in no work before or since Washington's day do I find the whole subject-matter of civility and good behavior treated of in a comprehensive series of numbered rules as they are in this paper.

Mr. Spofford, the librarian of congress, to widen my field of inquiry, placed before me catalogues of other libraries and thus enabled me to select titles which encouraged the hope of finding in them the rules sought for. And although searches were made of books in Boston and Philadelphia, the secret was not solved.

That I have been unsuccessful does not, of course, prove that these rules of civility do not exist in print in some undiscovered publication to which Washington might have had access in his youth.

As I have not seen the thirteenth edition of *The Young Man's Companion*, I will not presume to say that the rules in question are not contained in it; but as they do not appear in earlier or later editions, I will exercise caution and withhold my assent to the unsupported newspaper statement until Mr. Lodge or some other careful historian shall vouch that he has seen these rules in print in a work published as early as 1745.

J. M. TONER

WASHINGTON, D. C.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

THE ENLISTMENT OF COLORED SOLDIERS

UNPUBLISHED LETTER FROM CAPTAIN P. P. WALTER TO GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG

[Contributed by Lieutenant-Colonel A. K. Arnold]

INSPECTOR GENERALS OFFICE
3^r M. District

General John Armstrong }
Secretary of War, Washington, }

Wednesday August 23rd 1814.

Sir I have just been informed by my good friend Col. A. Denniston that you have in contemplation to raise a Regiment of Blacks, should this be the case, I solicit permission to tender my services to assist in Recruiting such a Regiment, confident that in Penns^a (the place of my nativity) I should be able in a short period to enlist from 3 to 500 men, any information or recommendations you may require respecting me, shall be furnished from the most respectable Military characters in this and the 4th M. District.

Permit me to refer you to the Secretary of the Navy and Richard Rush Esq. who I believe have some knowledge of me,

I am present detailed by the Comd^g Gen^l of this district as Acting Inspector General during the Arrest of Co^l N. Gray.

Soliciting your attention to my application

I am With sentiments of the highest respect

Sir Your Mo. Obdt. Serv^t

P. P. Walter Capt: 32nd. I.

Actg. Inspector General 3rd M. District

AN ANTIQUE DOCUMENT

[Contributed by Townsend D. Cock]

Queens By John Jackson, Joseph Sackett, William Bloodgood, Theodorus Van
County: Wyck, Timothy Bagley, William Cornell, Joseph Lockett, Jr. and
George Townsend Esquires, Justices of Queens County.

In Pursuance of An Act of Generall Assembly of this Collonie Entitled An
Act for Levying ten thousand pounds You the Assessors of the Town of Oyster-

bay in Queens County are hereby Ordered & Required Immediately upon your receipt hereof to assess upon the Estates, real & personal of all & every the Inhabitant, Residents, Sojourners & free holders of your Town, the sum of thirty two pounds, fourteen Shillings in Mony according to the Value mentioned in an Act of Generall Assembly made in the Seventh Year of the reign of our Late Sovereigne Queen Anne Entitled An Act for the regulating and preventing the Corruption of the Currant Coin that Sum being the proportion of Your Town of that part of the Said Tax payable November 1717 which Said Sum the Collector of the said Town is hereby ordered and Required to Levy & Collect according to the Directions & powers to him given in An Act of Assembly Entitled An Act for Levying four Thousand pounds made in the Eight year of our Said Late Sovereigne Reigne and the same to pay to the Treasurer of this Colloney for the time being on or before the Last Day of November Next Ensuing only the Said Collector is first to retain to himself out of y^e said money nine pence in the pound for Collecting of the Same for which this shall be to you & Either of You A Sufficient Warrant.

Given under our hands & Seals, this twenty first Day of May Anno Dom 1717.
To the Assessors & Collector
of the town of Oyster bay
in Queens County these.

Joⁿ Jackson
Tim. Bagley
Joseph Lockett
William bloodgood
Geo Townsend.

EXECUTION OF MAJOR ANDRÉ

LETTER FROM CAPTAIN TEN EYCK TO HON. HENRY GLEN

[Among the Glen papers, contributed by Mrs. Pierre Van Cortlandt]

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY :

I have read with much pleasure the articles contributed to your Magazine by the Hon. J. O. Dykman. I notice that in the account given by Judge Dykman of the execution of Major André the name of but one of the officers who accompanied him to the gallows is given, and in every sketch of André Captain Hughes is the only one named. The following letter, written by Captain Henry D. Ten Eyck to the Hon. Henry Glen, will be read with great interest by those who have followed André through the last twelve days of his life. This letter is one of several written by Captain Ten Eyck which I find among the "Glen papers."

CATHARINE E. VAN CORTLANDT.

MANOR-HOUSE, CROTON LANDING.

[THE LETTER]

Light Inf^y CampOct 6th 1780.

Dear Friend

The treachery of Arnold is the prevailing Topic of Conversation with us, & must be a greate subject for correspondents, such a Master-piece of Villany can-not escape my pen with-out giving you a shorte account of—doubtless you have heard many reports concerning that Hellish Plott, and are still at a loss which to believe—but this you may depend on, that Arnold has made his escape to the enemy M^r Smith of Haverstraw, who conducted the British Adj^t Gen^l to Gen^l Arnold is now under the tryal of a Court-Martial & Major Andre, the Adj^t Gen^l of the British army was tryed by a Board of Gen^l officers and sentenced to die, while in that situation several flags passed from his Excellancy to Gen^l Clinton on the subject, but instead of any offers being made for the redemption of the prisoner nothing but threats were received,—Major Andre though he had justly forfeited his life According to the laws of all Nations, his air, address, and bright accomplishments, drew the attention and pittty from every one who beheld him—and upon my honour to give you an Idea of that gentleman I must call him a perfect Chester-field—last Monday he walked to the place of execution clasping the arm of Captⁿ Hun of Congress Reg^t and another officer of the same rank—Dressed in the neatest manner with as Composed a Countenance as if going to a Ball—the rope he himself fixed to his neck and after he had bound his head with a handkercheif & ordered him-self pinioned with his cravat—he justly Dyed—Only begging the spectators to have witness that he dyed like a brave Soldier—It is expected that some of the greate house in Philadelphia will have some secrects Discovered which they would keep a secret if possible—Though every thing is silent at present—but his Excellancy when at West-Point wrote to Gen^l Grene that the Discovery of the Plott of Arnold would unravel some thing as high as A, B, and C—Now my dear friend could you amagin that America ever produced so damned a Raskel as that Arnold. I my-self just escaped a duel in defence of his carracter, not long since—We are still encamped two miles from Tappan. and nothing to do in the fighting way, neither do I expect we shall have an opportunity to Disstinguish ourselves, this Campaigne. It is Reported that Congress have resolved to reduce the Reg^t to a certain Number & compell the States to have them compleat with during war, men by the first of Jan^y. Connecticut in the following manner, five Reg^{ts} 10 Companies to each Reg^t composed of 60 Rank & file each, that is one Grenadier Com^y, two Light Inf^y Companies & seven Battalien Companies &c &c I have now pen'd down every circumstance of note. Adieu my Friend

H. D. Ten Eyck

P. S. pray make my compliments to you & your Brothers family also M^r M^cFarlang—just this moment we have received Marching Orders, I suppose we will Cross the North River

NOTES

SETTLEMENT OF WESTERN NEW YORK — *Albany, March 9, 1795*: It is estimated that upwards of 1200 sleighs, loaded with women, children and furniture, coming from the east, and *following the course of the sun*, passed through this city within three days, while the late snow lay on the ground; five hundred were counted by a person out of curiosity, from sun to sun, on the 28th ult., besides what passed through in the evening. In short, the current of emigration flows incessantly through this city; and estimating only an equal number to pass the Hudson in various quarters, besides the emigration from the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, we may safely pronounce that the western counties of this state will receive an acquisition of, at least, 20,000 inhabitants during the present winter; and what is remarkable, the states from whence these emigrants principally flow, instead of diminishing, continue to increase in numbers. — *N. Y. Evening Post, March 16, 1795.* W. K.

A COLLEGE CENTENARY — *An important event in history*: St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, an institution which has among its alumni men of wide fame at the present time, and among its dead such men as William Pinckney, Francis Scott Key, Reverdy Johnson, etc., celebrated during the week from June 21 to 27, 1889, the centenary of the founding of the college. The growing need for a system of higher education in Maryland led the colonists in 1692 to found an academy, known as King William's school, named after its

benefactor, who contributed to its library and equipment. King William's school, after nearly a hundred years of active work, merged into St. John's college and became a part of the newer and more advanced institution. Truly, then, St. John's ranks among the oldest institutions of learning in the new world. The college has taken a vigorous start of late, and much enthusiasm was displayed upon the centenary occasion. The special exercises were held upon the 26th of June, under the auspices of the alumni association, and consisted of an opening address of Francis H. Stockett, Esq., of Annapolis, president of the college board; a historical address by Philip R. Voorhees of New York; a centenary ode by John M. Leavitt, D.D., ex-president of Lehigh and St. John's; an address before the alumni by Rev. Leighton Parks of Boston; and the planting of a memorial tree by Mrs. Jackson, wife of the governor of Maryland. The alumni meeting occurred in the afternoon, and the banquet in the evening.

A FAMILIAR REPTILE — Yesterday some haymakers in a field near Germantown, took up a land tortoise which had every appearance of venerable age; on a closer inspection was read in fair characters, "GEORGE the 1st, 1717." — *N. Y. Weekly Chronicle, June 25, 1795.* W. K.

A NEW SCHOOL HISTORY — It will be welcome news to those appreciating sound education in American history, that the lamented Professor Johnston of

Princeton left in the hands of his publishers, ready for the press, a second *History of the United States*, written on a somewhat similar plan to his already well-known text-book, but suited to a shorter course and perhaps to less mature minds.

INTERESTING CELEBRATION ON HISTORIC GROUND—An interesting local celebration of the national commemoration of Washington's inauguration, April 30, was held in the Maryland state house, Annapolis, under the auspices of the Historical Society of Anne Arundel county. The spot was a well-chosen one, for it was where in council the patriotic Marylanders had protested against British taxation ; where, later, Washington re-

turned to congress his military authority; where, later yet, the treaty of Paris was ratified, the last act in the Revolutionary drama. Here assembled a large gathering to celebrate the national birthday.

The exercises consisted of an opening address by the president of the society, Hon. Nicholas Brewer ; a paper upon the local significance of the national event, by Daniel R. Randall, Esq., and an address by ex-Representative J. V. L. Findlay upon " Maryland's part in the achievement of independence and a national existence." A chorus of sixty voices and orchestra contributed largely to the pleasure of the occasion, by rendering well our national airs, and especially Maryland's contribution to the same, *The Star Spangled Banner*.

QUERIES

HENRY LAURENS' LETTER—On page 572 of Richard Frothingham's *The Rise of the Republic of the United States* is this extract from a letter written November 20, 1778, by Henry Laurens, the president of congress, to General Washington : " Where is virtue, where is patriotism now, when almost every man has turned his thoughts and attention to gain and pleasure, practicing every artifice of Change-alley or Jonathan's ? " Where can the full letter be found ?

BOSTON, MASS.

JEFFERSON PAPERS—Who has the custody of the Jefferson papers ? *i. e.*,

whom shall I address to obtain a copy of a certain letter written to Jefferson ?

C. W. L.

BOSTON, MASS.

KIT-CAT PICTURES—What are kit-cat pictures ? Where did the term originate ?

CHAMBERLAIN

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

" PERFECTION NO TRIFLE"—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: Will you or some of your readers inform me who said, " Trifles make perfection, and perfection is no trifle " ?

M. P. BURTON

RALEIGH, N. C.

REPLIES

WOODEN SWORDS [xxi. 344]—The very ancient Mexicans are said to have gone to war with wooden swords that they might not kill their enemies. It is supposed to have been the Toltecs, a race of people from the north, who in the beginning of the seventh century descended into the valley and settled there. They seem to have lived quietly for some five hundred years, were humane and partly civilized, and devoted to agriculture and the mechanic arts. They were finally overcome by the Aztecs, a fierce, warlike race.

M. P. W.

NASHVILLE, TENN.

FAMOUS AUTHORS [xx. 158]—Homer's *Iliad*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Young's *Night Thoughts*, Gray's *Elegy*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, and Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, are among the authors' names in history which suggest their chief work. In American history, Bryant's *Thanatopsis* is an example, although the great American poet never looked upon that youthful production as one of his best, however much his early fame rested upon it.

PELHAM

THE HUGUENOTS—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: In reply to a recent query [xx. 249], there were two prominent personages who escaped the

massacre of St. Bartholomew: one was the Protestant Henry of Navarre, afterward Henry IV.; and the other, the duke of Condé, the leader of the Huguenot party.

They escaped by attending mass and pretending to become Catholics.

M. E. POOLE

ITHACA, NEW YORK.

THE LAST SURVIVING SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION [xxi. 521, xxii. 80, xxii. 170]—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: Referring to your correspondence under this head, I wrote to my friend, General George S. Batcheller, assistant-treasurer of the United States, asking him to go over to the pension office and, for the sake of truth, find out *exactly who was the last surviving pensioner of the Revolution*. In response to my request he did so; and this is his reply: "... It appears by the records of the pension office that Daniel F. Bakeman was the last pensioner; he died April 15, 1869, at the age of one hundred and nine years. John Gray (mentioned in the August number of the Magazine) died March 28, 1869, at the age of one hundred and five years; and Samuel Downing died two years before Gray."

This, therefore, may be deemed *conclusive*.

WILLIAM L. STONE

JERSEY CITY HEIGHTS.

SOCIETIES

THE MINISINK VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its semi-annual meeting at Cuddeback park, on the 22d of July, in commemoration of the battle of Minisink, fought one hundred and ten years ago. The party numbered about six hundred. The meeting was called to order at eleven o'clock A. M. by President Rev. S. W. Mills, D.D., and the general business was transacted. A dinner followed, and interesting exercises occupied the afternoon. Mr. C. E. Cuddeback addressed the meeting, presenting a carefully prepared review of the early history of this region. He said: "Prior to the French and Indian war of 1755, peace and prosperity had reigned in the Minisink settlements. For more than sixty years the settlers had lived on friendly terms with their Indian neighbors. They had purchased from them lands, and by equitable dealing had maintained their respect and confidence. The settlement rapidly extended its limits, and at this time occupied nearly all the bottom land from Peenpack to the Water Gap. Here, in the fertile valleys of the Neversink and the Delaware, had been established four church organizations. A young man from the number had been selected to be their minister. At their joint expense he was sent to Holland to be educated—prepared for his life-work. In 1741 he returned duly licensed to preach by the classis of Amsterdam, and for fourteen years he taught among them the faith of their fathers. Here then existed in this western wilderness a veritable Arcadia. Suddenly, and in consequence of a for-

eign war, a fearful change came over these peaceful scenes. The Indians who had been their friends became the enemies of the settlers, and at once there followed a campaign of fire and blood, which forced many to flee from their former habitations, broke up their religious services, compelled their minister to seek his safety in flight, and, when he renewed his ministrations, to locate in a less exposed location. Of all these things we find a trace in the official documents of the day."

An original poem was read by Peter Wells, Esq., and Rev. A. S. Gardiner delivered the closing address, and his scholarly effort was highly appreciated.

THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular quarterly meeting on Tuesday evening, July 16, President Edward G. Mason in the chair. The reports of the secretary and librarian were read, giving interesting information.

The president then introduced Mrs. Mary Hartwell Catherwood, who read two chapters from her forthcoming romance, *The Story of Tonty*. The first, the scene of which was laid in Montreal, describes the meeting of La Salle with Jeanne de Ber; the last, entitled "The Undespairing Norman," contains an account of the effect upon Tonty of the news of the assassination of La Salle, and the apparition of the latter to his faithful lieutenant at Starved Rock. At the close of the reading, on motion of General McClurg, the thanks of the society were tendered Mrs. Catherwood for the rare literary treat.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

Some interesting data have recently been favored us concerning the progress of education among the Cherokee Indians. There are over one hundred schools in successful operation in that quarter of the world under the control of a board of education. Thirty-five per cent. of all the revenues of the Cherokee nation are devoted to school purposes, and now there is a balance in this fund of \$45,755. The Cherokees also support an orphan asylum and an institution for the deaf, dumb, and blind. There is a flourishing seminary which was established in 1850, where young men are fitted to enter the sophomore class of any eastern college. The Cherokee maidens are also provided with opportunities for advanced education in a seminary which the nation has provided for them. The girls' institution was founded in 1850, but it was suspended in 1861 and not reopened again until 1876. Two years ago this building was unfortunately burned, and a new one has since been erected, which throws open its doors for pupils August 26 of the present year.

Concerning this Indian seminary for girls the *Kansas City Times* says: "One hundred and twenty-four Cherokee maidens have applied for admission to the new seminary, and but thirteen out of one hundred and six rooms remain to be filled to crowd the institution. The building, which presents a fine architectural appearance, stands on an eminence just north of Tahlequah, and overlooking wooded hills and a long stretch of valley. A park of eight acres surrounds it. This is now being laid out artistically, and when the landscape gardening is finished will be decidedly attractive. It looks like a \$200,000 institution, but its actual cost has been only \$78,000. It is of brick, three stories in height, and is two hundred and forty-six feet long by ninety-six feet deep. At the east end is a wing having a width of about seventy feet and running back one hundred feet. The interior finish is all in native pine, the walls white, and a lighter and airier school building can nowhere be found. The entrance hall is a study in tile and brick, a large fireplace being at the right. A broad hall runs the entire length of the building on each floor. To the left of the main entrance, taking up the entire front of the west wing, is the chapel. In the right wing are double parlors, one to be finished in the highest style of art, the other with rustic furniture. In the rear on the first floor are commodious classrooms and the superintendent's room and a large library room; in the wing the dining-room, which will comfortably seat one hundred and eighty, a kitchen, storerooms, etc. The table and silver ware are of the best. An elevator is supplied for lifting trunks, and a dumb-waiter runs from the dining-room to the third floor. The school furniture is of the most approved pattern, and in furnishings expense has not been spared."

In all its appointments and arrangements this Cherokee seminary for girls seems a model institution. The principal is Miss Florence Wilson, a white woman who has long resided among the Cherokees. The only other white teacher is Miss Leib. The music teacher is a daughter of Professor S. S. Stevens, the superintendent, who is a native Cherokee and prominent in all educational affairs. The other teachers are Cherokees.

The pupils are charged \$5 a month—a nominal sum, truly, for such advantages. "But," says our informant, "the Cherokee nation goes further than this to educate its children. The entire third floor of the wing is very cosily fitted up as a dormitory, where those unable to pay have a neat little apartment and are boarded and educated free of cost, no distinction being made between them and the pay pupils. These poor children are known officially as indigents—a name which might well be dropped by this nation in this connection.

The building is heated by steam and supplied with hot and cold water throughout, the boiler-house being some distance away. It is expected that it will be lighted by electricity, but bids have been slow in coming in. The upper stories are devoted exclusively to teachers' and students' rooms, and very pleasant all of them are. They are each supplied with bed, mattress, wash-stand, and chair. The pupils furnish the rest themselves. Already some of the rooms have been richly carpeted and furnished, and there promises to be quite a strife among the girls in the decorations of their rooms. Four large baggage rooms are provided, and there are marble-fitted washrooms on each floor."

A feature in the education of boys which is new, at least in its practical application, attracts our attention nearer home. Its chief characteristic is the absence of books in the daily school routine. The boys are all of tender years, beginners, as it were, in school life, from eight to twelve years or thereabouts. They are taken into the fields and woods and brought face to face with nature. Their curiosity to know of the objects around them is excited and gratified by their teacher, who accompanies them in their excursions and directs their investigations. Afterward, when they desire to know more about the things existing in the world, books are put at their command; but these must be asked for, not forced upon them. This system will develop the boys physically, but by no means relieve them from study; on the contrary it compels a great deal of study. The stimulus, however, is a pleasant one, and learning is made more interesting than by the ordinary processes. Boys naturally hate books and lessons, because they are tiresome. Books to them are tools, and often so big and clumsy that they do not know how to use them, and lessons are worse than punishments. They must commit to memory hundreds of dry words which carry no meaning to their young minds—which represent to them absolutely nothing but so many consecutive sounds.

The question of course arises, "How, then, are boys to be taught what every educated man is expected to know?" Dr. B. F. O'Conner, of Columbia college, New York, has prepared himself to solve this problem in a practical fashion. He says, "The faculties the boy possesses must be strengthened, not an attempt made to create faculties which ought not to appear till six or eight years later." Dr. O'Conner believes in trying to promote the growth of all the faculties of the boy at the same time—intellectual, moral, and physical. To this end he has established a school on a picturesque and healthful island-peninsula of about eighty acres in extent, situated a mile and a half from Glen Cove, on Long Island Sound, and about one hour's railway ride from New York city. Here he proposes to inaugurate a system that will absolutely develop the minds of the boys intrusted to his care, and educate their bodies in unison. The scheme is commendable, and those who have sons to educate will do well to investigate the varied features of this unique institution.

BOOK NOTICES

ILLINOIS, HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL, comprising the essential facts of its planting and growth as a province, county, territory, and state. By JOHN MOSES. Vol. I., illustrated. 8vo, pp. 551. Chicago: Ferguson Printing Company, 1889.

The great state of Illinois, which comprises a larger territory than England, and has several counties almost or quite as extensive as the state of Rhode Island, has found in Mr. Moses a conscientious and accomplished historian, a scholar and investigator admirably fitted for this particular work through fifty years' residence in the state and from a long and varied experience in the judicial, legislative, and administrative departments of public life. He is at present the secretary and librarian of the Chicago Historical Society. The first volume of this history treats at considerable length of the beginnings of the state—the early explorations, missionaries, French government, Indian forays, British claims and rule, capture by Virginia under George Rogers Clark, the Spanish expedition into Illinois, the organization of the region into a territory of the United States, and its admission as a state into the Union. The progress of the state until 1847 is also carefully traced, and the second volume, which is nearly ready, will bring the narrative down to date.

Mr. Moses has had access to many documents not hitherto published, and has been able, through the judicious handling of fresh material, to present new facts and recent events in such accessible form and manner that they may be readily consulted and employed in every field of labor, professional as well as mercantile, official as well as manual. It is an exceptionally valuable contribution to American history. Concerning the success of the enterprise of Clark, the author says: "Had the undertaking never been conceived, or had it failed, American possession and control of the great northwest might never have been realized, and the treaty of 1783 might have named as the western boundary of the new nation the ridge of the Alleghanies rather than the channel of the Mississippi." The Chicago massacre in 1812 is treated fully, also the boundary controversies and the establishment of government. The tenth general assembly of Illinois convened in 1836. Mr. Moses writes: "It was one of the most remarkable bodies of law-makers which ever assembled in the legislative halls of Illinois or of any other state. Not only in numerical strength did it surpass all preceding legislatures, but none of its successors has even approached it in respect of intellectual calibre, nor has the roll of any included so many names destined to

become historic in the annals not only of the state but of the nation. Here sat side by side Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas." Nearly a page of well-known names is given, such as John Logan, the father of General John A. Logan; Richard M. Cullom, father of Senator Cullom; O. H. Browning, a prospective senator and future cabinet officer; Colonel John J. Hardin, William L. D. Ewing, and the gallant Edward Dickinson Baker.

At the date the first volume closes, the author tells us that "Illinois was in a crude and undeveloped condition. She had not yet come under the magic influence of the electric telegraph nor of the steam railway which she was soon to feel, and had received but little benefit from the inventive genius of the American mechanic. Chicago, already the largest city in the state, could boast only a population of 16,859. The next largest city was Quincy, reaching about 6,000, with Galena and Peoria not far behind. There were but five daily and forty-five weekly papers published in the state. But two of the state benevolent institutions had been established, and those on a small scale. The land was still plowed by the cast-iron plow with wooden mold board, the corn planted by hand, the golden grain gathered by sickle or cradle, threshed by flail or horse power and winnowed by hand." We shall look for the issue of the second volume with great interest.

THE HAKES FAMILY GENEALOGY. By HARRY HAKES, M.D. Second edition, with additions and corrections, 8vo, pp. 220. 1889. Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania.

We had the pleasure of noticing Dr. Hakes's first volume of this genealogical study, in March, 1887, in which we predicted that through such a creditable beginning, the author would obtain further valuable information in a variety of directions involving a revised edition. Such has proved to be the case. Investigations have stimulated further interesting investigations, and many recently discovered names will be found arranged in their proper places in the new volume; important omissions are supplied and errors corrected, with added data of great worth which might never have come to light but for the former issue. The plan of this genealogical work is an excellent one, and seems to have been original with Dr. Hakes. The generations are traced in only the male line of descent, and every statement is so clearly expressed that the future historian will have no excuse for ambiguously mixing the generations. One of the notable results of the publication of the first edition of this genealogy was the establishment

annual family reunion. Thus after a lapse of a hundred or more years the living of the branches of the Hakes family were for the first time brought face to face. A finely engraved portrait of the author forms the frontispiece of the volume, of which a few copies are at \$3 in cloth, or \$5 in one-half morocco binding.

HISTORY OF THE NORTH MEXICAN STATES AND TEXAS. Vol. II. 1801-

[The Works of HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.] San Francisco. 1889. The History of Texas. Mr. Frank M. Derby. General Agent, 149 Church Street, New York.

This volume opens with a very interesting chapter, entitled, "Texas claimed by the United States," the period under discussion 800-1810; and the account of how the territory became the asylum of a large number of desperadoes and marauders, who organized themselves into a community under a not dissimilar to that of the old buccaners like fiction. These land pirates upon all who came in their way, and had rules and regulations, their headquarters in their outposts. The Spanish authorities made every effort to eject them, and twice the United States drove them off and destroyed their houses. But they were not suppressed. During the greater part of the next century the condition of Texas was deplorable. The Spaniards failed to occupy and colonize that territory by force of arms. Later on a colonization scheme found favor, and industrious colonists from the United States came into some of the fertile localities, bringing with them the principles of law, liberty, and religion which were then in the country of their birth. But suspicious Mexicans thought all this pointed to a future annexation to the northern United States. Their oppression exasperated the colonists. Then came revolts.

The whole history of Texas is exciting in the highest degree, but no chapter in this volume is more stirring than the tenth, entitled, "The Goliad Massacres," in 1836, unless we go to the following chapter, "Santa Anna's Dictatorship." We then come to "The Republic of Texas," which soon presented to the world the extraordinary spectacle of a nation voluntarily surrendering its nationality, of a sovereign laying down its sceptre of autonomy, and Texas became one of the United States. The events of the war between Mexico and the United States are narrated in another volume; the effects of that war, the progress of settlement, and the part which Texas played in the civil war, are traced with care in these pages. The twentieth chapter relates to "Institutional Educational Matters," and "Industries,

Commerce, and Railroads" form the subject of the twenty-first chapter. The author says: "Although older than any of the more northern Pacific states, Texas has developed more slowly, and has avoided many of their mistakes. The great curse of California is not here entailed. The people are still freemen, and the lawmakers and public officials are their servants. A system of free schools in Texas has firmly fixed itself in public esteem. Short as has been her life, the commonwealth of Texas has had a varied experience; first, as the borderland of contending colonies, then a lone republic, as member of the great federation, member of the southern confederacy, and, finally, reinstated as one of the still unbroken Union. The annals of her career are replete with stories of romantic events, and persevering struggles to shake off the leaden weight of impeding influences and elevate herself to the proud level of advancing civilization."

THE WASHINGTONS AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH WARTON. By

HENRY WHITMAN. Square 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 18. With pedigree of the Washington family. Damrell & Upham, Boston. E. and J. L. Milner, Lancaster, England.

This little brochure treats of a subject of permanent and general interest, particularly in view of the traditions and controversies concerning the Washington family. Its purpose in part is to show that "Warton" was one of the original "homes" of the Washingtons. A picture is given of the old mansion, and also of the Washington "Arms" on the Warton church, about eight miles north of Lancaster. The author thinks that the immediate ancestors of President Washington lived at this place, and from here emigrated to America in 1659, and introduces some interesting arguments to support his belief. The pedigree of the Washington family is one of the notable features of the work.

CHICKAMAUGA. [Noted Battles for the Union.] By JOHN B. TURCHIN. Illustrated with eight maps. 8vo, pp. 295. Chicago, 1888: Fergus Printing Co.

The author of this work was born and educated in Russia, and was in the campaigns with the Imperial Guards during the Hungarian war in 1848-1849, and the Crimean war of 1854-1856. He came to this country and was one of the most thoroughly trained, intrepid commanders in our late civil war. In this historical work before us he writes of what he saw and was a part of, giving a vivid narrative of the movements of the contending armies in 1863. His chief purpose has been to decipher the campaign and the battle of Chickamauga, in order to ex-

plain its various phases in the light of military science. He says: "It was one of the most diversified and complicated campaigns known. There was a large river to be crossed in the face of the enemy; there were several lofty ranges of mountains, 2,000 feet in height, to be crossed on roads as rugged and precipitous as can be imagined, principally through an exceedingly wild and sparsely populated country, deficient in forage and water; there was an unavoidable scattering of our forces, and imminent danger of their being destroyed in detail, without any possibility of their supporting each other if attacked; there was a fierce attack made by the enemy before it could be formed in a proper position; there was an unpremeditated battle, which continued for almost a whole day, in which the army, not being in position, was obliged to fight by piecemeal—without any pre-arranged plan—but simply for its existence; there was another battle fought during the next day, when the army was in a faulty position, that gave great advantage to the enemy's attacks; there was a complete rout of the entire half of that army, resulting in broken and shapeless lines and tremendous losses; and, finally, there was a wonderful courage and unsurpassed heroism displayed by the rank and file, which stood all that bloody ordeal and returned all the blows of the enemy with fearful interest, then deliberately withdrew from the field of slaughter three miles to the rear, as if only to pick up its stragglers, and in the morning again presented a defiant front to the enemy, who dared not then or afterward attack it." Of this gigantic struggle the author has drawn a picture of surpassing interest. He says: "Notwithstanding the most fearful odds that were against the army of the Cumberland, its soldiers, as the fighting representatives of the people of the north, developed in the highest degree those staying qualities of character which dangers cannot quail nor reverses subdue. In that battle the Northern soldier showed conspicuously what a heroic defender of the institutions and freedom of this Republic the people had in him. He proved on that battlefield, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that in a dark hour the country could implicitly rely on him."

BIRTHDAY OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT. Celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Adoption of the first Constitution of the State of Connecticut, 1639-1889, by the Connecticut Historical Society, and the towns of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, Thursday, January 24, 1889. Svo, pp. 98. Hartford, 1889: Connecticut Historical Society.

This memorial of the celebration of a notable event in American history contains the several

addresses delivered on the occasion, and many of the letters of regret which were received from distinguished men who were unable to be present. The Rev. Joseph H. Twichell described in a masterly manner the convention which met in the town meeting-house in Hartford, in 1639, to provide a permanent general government for a people, in which the people all took part—the first assemblage of its kind in the world. He said: "Two hundred and fifty years ago to-day there were assembled in this town a company of men, probably somewhat above two hundred in number, the same being the body of the male adults of the three plantations of Wethersfield, Windsor, and Hartford, constituting the Connecticut colony, then less than three years old. They were present in their capacity of freemen of their several towns, and for the purpose of framing for themselves 'an orderly and decent government.' The Connecticut constitution of 1639 was the first, the original, practical assertion on earth of a democratic idea of government, of the principle that 'governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.' In none other of the American colonies had this principle, at that time, any place." The eloquence that thrilled the audience in the old Hartford church was worthy of the occasion, and it would be well for our young students in American history to read each address which has been permanently preserved in this record of an impressive celebration. The story of "the planting of a state is generally one of adventure and heroism," said Mr. John Hooker, "and we read it as we would a romance—when mere temporal advantage was the ruling motive. But the subject becomes one of profound interest when there has predominated a great moral purpose, such as entered into the planting of our state and of all New England. These noble founders were wise men in their day, and we may study the history of the time for the mere wisdom that it teaches. But we miss its great lesson if we do not study, and understand, and become inspired by, the *spirit* of those grand men."

THE TRAGICAL HISTORY OF AARON BURR. A play written by LEON DEL MONTE. 16mo, pp. 82. 1889, Cincinnati.

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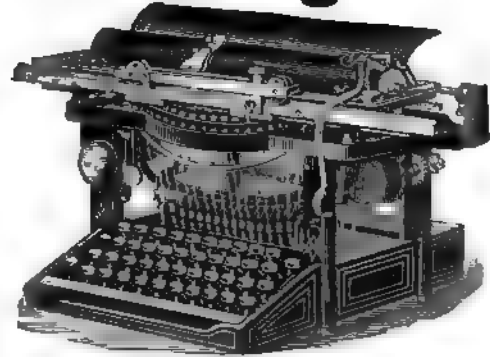
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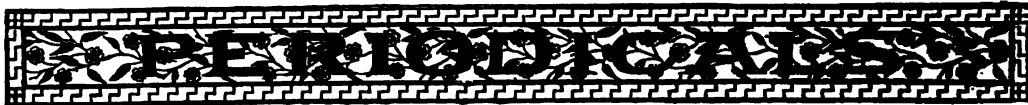
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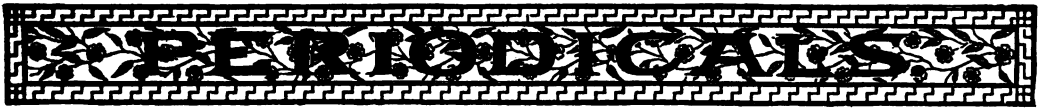
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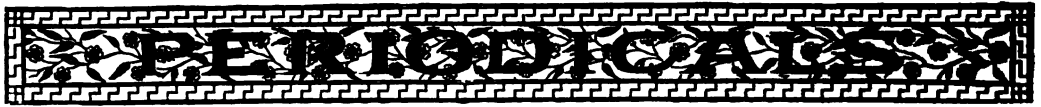
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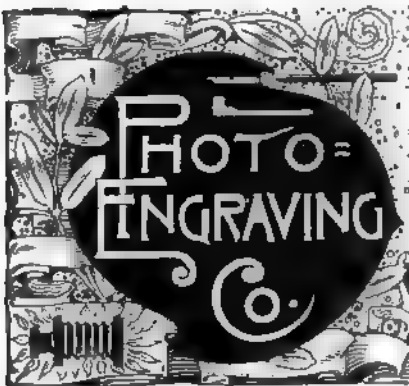
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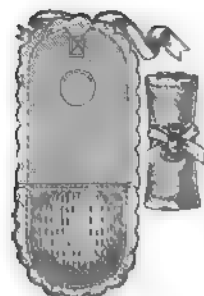
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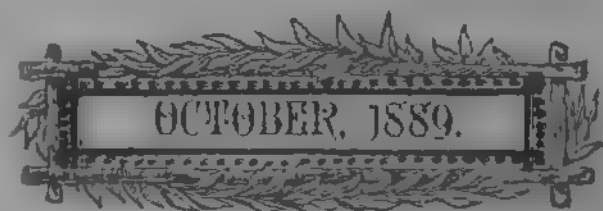
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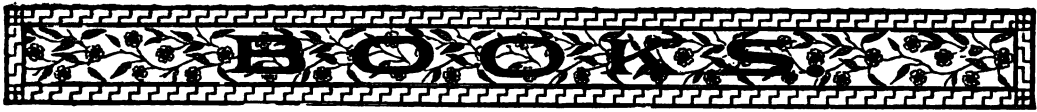
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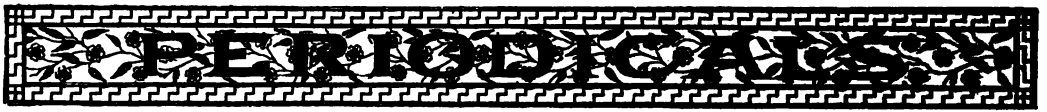
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MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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OCTOBER, 1889

No. 4

THE ROMANTIC BEGINNINGS OF MILWAUKEE

THE Indians chose the site of the prosperous city of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. A pretty, straw-like village of wigwams might have been seen during the first quarter of the present century, cosily nestled among the scattered trees at the southerly side of the Milwaukee river, near the lake shore, where the indentation forms a bay six miles wide and three miles deep, easy of access at all seasons of the year. The Pottawatomies dwelt here, a nation that is said to have been known by this name (variously spelled) some two hundred and fifty years. Possibly there was some poetry in the savage nature, a certain love for the beautiful which attracted them here. At all events they could hardly have selected this charming hunting ground at random. From the tops of the bold round bluffs, which had just timber enough to shade them well, they could scan the lake stretching off in the distance to the east, look down upon the river winding in from the west like a silver thread, and catch a glimpse in the far away of the boundless prairies carpeted with green, and variegated with the wild rose, the blue-bell, the tiger lily, and other bright-colored flowers. These Indians were less quarrelsome than some of the tribes, and were fond of trading. Their habits were partially civilized, they had something of a religious philosophy, and their language was musical. It was their fascinating traditions which inspired some of Longfellow's beautiful poems, notably "Hiawatha," formed the basis of Mark R. Harrison's fine historical painting, and furnished the theme for several European essays. The Menomonees lived at the same time on the northerly side of the Milwaukee river, although their village was not as compact; and portions of several scattering tribes were located in the vicinity.

Missionaries and traders from Canada found this harbor convenient, but no one came to stay and establish a trading-post until Jean Baptist Mirandea appeared, a few years prior to the close of the last century. He was an educated Frenchman of good family, who had been disappointed in a romantic love affair, and emigrated to Quebec, resolved to commence life anew in the wilderness of America—and it is said his fickle "sweet-

heart " never had any tidings of him whatever from the hour he sailed from France. He was young, of great manly beauty, accomplished in music, literature, and many languages, and remarkably urbane and polished in his manners. At Quebec he made the acquaintance of Jacques Vieau, an older man, but of an equally adventurous spirit, one who had already traveled more or less among the Indians, and knew how to deal with them. The two packed a few necessities, and started for the wilds of the great Northwest Territory, stopping at Mackinaw and Green Bay, and prospecting in various places. They found fur-trading exceedingly profitable, and became great favorites with the Indians. In Mackinaw young Mirandeau courted and married an Indian maiden and took her to Milwaukee, where he built a small habitation, and founded for himself a permanent home among the Pottawatomies. He then sent for the personal possessions he had stored in Quebec, among which was a large and valuable collection of books—the first library it is supposed that ever was seen west of the lakes. As the Indian wife could neither read nor write, Mirandeau had little fellowship in his scholarly pursuits, but he assumed the duties of a teacher for his ten children with commendable results. He was a religious man, and had prayers in his house every morning and evening. One of his daughters married Charles Vieau and went to live in Kansas in 1837; another daughter married Joseph Porthier at Chicago, in 1822, and about 1835 removed to Milwaukee. She had gone when about nine years of age to live with Colonel Kinzie at Fort Dearborn, Chicago, and remained in the Kinzie family until her marriage. She spoke both French and English with fluency, and understood all the Indian dialects. Mirandeau cultivated quite an extensive plantation, raised wheat, corn, and vegetables, and had a fine garden. In 1814 he imported two cows from Fort Dearborn, the first in Wisconsin, which the Indians regarded with awe and curiosity for many days.

The history of Jacques Vieau is chiefly associated with Green Bay. He also married an Indian woman, a princess she was called, the sister of a Pottawatomie chieftain, Puch-wau-she-gun, who was partly French. Vieau was an expert in the Indian traffic, made long journeys into the forests, opened relations with new tribes, and learned the language of all the different savages for hundreds of miles around. He was held in great respect by John Jacob Astor's agents, with whom he had commercial relations. He established a store of sugars and groceries at Green Bay, which proving lucrative, he started a similar store at Milwaukee, with additional goods in the way of trinkets and gunpowder. A clerk was placed in charge and Vieau spent a part of every winter, prior to the war of 1812, in Mil-

waukee, which must have proven particularly agreeable to Mirandeu. Vieau had eleven children who grew to maturity. One of his sons, Louis, became chief of the Pottawatomies in Kansas, and died very rich in



Solomon Juneau

1876, leaving forty-four thousand acres of land, a herd of fine cattle, and upwards of \$200,000 in money.

Solomon Juneau is usually mentioned in histories and encyclopædias as the "first white settler" of Milwaukee, but he found Mirandeu quite an old resident there when he arrived in 1818. Juneau was of French

birth, a native of Canada, and twenty-five years of age at the date mentioned. His first experience in dealing with the Indians was as an employee in Jacques Vieau's Green Bay store, from 1816 to 1818. He fell in love with Vieau's pretty daughter Josette, then very young, and this romantic side of his remarkable career turned his attention toward providing business and a dwelling-place of his own. Milwaukee was his Mecca; he came at first as Vieau's head clerk in the store, and the following year, 1819, returned to Green Bay for his bride. During the winter following the newly married pair lived in a building constructed of tamarack poles, near where now East Water and Wisconsin streets cross each other. Henceforward during forty memorable years in the planting and development of Milwaukee, Juneau was more or less associated with every movement. From 1820 to 1835 he was literally the autocrat of the region, and for the greater part of the period he was practically the only white resident, Mirandeu having died in 1819. The Indians almost idolized him because of his sympathy and generosity, and at the same time stood in wholesome fear of him as he was marvelously brave, with such muscular strength that he could throw a man over his head without apparent effort, or whip any Indian in the tribe. He claimed the land and compelled obedience from the natives, even to the most haughty sachems. If he wanted a pouch of water, a dish of wild berries, a bundle of wood, or a handful of roots, he commanded the nearest buck to go for him—and he went. When the city subsequently began to take form, he was the first postmaster, the first mayor, and one of the chief promoters of every public enterprise.

The bridal habitation of Mr. and Mrs. Juneau was in the beginning literally without any of the modern improvements. It had not even a floor, a table, a bedstead, a chair, or a stove. Blocks of wood were used to sit upon, also a few stools made of small saplings. A bedstead was improvised, with poles resting on the logs which formed one side of the house and a "crotch"—while cords were ingeniously contrived with strips of twisted bark. A novel mattress was evolved from blue beech wood riven into fine splinters after the manner of an Indian broom, and skins were used for blankets. Mrs. Juneau cooked the food over an open fire on the ground, having two or three rude utensils which they had managed to secure. They had no earthen dishes for some years, and frequently nothing to eat except fish or wild meat. Juneau fixed up a corner in the hut for the display and sale of his Indian goods, by hewing a log flat on the top and supporting it with legs made of saplings. This was his first store. He also constructed a raft of tamarack poles which he kept fastened

to a stake in the river, and used as occasion demanded, sometimes as a ferry-boat and sometimes in making short journeys.

Mrs. Juneau's influence over the Indians was almost as absolute as



Geo. W. Walker

that of her husband; they obeyed her as if she had been a veritable queen. An illustration of her power was when the final treaty was under consideration, which resulted in the extinguishment of the aboriginal title

to the land on which Milwaukee has arisen. The government had secured all the land north and east of the Milwaukee river through a treaty made with the Menomonees in 1831. It was not, however, until February, 1835, that a similar negotiation was concluded with the Pottawatomies for the district south of the river. These Indians received permission through the treaty to remain on the ground without molestation for a specified time. When the survey was made of the territory north of the river early in the autumn of 1835, the lines were made to cross the Pottawatomie precinct in order to secure a full township. The Indians regarded this as a premeditated wrong, and were terribly enraged. They planned immediately to massacre all the white people in the settlement. The news reached Mrs. Juneau, whose husband was at the time in Green Bay, and she went among the Indians personally, without a moment's delay, and remained in their village all night watching over them. They were excited to a most dangerous degree, and but for her would have consummated their fiendish purpose: yet they dared not strike a blow so long as she commanded peace. Only a few persons knew of the fate from which they had been rescued until the following day.

In Juneau's little picturesque home of tamarack poles, every trader, traveler, or new-comer, was made welcome and entertained as comfortably as its dimensions and the circumstances would permit. The great American Fur Company, founded by Mr. Astor, made Juneau its agent, a post which he filled creditably for more than two decades, accumulating riches rapidly. He was kind to every one in trouble, and he acted on the principle that all men are honest. Mr. Albert Fowler, the first justice of the peace in Wisconsin, describes his arrival at Milwaukee, November 18, 1833, as follows: "My three companions and myself took possession of an old log cabin where we lived during the winter of 1833-34, doing our own cooking, amusing ourselves as best we could, there being no other white men in the place during that winter excepting Solomon Juneau. In the early part of the month of January, 1834, Mrs. Juneau was taken exceedingly ill, and there being neither medicines nor physicians nearer than Chicago, I was started off by Juneau, on an Indian pony, clad in Indian moccasins and leggings and spare blanket, for medical aid. The journey in mid-winter, through eighty-five or ninety miles of wilderness, was one of great hardships, and one which I have never desired to undertake again. The Indians predicted that I would perish, but thanks to a vigorous constitution and a physique already inured to frontier life, I succeeded in reaching Chicago, obtaining the desired aid, and was rewarded with the double satisfaction of having assisted in relieving a

most kind and noble-hearted woman, besides the gift of a new suit of clothes from Mr. Juneau."

Mr. Fowler was a native of Berkshire county, Massachusetts; his



Byron Kilbourn

father, Dr. Elijah Fowler, was a soldier in the Revolution, and a lineal descendant of William Fowler, one of the first settlers of New Haven in 1638. He opened his first real-estate office in Milwaukee in 1834 a

decidedly primitive affair; was a clerk for Juneau in the first post-office, was the first register of deeds, and a member of the constitutional convention. He married Emily, daughter of David Wilcox, of Great Barrington, Massachusetts, in 1836. On his coming to Milwaukee in 1833, he drove the second wagon into the place. The first vehicle on four wheels—drawn by civilized horses, so to speak—was driven into Milwaukee in 1830, by L. Goodrich Loomis. It was laden with Indian goods, and came from Detroit by way of Chicago. Loomis was accompanied by four adventurous young men, but he was the leader of the party. Night came on as they neared Milwaukee, and it was so dark he was obliged to camp out with his horses, while his companions on foot discovered the house of Juneau and were rendered comfortable. The Indians made the night hideous for Loomis, and stole some of his goods. In the morning he proceeded to Juneau's and sold what remained. Loomis and his party after a while returned to Detroit, but fourteen years later he became a permanent settler of Milwaukee.

Mr. Juneau, despite his isolation and inconveniences, did what he could for the education of his growing family. He had fifteen children, nearly all of whom lived to reach maturity. The first organized effort to establish a private school, however, distinguished the year 1835. A little frame building was erected, and a regular teacher employed. The first school district in Wisconsin was created soon after the territorial organization in 1836. Mr. Juneau had meanwhile outgrown his pioneer dwelling, and was living in a good frame house. "In his front yard," writes Mr. James S. Buck, "were two posts, about twelve feet high, to each of which a bear was chained, and I have spent many an hour in watching the gambols of those bears. They would climb to the top of the posts, place all of their feet close together, and from thence survey the crowd of loafers and idlers that were watching them with the greatest complacency. They were killed and eaten at a feast Juneau gave the Indians in 1837." The east or Juneau's side of the river grew much faster than the Kilbourn and Walker divisions of the new town, Juneau being able to offer special inducements to settlers and speculators. He was an interesting figure in this forming community. Mr. A. F. Pratt says: "My old friend Juneau was supposed to be worth at least \$100,000. I have often seen him in those days go into his store after business hours were over and take from the drawers the money that his clerks had received during the day for goods and lots, amounting often to \$8,000 or \$10,000, and put it loose in his hat; and upon one occasion I recollect his hat being knocked off in a playful crowd, when \$10,000 flew in various directions. In short, money seemed to be of no earthly use to

him. If a man called upon him to subscribe for a public improvement or a charitable object, he subscribed without asking the why or wherefore."

George H. Walker first made Milwaukee his permanent abode in 1834,



Daniel Wells Jr.

building a little trading hut on the land which he had pre-empted—some one hundred and sixty acres—known as Walker's point, where he later on laid out the streets in the fifth ward. His claim was not actually recog-

nized, however, by the national government until many years afterward. He was a native of Virginia, and but twenty-three years of age in 1834. He earned an enviable reputation for ability and integrity, was elected to the territorial legislature in 1842, and made speaker of the house the following year. In 1850 he was elected mayor of Milwaukee. He was an important citizen from the first, and one of the most interesting characters in the western world. He was one of the three—the others being Solomon Juneau and Bryan Kilbourn—who are generally spoken of as foremost in civilizing and building up Milwaukee. For many years the place was divided into three sections, called respectively Walker's point, Juneau's side, and Kilbourn town, in honor of these three distinguished claimants who held the land, attempting each for himself to found a city thereon, and over which for a season each exercised almost kingly powers. Bryan Kilbourn purchased his tract of land on the west side of the river, still known as Kilbourntown. He was alive to the possibilities of the locality at a very early date. He visited Milwaukee in 1834, and contracted for the building of a bridge across the Menomonee river, near its junction with the Milwaukee—and about this pioneer bridge and other projected bridges a chapter might be written of surpassing interest.

The year 1835 brought the site of the prospective city into more special and extended notice. Daniel Wells, Jr., wrote from Green Bay, August 30, 1805, describing an extended tour through the Wisconsin country. He says: "I traveled twenty miles in one direction without finding any brooks that contained water; their beds being all dry. Some good pine and mill sites, however, which I may possibly buy. I have purchased considerable real estate at Milwaukee, mostly village property. The land about Milwaukee is the best in the territory, and as Milwaukee is the only harbor for some distance, either way on the lake, it must of necessity become a place of great importance. It is now laid out in lots for two miles north and south, and one and a half miles east and west, which lots will, I think, sell immediately for from \$100 to \$1,000, and much money has been made speculating in lots already." Mr. Wells was born in Maine, and at this date was twenty-seven years of age, possessing rare shrewdness and foresight. He returned to the east, closed his business there, and early in 1836 removed his family to Milwaukee. Henceforward he took a prominent part in the development of the city and territory. In August of the same year, 1836, he was appointed justice of the peace by the territorial government, and in 1838 a judge of probate. He was elected to the legislature, was sent to congress for several terms, was one of the chief projectors of the first railroad in Wisconsin, and in active business affairs

became closely identified with the industrial fortunes of the state, accumulating a large fortune.

Dr. Enoch Chase and his wife had been in Milwaukee upwards of a year when Mr. and Mrs. Wells arrived. Dr. Chase was the first physician



Enoch Chase

in the city—his diploma was granted by Dartmouth college in 1831—and Mrs. Chase was the second white woman to make Milwaukee her permanent home. The Methodists held religious services for the first time in June, 1835, in their log house at the mouth of the river, and Rev. J. L. Barber,

a Congregationalist, preached occasionally in the same place. The first church edifice in Milwaukee was not erected until 1837, and by the Presbyterians. Dr. Chase was a New Englander, and a relative of Salmon P. Chase and of the noted Bishop Philander Chase.

But 1836 was the great year of boom for Milwaukee. People of all sorts arrived early in the spring—traders, adventurers, speculators and home-seekers; presently the rush became enormous, and lasted until late in the autumn. Buildings went up like magic. Stores with three sides enclosed and slab roofs appeared sometimes in a single day. Lots sold at fabulous prices, and enormous rents were paid for the privilege of opening and selling goods on vacant ground. A land office was opened, saw-mills were quickly in operation; that distinguishing mark of civilization, a jail (which was filled before November) was built, as well as a courthouse; and a newspaper was started. Everybody had in his pocket or in his mind a fortune in land. Speculators went to bed every night expecting to double their wealth on the morrow. Money was plenty, and men grew rich with the rapidity of thought. Even the calm and ordinarily level-headed Solomon Juneau was seized with the common insanity and purchased back in the autumn for thousands some lots he had sold in the spring for hundreds.

Among those whom the land craze reached were Mr. and Mrs. John Weaver, of Oneida County, New York. They bade farewell to all that was near and dear to them, and with two children and their household goods started for Milwaukee. Mrs. Weaver's account of their arrival at midnight on the 27th of September, gives a vivid picture of the condition of affairs at that date. She writes: "About twelve o'clock midnight we were a mile from Milwaukee. Late as it was we had to go ashore in a small row-boat, which went three times from the schooner to the land to take passengers and goods. We went the second time. There was no harbor or pier, and the sailors rowed as near as they could and then jumped ashore with a rope in hand, pulling the boat to them and helping the rest of us to land. There we were with our two little children on the beach of the lake, a long way from a house or any building, and the night so dark that we could scarcely see to walk on the beach and keep clear of the lake. We took the children, each of us one, in our arms, and walked half a mile along close by the lake, the thunder growing louder and nearer. We came to a small log house, where lived three families, but they were all in bed by the time we got there. We rapped at the door, and a man called out to know what was wanted. My husband answered that he had just landed from a schooner, with his wife and two children,

and would like to get shelter the rest of the night. A lady let us in, the only man at home being lame and unable to get out of bed. They were kind enough to give us shelter, but had no bed for us; so my husband



H. Lindbergh

went back to where we had landed and brought a loose bed, before it rained very hard. We remained that winter with my husband's brother-in-law near Milwaukee."

The land they had expected to buy was not then in the market, but before spring the claims had been adjusted, and the cabin built into which they moved. As soon as fairly settled Mrs. Weaver undertook the teaching of a small school for her own and her neighbors' children. She writes: "I suppose many young mothers and housekeepers would marvel at the idea of a woman undertaking to do her own work for a family of six, and at the same time teach a school of twenty scholars in the same room, which was only twelve by fourteen feet in size. But as necessity was then, and had been, and perhaps always will be, the mother of many inventions, we found that by patience and perseverance it could be done at least for a few months. At the end of four summer months I found it necessary to give up my school, so as to take time to do my fall work and prepare my family for the coming winter. We had no more school for a year except on Sundays. We opened again, after a short time, the door of our little cabin for Sunday-school, in which little children were taught to read and spell, and older ones that could read learned Testament lessons. With the addition of prayers and singing, the exercises of from two to three hours passed very pleasantly, and as we then thought profitably to ourselves and our children."

Meanwhile the inflated young city of Milwaukee was on the verge of a terrible collapse. The winter of 1836-37 was comparatively quiet, the speculators and adventurers having disappeared until the spring should open. It was supposed that property and population would thrive as rapidly in 1837 as they had in 1836. Instead came the panic. The financial cyclone that burst with terrific fury in New York early in April extended to the remotest quarters of the Union. Eight of the states in part or wholly failed. Even the national government could not pay its debts. Universal bankruptcy seemed impending. The lots and lands in Milwaukee for which fabulous prices had been paid became in a twinkling of no commercial value whatever. The speculators and the capitalists did not reappear with the spring sunshine, and the frightened and half-dazed inhabitants were in actual danger of starvation. Those who had money enough to take them elsewhere departed forthwith never to return, while those who had no ready cash made the best of the agonizing situation. Lots for which \$500, or even \$1,000, had been paid the year before, were often given outright in exchange for a barrel of pork or flour; and it is said that some lots which to-day are worth \$12,000, were obtained at that time in exchange for a suit of clothes. The imaginary wealth of the people had vanished like the morning dew, and a burden was entailed upon the rising city the effects of which were apparent for an entire decade.

But men with tact, energy, and ability, were still left in Milwaukee, who laid foundations of stone upon the pasteboard beginnings, resulting in the present rich and flourishing city but little more than fifty years old.

There was a strong rivalry for some years between Chicago and Milwaukee, the latter being generally considered the most healthful situation, and in a commercial spirit inclined to crow over her less fortunate neighbor. A great many Chicagoans came to live in Milwaukee. It is said that Nelson Ludington, who had established himself in Chicago in 1838, made a flying visit to see what Milwaukee was like, and when twitted about the sanitary conditions of the home he had chosen, remarked, "Oh, I like Chicago generally speaking. I enjoy living there, but it is not exactly pleasant to see black crape on seventeen doors within a block from your home." Harrison Ludington, who was the mayor of Milwaukee in 1871, 1873, and 1875, and elected governor of Wisconsin in 1876, reached the young city, of which he became such a prominent and useful citizen, in 1838. He belonged to a historic New York family, and was then thirty-six years of age. He was born at Carmel, Putnam county, New York. His grandfather, Colonel Henry Ludington, of Carmel, served in the French war with much credit—was at the battle of Lake George, where his uncle and cousin were killed by his side; he was one of the foremost in espousing the cause of America at the outbreak of hostilities with England, and received his first commission as colonel from the provincial congress of New York, which commission was superseded in May, 1778, by one from Governor George Clinton. His duties were multifarious, never-ceasing, and attended with great danger. His own house was his headquarters throughout the Revolutionary war, after which he filled many positions of trust, public and private. He served in the legislature of the state, was for a long time justice of the peace, and through the whole of an honored life was one of the most public-spirited men in the community. His descendants seem to have followed gracefully in his footsteps, and their influence in the building up of towns in the great Northwest will survive to the end of time. Harrison Ludington became widely known as one of a great, prosperous lumber firm, and, aside from his extensive business interests, he was a power in local and state politics.

Roy Singleton

(To be continued.)

GEORGIA—THE ONLY FREE COLONY

HOW THE NEGRO CAME

The charter for the colony of Georgia granted by his Britannic Majesty to the twenty trustees in 1732 neither permitted nor prohibited the introduction of negroes into the province. The reasons for the founding of the colony which the preamble of the charter set forth were construed by the trustees to virtually prohibit negro slavery, or at least to be incompatible with it.

These reasons were, chiefly, that Georgia should be a kind of asylum for the distressed poor of Britain and for the persecuted Protestants of other lands; that it should be made a kind of frontier against Indians and other enemies, but more especially a frontier for South Carolina, where "our loving subjects, who now inhabit there, by reason of the smallness of their number, will, in case of a new war, be exposed to the like calamities (*i.e.* massacres and devastation); that we may extend our fatherly compassion even to the meanest and most infatuate of our people, and to relieve the wants of our above-mentioned poor subjects;" and "that it will be highly conducive for accomplishing those ends, that a regular colony of the said poor people be settled and established in the southern territories of Carolina." From these fundamental principles and aims the trustees naturally concluded that the admission of negroes would prevent the carrying out the purposes of the charter. While latent motives of humanity may have been the secret spring of opposition to slavery on the part of some of the board—as we shall find to have been the case, notably with the founder of the colony, the illustrious Oglethorpe—yet this sentiment played but a small part in antagonizing a system then fostered by England in all her American provinces.

All the other colonies were slave-holding, and so remained until after the outbreak of the Revolution, and some of them, especially the New England, were deriving great profits from the importation and sale of native Africans. What of opposition the traffic encountered was based chiefly upon economic considerations. The philanthropic trustees of Georgia, though far ahead of their age in humanitarian views and efforts, yet seldom discussed slavery from any other than the white man's standpoint. How the system would affect the *white* man, was the question:

the negro's side was not debatable. The Church did not, at least, antagonize slavery; indeed, many of the most renowned clergymen of those times championed it as necessary to the very existence of some of the American colonies. Under these circumstances the establishment of a free colony seems the more extraordinary.

At the time of Georgia's birth South Carolina's position was most critical. Her negro population was to her white about as eight to one, and a very large part of this dark race was of native Africans, almost as untamed as before they left the Guinea coast. Much of the present territory of the state was held by Indian tribes in whose bosoms there was little affection for the pale-faced intruders, and only the opportunity was wanting to kindle the border into a flame. South of the Savannah as far as the Altamaha, and westward beyond the ken of Europeans, were great nations of aborigines, with most of whom Carolina was on a precarious footing. In Florida was the Spaniard, and in Louisiana and along the Gulf coast the Frenchman, both born enemies of England and of all that was English. With such foes within and without, the very existence of Carolina was problematical, and one of the most cogent reasons for establishing a new colony south of the Savannah was that expressed in the charter—to give a frontier to South Carolina. Silk and wine were to be the staple products of the new colony, and for such labors the negro's brawn was not needed.

“Hence annual vessels shall to Europe sail
With the gay treasures of the silky spoil,
And *Georgian* flow'rets bloom in Britain's isle;
Or with rich juices which the vineyard yields,
That spreads luxuriant o'er uncultured fields.”

The colonists who came with Oglethorpe in 1733, and those who followed for the next three or four years, being chiefly “decayed people,” and most of them “sent on the charity,” at first thought little of attaining to mastery and ownership of slaves. Probably, had they not been brought into contact with slavery just across the river, the desire for negroes would not have prevailed to the extent of introducing them into the colony. For a time the matter was but little agitated. Rum had been prohibited in 1733, and there seemed little likelihood that negroes would be introduced, unless by Carolina settlers who might endeavor to bring their slaves across the Savannah; but this was not attempted for a time.

Early in 1734 Oglethorpe returned to England for the first time, and resumed his seat in parliament.

Of a meeting of the common council of the trustees in the palace court, January 9, 1735, at which Oglethorpe was present, we find the following minute: "An Act for rendering the colony of Georgia more defensible by prohibiting the importation and use of Black slaves into the same. Which Act being read and an amendment made thereto: *Order'd*, That the said Act with the said amendment be engross'd."

Both the negro and the rum acts were approved by his Majesty in the same month; and the negro, free or slave, was henceforth to be a stranger upon Georgia soil. Yet the trustees favored the policy of introducing white (German) servants. These were commonly sold to the colonists at the rate of £8 per head for a three years' indenture. At the end of this time they were to be freed and receive "trust lots." It was believed that they would make valuable citizens and add to the strength of the colony as a frontier against the Spaniards. In May, 1735, the trustees notify the bailiffs of Savannah that they have contracted for one hundred Germans for four years, "whom they intend to place out to such persons as have behaved with most zeal for the welfare of the colony, and shall have thereby deserved best from the publick. The trustees will give credit for their passage and give their masters one year's food and cloathing for them upon credit; and by the placing of them to such persons as have so behaved the trustees hope to encourage the religious, industrious and quiet people."

Again we read in the "Egmont Journals," that forty German servants arrived in Georgia in November, 1737, and were sent to Darien to Lieutenant J. Moore McIntosh. Each freeholder was allowed to take one of those servants by giving bond with security in the sum of £8, payable in one year. The remainder were to be employed in cutting and sawing timber for the trustees.

To secure the colonists in the use of such labor, as far back as September, 1733, the trustees endeavored to obtain the passage of a law in Carolina,* "to prevent any persons running from Georgia receiving any encouragement or getting any settlement there." This was a fugitive slave law for white servants—a measure which Carolina was very unwilling to adopt, and many complaints were made in Georgia against Carolina for harboring her fugitives. Thus the board endeavored to anticipate the need of "helps" for the colonists. The results we shall see hereafter.

In May, 1735, the trustees give to the lords commissioners for trade and plantations their reasons for excluding negroes from the colony = "The trustees were induced to prohibit the use of negroes within

* *Transcript of Colonial Documents* (MS.), p. 46.

Georgia, the intention of his Majesty's charter being to provide for poor people incapable of subsisting themselves at home, and to settle a frontier for South Carolina, which was much exposed to the small number of its white inhabitants; it was impossible that the poor who should be sent from hence, and the foreign persecuted Protestants, who must go in a manner naked into the colony, could be able to purchase or subsist them (negroes) if they had them; and it would be a charge too great for the trustees to undertake, and they would be thereby disabled from sending white people. The first cost of a negro is about thirty pounds, and this thirty pounds would pay the passage over, provide tools and other necessities, and defray the charge of subsistence of a white man for a year, in which time it might be hoped that the planter's own labor would gain him some subsistence. Consequently the purchase money of every negro (abstracting the expense of subsisting him as well as his master), by being applied that way, would prevent the sending over a white man, who would be of security to the province, whereas the negro would render that security precarious.

It was thought the white man by having a negro slave would be less disposed to labor himself, and that his whole time must be employed in keeping the negro to work, and in watching against any danger he or his family might apprehend from the slave; and that the planter's wife and children would, by the death—or even the absence—of the planter, be in a manner at the mercy of the negro.

It was also apprehended that the Spaniards at St. Augustine would be continually enticing away the negroes or encouraging them to insurrection; that the first might easily be accomplished, since a single negro could run away thither without companions, and would only have a river or two to swim over; and this opinion has been confirmed and justified by the practices of the Spaniards, even in time of profound peace, among the negroes of South Carolina, where, though at a greater distance from St. Augustine, some have fled in periaugas and like boats to the Spaniards and been protected, and others in large bodies have been incited to insurrection, to the great terror, and even endangering the loss of that province, which, though it has been established about seventy years, has scarce white people enough to secure her against her own slaves.

It was also considered that the produces designed to be raised in the colony would not require such labor as to render negroes necessary for carrying them on; for the province of Carolina produces chiefly rice, which is a work of hardship proper for negroes, whereas the silk and other produces which the trustees proposed to have the people employed

on in Georgia were such as women and children might be of as much use as negroes.

It was likewise apprehended that if the persons who should go over to Georgia at their own expense should be permitted the use of negroes, it would dispirit and ruin the poor planters who could not get them, and who by their numbers were designed to be the strength of the province. It would make them clamorous to have negroes given them, and on the refusal would drive them from the province, or at least make them negligent of their plantations, where they would be unwilling, nay, would certainly disdain to work like negroes, and would rather let themselves out to the wealthy planters as overseers of their negroes. It was further thought that upon the admission of negroes the wealthy planters would, as in all other colonies, be more induced to absent themselves and live in other places, leaving the care of their plantations and their negroes to overseers.

It was likewise thought that the poor planter sent on charity, from his desire to have negroes, as well as the planter who should settle at his own expense, would (if he had leave to alienate) mortgage his land to the negro merchant for them, or at least become a debtor for the purchase of such negroes, and under these weights and discouragements would be induced to sell his slaves upon any necessity, and would leave the province and his lot to the negro merchant, in consequence of which all the small properties would be swallowed up as they have been in other places by the more wealthy planters. It was likewise considered that the admitting negroes in Georgia would naturally facilitate the desertion of the Carolina negroes through the province of Georgia, and this colony, instead of proving a frontier and adding a strength to the province of South Carolina, would be a means of drawing off the slaves of Carolina and adding a strength to Augustine."

Substantially the same reasons against the admission of negroes were given in their defence of their province a few years later from the aspersions of the Savannah malcontents.*

In this pamphlet the trustees say also that they had taken warning from South Carolina's case, where there were more than forty thousand negroes to five thousand whites, and the plantations were large. But they had made an agrarian law for Georgia which allowed to no settler more than five hundred acres, and to no charity immigrant more than fifty acres, which allotments would not allow the purchase of negroes. It was useless to attempt to prevent the escape of negroes to the Spaniards, and equally vain to attempt the recovery of the fugitives ;

* An Impartial Enquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia. London, 1741.

for in January, 1738, the council and assembly of South Carolina had sent a solemn deputation to the governor of St. Augustine to demand some runaway slaves, and the governor had peremptorily refused to deliver them up, declaring that his orders from the king of Spain were to receive and protect such fugitives. Furthermore, say the trustees, in June, 1740, more than two hundred negroes in the vicinity of Charleston conspired to sack a certain store-house—a magazine for arms—and with the arms thus acquired to massacre their masters; but, being anticipated in their plans, they were seized, and fifty of them were hung—ten daily for five days at Charleston. Such revolts the board would prevent in Georgia by keeping out the negroes.

Oglethorpe alone seems to have been actuated by humanitarian motives in his opposition to negroes. Thus January 17, 1739, he writes to the trustees a second remonstrance against the admission of Africans. He says:

(a) "It was against the intent of the original association of the trustees, which was to *relieve the distressed*; whereas we should occasion the misery of thousands in Africa, by setting men upon using arts to buy and bring into perpetual slavery the poor people who now live there.

(b) 'Twould weaken rather than strengthen the frontier.

(c) 'Twould give to slave-owners the land designed for a refuge for persecuted Protestants.

(d) 'Twould prevent all improvements of silk and wine; and

(e) Glut the markets with more of the American commodities, which do already but too much interfere with the English produce."

Formerly Oglethorpe had urged the same objections, and had declared that the pretended limitation as to the number of negroes, which the negro petition proposed to make, was a delusion, as had been abundantly proven in the case of the other colonies. This Pharaoh policy of preventing a too great increase was utterly impracticable.

For many years Georgia's population belonged almost entirely to five towns or settlements—Savannah, Frederica, Darien, Ebenezer, and Augusta. The classes of people in these five towns were widely distinct from one another. Savannah was a "charity" colony of the English poor and "decayed people;" Frederica was the military head of the colony toward the south, and was occupied chiefly by a garrison; Darien on the Altamaha was held by Scotch Highlanders; Ebenezer, twenty-five miles above Savannah, was colonized by the Salzburgers—those children of persecution from the Alps; while Augusta on the upper Savannah was founded by Carolina Indian traders, and remained, to all intents, a Carolina town

upon the Georgia side of the river. Augusta hardly deigned to recognize the colonial authorities of Georgia. She was as near to old Charleston as to young Savannah, and she had but little intercourse with the latter.

The Savannah colonists were the least thrifty in the province. Brought, for the most part, by charity from charity institutions, they continued to be fed by the hand of charity, to a large degree, during the whole period of the trustees' rule. They never ceased clamoring for still greater benefits, nor did they abate their factious opposition to the trustees' designs when their petitions were refused. Although abundantly supplied not only with necessaries for subsisting themselves but with tools and facilities for pushing forward the silk and wine industries—the cherished projects of the trustees—they never made any advance in either production, but year after year were fed from the public stores and from the crops of the thrifty Salzburgers at Ebenezer. Hiring out such German servants as they could get, they lived idly in the town; and many of them, we are told, debauched their maid-servants and lived in great depravity. These were the loudest in their clamors for negroes. The sentiment of the Salzburgers was almost unanimous against negroes, and most of the Highlanders were of the same opinion.

The Spaniards hovered like ogres along the southern border, and the colonists were in constant alarm. As early as 1736 a letter to Mr. Wragg from Carolina informs us that the people were expecting a Spanish invasion, that the governor of St. Augustine was about to issue a proclamation promising freedom to the Carolina negroes, and that prisoners who returned later from St. Augustine had heard the proclamation read there. This proclamation seems to have been anticipated a long while before it was issued.

The Carolinians were loud in their complaints to Oglethorpe against this Spanish proclamation. Oglethorpe writes to the duke of Newcastle in 1739, that many Carolina negroes were escaping by sea to St. Augustine and the planters feared that most of their slaves would leave them. In little boats they (the negroes) coasted along the Georgia shore, hiding among the islands if pursued, and they could seldom be apprehended. In March of this year the Spanish governor had replied to Oglethorpe's demands for the fugitives by quoting his orders from Madrid in 1733, to receive and give freedom to the English negroes. Parties of runaway negroes, Oglethorpe writes, were harbored on the frontier by the Spaniards to entice away the slaves. Captain Dunbar also declared that the Spaniards had a negro regiment upon the border for the same purpose.

A Spanish prisoner brought to Frederica in 1741 told the authorities

there that twenty or twenty-five runaway negroes had been armed by the Spaniards; and in the same year Kenneth Baillie, a cornet of Oglethorpe's rangers, who had been captured at Fort Moosa—that Alamo of colonial times—testified at Frederica that the attacking force at Moosa consisted of Spaniards, Indians, and *negroes*. The negroes afterward told him that they had been promised freedom if they would help expel the English. The governor and the bishop had publicly confirmed these promises at St. Augustine, the latter swearing upon the cross, before the negroes, faithfully to carry out the stipulations. But the pledge had been violated, and the negroes professed themselves ready to desert to the English on their next expedition against St. Augustine.

Oglethorpe was thoroughly aroused to the peril of the situation, and exposed himself to the greatest dangers to protect both colonies, of which he was the military head. But Carolina could do but little more than keep a guard over her own negroes; and the regular troops, the few Georgia militia, and the faithful Creeks were the colony's strength. Yet no dangers were equal to the avarice of the negro-traders. Mr. Hector de Beauvin writes from Charleston in March, 1743, to the earl of Egmont, that the overstocking of Carolina with negroes is most dangerous. Several years before a law had been made against further importations of Africans for a number of years. This law was about to expire, and already vessels were being fitted out for bringing negroes from the African coast, despite the perils of the situation.

But Spanish intrigues were not the only sources of danger to the colonies. One Christian Pryber, as we learn from a letter of Oglethorpe dated April 22, 1743,* was endeavoring to establish a town, or settlement, in the Cherokee country of Georgia, and make it a rendezvous for fugitive English, French, and Germans, but more especially for runaway negroes, "like the Paulists of Brazil." He also "expected to have a great resort hither from the debtors, transport felons, servants, and negro slaves in the two Carolinas and Virginia. Amongst his papers are the articles of a government regularly drawn up; all crimes and licentiousness were to be tolerated except murder and idleness." Pryber was a Jesuit from Germany, and he appears to have been employed by the French to stir up the Indians against the English. He was well educated and a stoic as to personal fear. He died suddenly in prison at Frederica, and his scheme fell to the ground.

But nothing could appease the negro mania of the Carolinians and of the Savannah colonists.

* *Egmont Journals*, p. 143.

The first attempt to introduce negroes into Georgia was made in 1736 by some Carolinians, who, in defiance of the law, swam large herds of cattle over the Savannah, which destroyed the corn of the friendly Uchees above Ebenezer. Not content with this outrage, they brought over negroes and opened a plantation near the Indian town. The Uchees complained to Oglethorpe, who promptly sent back both negroes and cattle, and the grateful Indians sent an embassy to assure him of their love and confidence, and to proffer him the help of fourscore warriors against the Spaniards.

But Augusta—Carolinian in all respects—had introduced negroes, it seems, as early as 1738. At least, in the bitter attack made by the Savannah malcontents upon Oglethorpe in 1741, we are informed that the production of a considerable quantity of corn about Augusta was due chiefly to two circumstances—first, the goodness of the land; and second and chiefly, because “the settlers there are indulged in and connived at the use of negroes, by whom they execute all the laborious parts of the culture, and the fact is undoubted and certain that upwards of eighty negroes are now in the settlements belonging to that place. We do not observe this as if it gives us any uneasiness that our fellow-planters are indulged in what is so necessary for their well-being; but we may be allowed to regret that we and so many British subjects, who stood much more in need of them, should have been ruined for want of such assistance.” *

Thus we find that Augusta paid little or no attention to the trustees’ prohibition. The people there declared that if not allowed the use of negroes on the Georgia side of the river, they would cross over to the Carolina shore, where they could have negroes and prosecute their Indian trade as effectively as ever.

About 1738 the clamors of the Savannah people for negroes began to reach the trustees. In 1737 Colonel William Stephens had been appointed secretary of the trustees in Georgia, and the next year he succeeded Thomas Causton as first bailiff of Savannah. In 1741 he was made president of the colony, Oglethorpe being military commander of Georgia and South Carolina, and employed nearly all the time toward the south to watch the Spaniards. Upon Colonel Stephens devolved the chief part in administering the trustees’ laws. He seems to have been of a kindly heart, but extremely pliable and totally lacking the nerve to execute any unpopular statute. He could not withstand opposition. In his hands both the rum and the negro acts became dead letters. His son

* *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America.*

Thomas incurred Oglethorpe's displeasure by his mismanagement (to use the mildest term) of certain stores put under his charge, and he became the general's most implacable enemy henceforth. He soon became a leader of the malcontents, and was closely associated with Graham, Douglass, Tailfer, Anderson, and others, in throwing every possible obstruction in the way of the trustees' government. A Scotch club (St. Andrew's) was formed at Savannah, and helped to give shape and influence to the calumnies unsparingly heaped upon the trustees and their chief executive, the noble Oglethorpe. This clique drew up a representation to the trustees, setting forth the need for negroes and for a fee simple tenure of the lands. The Darien Highlanders, however, and the Ebenezer Salzburgers refused to sign it, protesting the great danger to the province from the vicinity of the Spaniards. The Salzburgers also declared that for their part they were raising more produce already than was necessary for their own consumption, and that too without negroes.

This memorial was signed by one hundred and eighteen freeholders of Savannah and the northern part of the province. Oglethorpe wrote the next month from his camp on St. Simon's island, earnestly protesting against the granting of the petition. He also wrote that Robert Williams, a negro merchant who had obtained a large grant of land for himself and friends, had promised some of the inhabitants to let them have negroes, *provided* they would sell or mortgage their lands to him for them. This had been a bait to many who signed the petition for negroes, as it required a fee simple tenure of land which was also asked for in the petition. Others signed because of indignation at the dismissal of Thomas Causton as first bailiff, and others because they had expended all they had, having hired out the white servants. These desired negroes to hire out the same way, that they might live from the hire. They were fired by the sight of negroes in South Carolina. Of some of these gentry we are told some very discreditable things. Colonel Stephens, in a letter of July 25, 1738, writes that "they prostituted their female servants (white) and afterwards cohabited with them and their bastards." He hopes for much reformation, however, from the powerful preaching of Whitefield, then at Savannah. Whitefield also testifies to the licentiousness of these men, and their love for racing and gaming.

Negro merchant Williams carried the malcontents' petition to England. This document declared that the colony's only export was timber, but that this cost doubly as much as in other colonies where negro labor was employed to cut it. Even on the river May in Carolina, twenty miles distant, they cut timber at much less than the Georgians could afford to

do the work. Only the admission of negroes could save the province, for white labor was too expensive to compete with negroes. To demonstrate this, Thomas Christie, former recorder of Savannah, shows the trustees that the land could not be worked without negroes, four of whom could be kept as easily as one white man. The monthly wages of the latter was £10 currency—£1 5s. sterling, or 10*d.* per day. At this rate planting costs more than its returns; *e. g.*, one man may work five acres of pine land: this would produce the first year twenty bushels of Indian corn, worth at 10s. currency, £1 5s., also forty bushels of Indian peas, worth in all, £2 10s.,—total £3 15s. The second year the product would be about the same; the third year, less; the fourth year, nothing.

Five acres of the best oak land might produce fifteen bushels of corn and peas per acre, worth £4 13s. 9*d.* sterling. As to white servants, none could be maintained at a lower rate than the trustees' Dutch servants, each of whom, at 8*d.* per day, cost £12 3s. 4*d.* sterling per year, or three times as much as the produce of the land which the servant worked. Moreover, there were at least six acres of pine-barren to one of oak or hickory land in the colony, and most of the small lots were of the former kind. If these were swamp-lands they might be used for rice, but then only negro labor could endure such laborious cultivating, and hundreds of these, notwithstanding the care of their masters, yearly lose their lives by that necessary work.

These same arguments for negro labor were also used by the malcontents in their representation to the trustees. On the other hand, Lieutenant George Dunbar, long employed in Georgia, January 26, 1739, declares that the hire of white men was about one-third greater than that of the negroes, both on account of the quantity and the quality of the work. The malcontents, to get signers to their petition, used many arts, among them that of assuring the timid, who feared insurrection, that not more than two or three negroes for each white should be admitted.

The Salzburgers, led by their faithful pastors, Bolzius and Gronau, sent to the trustees protest after protest against negroes. They pray that at least no negroes be allowed near them. A negro insurrection in Carolina in 1739 added force to their arguments, and even the Carolinians began to esteem Oglethorpe more highly.

Bolzius' modest though firm opposition to negroes brought upon him much calumny and many insults from the negro maniacs of Savannah, which increased in later years. Writing of this in 1747 to his friend Von Munch at Augsburg, he says: "I am still of the same sentiments, that the introduction of negroes will not be a means to make the colony flourish

or the inhabitants happy, if at any time leave should be given for it, or liberty to buy or sell the land as every one pleaseth. Surely the prerogatives which this colony is blessed with before South and North Carolina, and more particularly Savannah before Charleston, will draw numbers of merchants from thence hither, which will buy the best Districts of Land, employ negroes in all necessary work, and refuse to pay a greater price to the white people for their labour than to negroes by which they can't possibly subsist or maintain themselves, but will be forced to leave the colony, not to mention the great danger to life nor the robberies of fields and orchards that must be expected from those savage and hungry creatures."

In August of the same year Bolzius writes to Benjamin Martyn: "It is inexpressible under what reproaches and contempt I lye here in the colony only on account of my dutiful attachment to the honorable trustees and their wise scheme which I have endeavored to put in execution as far as lay in my power and cannot forbear to say my labours have not been all in vain by the gracious influence of God tho' people in this and the neighboring colony have not failed to imbibe our inhabitants with contrary notions. After the last Packet from their Honours arrived at Colonel Stephens and the Board of the Council, the jealousy and rage of English, French and Dutch people is so much kindled against me that they call me the Fountain of all Evils which they fancy to fall upon them on account of the prohibition of negroes. They curse me in a very scandalous manner and threaten to do me a mischief if it was in their power. I can appeal to God and my conscience that I am by my preaching, prayers, labours, and writing to our dear benefactors in England and Germany at nothing else but at the sincere promoting of the prosperity of our settlement, nay if possible of this whole province by using all possible honest means for bringing their wise scheme into execution, viz.: to make this Colony not a Harbour of Black Slaves, but an asylum for poor distressed and Labouring Protestants of any denomination for which I am told it was intended from the first."

While the Salzburgers, Bolzius says, are almost without exception opposed to negroes, yet if their benefactors, the trustees, thought it necessary for the prosperity of the colony to introduce negroes, from gratitude to them, "We and our friends in Germany will say not a word, but rely entirely upon God's and their Honours' favors, being in confidence that a merciful God will protect and bless us notwithstanding."

Bolzius says in a letter to Mr. Verelst in August, 1747, that the calumniators have charged every sort of wickedness upon him. Even the trustees' kind mention of him in their letters to Georgia acts like "emetic tar-

taric in some people's stomachs." He begs, therefore, that the trustees will make no mention of him or of the Salzburgers in their letters to the Savannah officials. About the same time he writes to Mr. Martyn that the people lay upon his letters the whole burden of the trustees' refusal of negroes. He feels the delicacy of his situation, being a foreigner and too much indebted to the trustees to be a stumbling-block in their way to people the province. Besides, the negro party charged it upon Bolzius that through his influence the Salzburgers were prevented from signing the petition for negroes. Thomas Stephens attempted to intimidate Bolzius by the threat that, unless negroes were granted, the colony would be given over to Spain. But none of these things moved the pastor.

The malcontents, in their malicious pamphlet* against the trustees, declared themselves prohibited from even the sight of negroes, although these were as necessary as hoes, axes, or other utensils. They profess to be under spiritual tyranny. Bolzius and the English clergymen desired to see Georgia not rich, but godly. The wretched Salzburgers were compelled to bow to Bolzius, while the Darien people were bought by cattle and promises to sign the anti-negro petition. Any one of Georgia's three prohibitions—of negroes, of rum, or of fee simple land tenure—would destroy the colony.

But if the Salzburgers, led by their faithful pastors, so steadily opposed the admission of negroes, they were not seconded by the English or Scotch clergy so far as we know. These latter seem either to have joined with the trustees' enemies, or to have kept quiet in the controversy.

Of the sentiments of some of these clergymen toward negro slavery we are not informed. Several of them left the province before the beginning of the agitation. The Scotch minister McLeod favored the admission of negroes, so much, indeed, that after a few years he quit Darien and settled in South Carolina. An affidavit of his made November 12, 1741, declared that the Darien people desired negroes, but were cajoled into signing the counter-petition. They were virtually prisoners held in the colony and unable to leave, though desirous of doing so.

The Wesleys (John and Charles) reached Georgia in February, 1736, but neither remained as long as two years, Charles returning earlier than John. The journal of the latter while in Georgia frequently alludes to negro slaves, but without expressing any opinion in regard to slavery in Georgia. Indeed, it was not until after his departure that the effort to get negroes took definite shape.

* A Brief Account of the Causes that have Retarded the Progress of the Colony of Georgia. London, 1743.

Wesley's chief concern for the negro seemed to be for his spiritual welfare. Thus at Charleston, July 31, 1736, he expresses his pleasure at seeing several negroes present at the service, and one negro woman told him that she attended worship regularly. His questions elicited from the poor creature that she did not know that she had a soul nor aught of immortality. Wesley adds: "O God, where are thy tender mercies? Are they not over all thy works? When shall the Sun of righteousness arise on these outcasts of men, with healing in his wings?" A very similar instance is recorded for April 23, 1737, the case of another negro woman whom he catechized at Mr. Thompson's, near Pompon, South Carolina.

The journal a few days later has this entry: "Perhaps one of the easiest and shortest ways to instruct the American negroes in Christianity would be, first, to inquire after and find out some of the most serious of the planters; then, having inquired of them which of their slaves were best inclined and understood English, to go to them from plantation to plantation, staying as long as appeared necessary at each. Three or four gentlemen in Carolina I have been with, that would be sincerely glad of such an assistant, who might pursue his work with no more hindrances than most everywhere have attended the preaching of the Gospel." On his homeward voyage from Georgia, Wesley spent some of the time in instructing one or two negroes on board in the principles of Christianity.

But Wesley's silence as to negro slavery was not imitated by his celebrated colleague, the fiery Whitefield. The latter did not hesitate to express himself in favor of negro slaves for Georgia. Thus, December 13, 1738, just returned from Georgia, he quotes the excuses of the colonists for non-improvement of their lands, viz.: the prohibition of negroes and of fee simple tenure. April 7, 1740, on the point of sailing for Pennsylvania, he writes to the trustees, giving a gloomy picture of Georgia, whose inhabitants were deserting her. He thinks that many of his friends would settle there, *but the conditions are too hard, i. e.*, the non-allowing of negroes and of full tenure of the lands. Therefore, he proposes to take up land in Pennsylvania (where both were allowed), and erect a negro school, and provide for such of his brethren as would follow him thither from England. He yet hoped well for Georgia, but the *constitution must be altered*. Three things were necessary for her prosperity, viz.: (a) An allowance of negroes, (b) a fee simple title to lands, and (c) a magistracy independent and willing to serve without fee or reward.

Whitefield bought five thousand acres of land in Pennsylvania at a cost of £2,200, for establishing his negro school and for settling Methodists who might wish to worship God without being called enthusiasts.

Lord Gage desired to introduce Whitefield's testimony as to negroes in the colony before parliament, but the trustees objected. Parson Norris, who had left Frederica in disgrace, was loud in accusations against the authorities there on several counts, the refusal of negroes being among them. Thus, except the Salzburger pastors, none of the clergy seems to have taken a stand with the trustees in opposition to negro slaves.

The trustees returned a firm though dignified negative to the petition for negroes of December, 1738, and for a short while a quietus seemed to be put to the agitation. Colonel Stephens writes, July 26, 1739, that few people troubled themselves more about negroes, and Oglethorpe and Captain Horton later informed the board that their answer had had the best effects in the colony. Only the Scotch club felt disturbed by it. But the calm was of short duration. Thomas Stephens was already in England, sowing the wind which was to bring forth the whirlwind. His vindictive hate toward Oglethorpe and the trustees, the spur given by the Scotch club, the hostility of the Walpole ministry to Georgia, and dark intimations that the colony would be surrendered to Spain as a peace-offering, made the situation critical for the trustees. The thriftlessness at Savannah continued to demand from parliament annual appropriations for the support of a province which seemed never likely to become self-sustaining. By combining all these elements of opposition, Thomas Stephens was able to keep the board in constant unrest and bring Georgia into discredit. "It could not succeed without negroes," began to gain general acceptance.

From 1740 parliament began to consider the question of allowing negroes: several of the members, Lord Gage among them, being violent negro partisans; others, more moderate, were opposed to negroes, but did not believe the colony could succeed without them. Of this number was Sir John Barnard; but the earl of Egmont, president of the board, declared that negroes would never be allowed. Others thought that after Florida should fall into English hands—an event generally anticipated—it would do to introduce negroes into Georgia.

Some of the trustees began to weaken, but most remained firm. Vernon favored the admission, La Roche thought that free negroes should be prohibited, Egmont opposed the scheme to the utmost.

The Scotch club left Savannah in 1740, transferring to Charleston, but only to continue a more venomous warfare against the trustees and especially against Oglethorpe. A new representation, dated August 10, 1740, and signed by sixty-three land-holders of Savannah county, was sent to the trustees. This document plead loudly for the admission of negroes and indulged in bitter denunciation of Oglethorpe. Egmont calls it a

"saucy" memorial. During the two years following, the malcontents were extremely active, and witnesses in their behalf in England were not wanting. Richard Lawley, February 6, 1741, gives a gloomy picture of the colony: allow negroes, however, and planters will immigrate, and the poor can oversee for the rich planters; negroes could be kept for 6*d.* per week; a white man would scorn to work with negroes unless he owned them, etc.

Lieutenant-Colonel Cook, Oglethorpe's second in command, was also a negro champion, and created much dissension in Georgia. Patrick McKay writes from Purysburg, South Carolina, in December, 1741, to Thomas Stephens, that he with twenty slaves raised more corn than all Georgia, leaving out Augusta where were negroes. Francis Moore records it as a great outrage, that negroes had been seized by the Frederica authorities from one or two schooners which had chanced to touch there, driven by storms. Douglass, Telfair, and Anderson say in their pamphlet that it is impossible for white men to fell timber or hoe in the sultry heat. Such work causes "inflammatory fevers, fluxes, colics, dry-belly-aches, tremors, vertigoes, palsies, etc." The board have ruined Georgia, "chiefly from denying the use of negroes, and persisting in such denial after by repeated applications we had humbly demonstrated the impossibility of making improvements to any advantage with white servants."

Three Salzburgers—Ortman, Riser, and Bicker—also made oath, October 20, 1741, that they and most of their people desired negroes, but feared Bolzius too much to sign the negro petition.

Captain Horton told Egmont that if negroes were not admitted after peace should have been made with Spain, the people would bring them in by force. The earl adds a little later, January 8, 1742, that the trustees will not petition his Majesty for them; but the government, not the board, must bear the responsibility.

In March, 1742, the house of commons yielded to the enemies of the colony, and refused an appropriation for its support. It seemed that the board must yield. Many witnesses were examined by the commons committee; all were strenuous for negroes: still the committee, by a vote of thirty-five to eighteen, reported against their admission, and June 29, 1742, the house, upon a division, rejected the application by a vote of forty-three to thirty-four. At this time the rum act was repealed. Many members declared themselves opposed to any further appropriations until negroes should be admitted. Egmont in disgust tendered his resignation July 7, 1742.

July 14, 1742, the trustees ordered: "That an instruction be sent to Mr. Stephens that he do make inquiry among the people of the province,

whether it is their opinion in general that it is proper to admit the use and introduction of negroes in the said province, and that he do as soon as he can certify their opinion and his own how far it may be proper under any and under what limitations and restrictions."

A committee of the board was also appointed to consider the same matter and report to another meeting of the same. Colonel Stephens, December 3, 1742, declares against negroes until after the close of the Spanish war; then not to allow more than four to each white man, and suffer none to remain in towns, nor allow any to be hired out by masters.

But John Dobell wrote to Egmont in May following that Colonel Stephens was in close conference with his son Thomas, and was supplying him money to corrupt the Salzburgers at Ebenezer, for "the colonel has an itching for negroes."

In August of this year (1743) a queer memorial was sent to the king from Frederica, Georgia. It was signed "Lewis Charles Rudolph, Prince of Wirtemberg, now a slave in Georgia." * The petitioner declares himself "the lawful son of Charles Rudolph, Duke of Wirtemberg, Earl of Mumpelgard, Lord of Hidenheim, Knight of the Danish Order of the Elephant, Gen'l Field Marshal to the King of Denmark, and Guardian of the House of Wirtemberg of the Stutgard line," etc.

How this well-born gentleman became a slave in Georgia he proceeds to tell his Majesty. He was carried away from Gravesend in 1740 by Captain William Thompson, "contrary to all law and justice." The captain threatened to throw him overboard unless he should sign a certain paper, which he could not read. He was carried to Georgia and sold to General Oglethorpe, who, in spite of proofs of his captive's rank, treated him in the most tyrannical manner, compelling him to work on a plantation in the hot sun, and leaving him to go naked, had not some friends interposed. The prince declares, "before God, the Almighty Governor of Heaven and Earth," that he had not a good shirt to put on, and he was in a most miserable plight. He begs his Majesty to send a ship immediately to fetch him away, also money sufficient to carry him to London in a style befitting his rank, etc., etc. Whether the king sent the ship and money for his oppressed cousin, the minutes of the trustees do not tell us.

In the early part of 1746 an incident occurred which fanned the negro flame into great heat in the colony. A negro, John Peter by name, had been kidnapped from Curacoa, by a Rhode Island privateer cruising along the Spanish main. He was first carried to Rhode Island, thence to Philadelphia, where he was bought by Captain Samuel Clee, formerly of Sa-

* *Minutes of the Common Council of the Trustees*, II. (MS.), pp. 157-158.

vannah, and sold to a Colonel Mulrain, a justice of the peace in South Carolina. "The negro finding himself detained in cruel slavery," as Dobell writes, "embraced the first opportunity to make his escape, and with some more of his colour, who are always glad of a leader, sate off in a canoe, and providentially for him fell in with the island of Tybee, where they were apprehended by the lighthouse people after this negro had been shot in the arm, and were afterwards committed to Savannah prison as deserters. At the ensuing court they were claimed by a person authorized by their respective owners from Carolina, and all the others were without difficulty freed, but this John Peter asserted that he was a freedman and no slave, and that altho' he had took the opportunity of coming away with the other negroes in the manner he did, which was to escape from a cruel and unjust slavery, yet, being a free subject of the states of Holland, prayed he might have the benefit of the English laws of Mulrain, who pursued him, or of Clee, who sold him; and here, by your Lordship's leave, I'll mention the sentiments of the bench. Mr. Parker, to his praise it must be acknowledged, declared himself of opinion not to deliver him up, but that 'twas just to hold him till word should be received from Curacoa, as the negro had prayed; but Mr. Watson (in action always greatest, and who upon this affair was observed to carry on a correspondence with Mulrain & Co.) strenuously opposed the fellow's being detained, and according to his common custome, played the part of a solicitor, and Mr. Spencer was Mr. Spencer still, as a chip in Broth, whereupon Mr. Wm. Woodroofe and Dr. Hunter rose up and said: That as there appeared such good reason to believe the negro to be no slave, they would become surety for the negro's forthcoming when accounts should be obtained from Curacoa concerning him, which not without much difficulty was omitted by reason of Mr. Watson's opposition."

The sureties having given bond to indemnify Mulrain for his time and trouble and for the loss of the negro's service, should he not prove to be free, John Peter was kept at Savannah until a bill of his freedom, certified by the governor of Curacoa, arrived, "as strong and particular in his favour as if he had been a man of another rank, whereupon now at this court he was declared free, namely, on Thursday, the first day of May, 1746." Messrs. Habersham, Woodroofe, and Hunter applied to the magistrates of Savannah for a warrant to arrest Clee, who resided at Frederica. This the officials refused, on the ground of want of jurisdiction over Frederica. The council took the same position, admitting that their commission included Frederica, but their instructions were different, and they laid the blame, as usual, upon the trustees.

John Peter's case was made the occasion of loud complaints against the trustees for prohibiting the use of negroes. The Savannah people took it in high dudgeon that, while negroes were denied them, they were nevertheless made slave catchers for Carolina. "Many gave their tongues great liberties against the trustees and the constitution, speaking diminutively and opprobriously of either." Dobell tells the trustees that "upon the word of an honest man Colonel Stephens and all the council speak often contemptuously of your honours' administration or government, and, as it were, despise your whole conduct, mad as it were that they can't introduce their own scheme, that of negroes. My lord, they are stark mad after negroes, and this is the cause that they endeavor to poison and spoil all the trustees' good designs. This is the cause why Colonel Stephens stirred up his son to act openly against the trustees, and this is the cause why he continues the same opposition against the trustees to this day, secretly tho' far more effectually, and such a shocking scene of villainy is here protected, that some curse the trustees over their bowls, others mock them in the streets, and particularly is that good and great man, Mr. Vernon, traduced."

July 4, 1746, Dobell writes to Bolzius that the whole batch of the trustees' ministers and servants, from the president to the constable with hardly an exception, were intent upon introducing negroes and were using every kind of oppression and traduction to weaken the hearts of all those favorable to the trustees' plans, of which number he (Bolzius) was the only one in a public capacity, and there were very few of the private people of the English who were not in the same scheme, all eagerly clamoring for what they called "Liberty and Property without restrictions." This discontent, Dobell says, is a plant of Thomas Stephens's planting, and watered by the president and assistants—all ever inculcating the doctrine that Georgia could not flourish without negroes, and discrediting with the trustees every honest man who sought to carry out the trustees' intentions as to the government of the colony. The grand article of Thomas Stephens's scheme was NEGROES, and the president and council sought to tire out the trustees and compel them to yield. But the critical point was to make the trustees understand this. Dobell urges Bolzius to present the facts to them.

On the other hand, Colonel Stephens stoutly denied the charges made to the board that he favored the admission of negroes. December 11, 1746, he writes to Secretary Martyn: "I cannot imagine what information the trustees have had of such an expectance being raised among us as you write of the intention to allow the use of negroes in a short time. That

divers have entertained such wishes cannot be denied, nor can it that many yet do, but I assure you it is never with encouragement from me, who know my duty (I hope) better than to countenance such reports as seem to carry with 'em such an opposition to their Honours' best judgment in everything for promoting the welfare of this colony. Moreover, it is well-known that I have often declared my own natural aversion to 'em."

May 2, 1747, Colonel Stephens writes congratulating the people on the prospective immigration from North Carolina of a hardy race accustomed to labor, and "without any view of negroes or other hands than their own, and such surely above all people, this colony ought to caress."

What double-dealing was this by which this weak old man was endeavoring to deceive the trustees! How can history exonerate him from connection with those who were engaged in the negro scheme?

In December, 1746, the trustees had learned that Rev. Thomas Bosomworth, who had married the celebrated half-breed Mrs. Mary Matthews, had sent to Carolina for six negroes to cultivate his wife's plantation at the Forks of the Altamaha, and also that negroes had been creeping into the colony at Augusta and other remote places. It was ordered that the secretary "do write to Mr. Stephens and acquaint him that the trustees are surprised that he as president and the assistants have not taken any steps to punish and put a stop to such a violation of the law against negroes, nor propos'd any means for the trustees doing it, but have contented themselves with seeing and only complaining of it."

In October, 1747, the president and assistants in a letter to Secretary Martyn deny all complicity with the negro movement. "We are afraid, sir, from what you have wrote in relation to negroes, that the Honourable trustees have been misinformed as to our conduct relating thereto, for we can with great assurance assert that this board has always acted a uniform part in discouraging the use of negroes in this colony, well knowing it to be disagreeable to the trust as well as contrary to an act existing for prohibition of them, and always give it in charge to those whom we have put in possession of lands not to attempt the introduction or use of Negroes, but notwithstanding our great caution some people from Carolina soon after their settling lands on the Little Ogeechee found means of bringing and employing a few negroes on the said lands some time before it was discovered to us. Upon which discovery they thought it high time to withdraw themselves and families out of the colony, which appears to us at present to be the resolution of divers others, particularly the whole inhabitants of Augusta, who have had negroes among them for many years past, and now declare that if they cannot

obtain that liberty they will remove to the Carolina side where they can carry on their Trade and Plantations with the same advantage as where they now are, and several others of late, finding us strenuous in endeavouring to see the Trustees' orders fulfilled, express themselves in the same strain. We are thoroughly sensible, sir, that what we have now wrote relating to Negroes must be very disagreeable to the trustees, and it is with the greatest reluctance that we are driven to this necessity, but it being a matter of such importance, we thought it highly incumbent on us to acquaint their Honours therewith, for fear we might incur their high displeasure if we should conceal anything from them that was consistent with our duty to lay before them.

We are, etc.,

Wm. Stephens, Henry Parker, Wm. Spencer, Samuel Marcer, Pat. Graham."

If any further proof had been wanting to show the connivance, at least, of these Savannah officials at the negro scheme, the above letter would fill the requirement. At the last, when concealment is no longer possible, fearing the displeasure of the trustees for permitting negroes in Georgia in the attempt to vindicate themselves, they acknowledge that negroes had been introduced many years before and employed at Augusta in spite of parliament and trustees. Yet during all these years we find not the slightest effort on the part of these worthy officials to enforce the law, but, on the contrary, they concealed as far as possible from the board the fact of the negroes' presence in the colony, though the malcontents had published the fact at least six years before. No sophistry can exonerate these men from a most shameful and willful violation of their trust. They waited for the introduction of negroes to become an actuality; and then plead the impossibility of ridding the province of them and the terrible consequences likely to follow. The trustees, at a meeting held March 17, 1748, ordered to be prepared and sent to President Stephens and his assistants the following "Instruction," viz.:

"That after so many declarations that the introduction and use of negroes in the colony is not only inconsistent with the intention of his Majesty's charter, but also directly contrary to an express act approv'd by his Majesty in council in the year 1735 for the year 1735, for prohibiting the Importation and use of negroes; declaring the meaning and intention of the said charter; the trustees are surpris'd any expectation of them can yet remain at Savannah and in other parts of the colony; and therefore it must be, and is upon that foundation, a resolution of the trustees never to permit the introduction of negroes into the colony of

Georgia, as the danger which must arise from them in a frontier town is so evident ; and as the people who continue to clamor for negroes declare that the colony can never succeed without the use of them, 'tis evident they don't intend by their own Industry to contribute to its success, and must therefore rather hinder than promote it, the trustees therefore require it may be signified to all the Inhabitants of the colony, that if any of them persist in declaring they cannot succeed without negroes, it would be of service to the colony, as well as themselves, for them to retire into any other Province where they will be freely allowed the use of negroes."

January 10, 1749, another "Representation," signed by President Stephens, his four assistants, and many of the inhabitants of Savannah, and sealed with the town seal, was presented to the trustees ; also a letter from the president and assistants, setting forth several restrictions and regulations under which they pray that negroes may be introduced.

This "Representation" was considered by the board May 17, 1749, seven members being present. It was

"*Resolved*, That the trustees do agree with the Resolutions which the board of trustees came to yesterday upon the said letter and Representation. Resolved, That the Earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. Vernon, Mr. Chandler, Mr. Thomas Tower, Mr. Hooper, & Mr. Lloyd be a committee for preparing an Act to be laid before His Majesty in council for repealing the Act for rendering the colony of Georgia more defensible by prohibiting the importation and use of black slaves or negroes into the same, which was made in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-five, and for permitting the importation and use of them in the colony under proper restrictions and regulations."

The letter of Stephens and his assistants asserted that "abundance of people had applied to them for grants of land in Georgia, and numbers of negroes had been introduced into the province, and that they had taken methods to drive the said negroes out of the province but ineffectually, and that any further attempts to put the Act against negroes in execution would, in their apprehension, dispeople the colony, and giving reasons why they hop'd the trustees might be induc'd to permit them in the province under restrictions and regulations."

The game was up. After more than sixteen years of opposition the trustees had been beaten, largely by the treachery of their own officials who had all the time been in sympathy with the enemies of the board. But what could they do? All the other colonies were slave ; a large part of their own was disaffected and defying their laws ; the strong hand of Oglethorpe had not been felt in Georgia since 1743 ; parliament had

refused appropriations chiefly because of the non-admission of negroes ; New England cupidity was busy on the ocean between Africa and the colonies importing thousands of the poor heathen,—we wonder that the trustees held out so long.

Had they never permitted other immigrants than foreign Protestants and Highlanders, the prohibition of negroes would doubtless have remained in force until the Revolution. After that time the Carolina and Virginia planters would doubtless have crossed the Savannah with their negroes, since for several decades there was no free territory, and the general result, so far as it relates to our own times, would probably not have been materially changed.

July 7, 1749, Secretary Martyn writes to President Stephens and the assistants giving the regulations which the trustees had adopted in regard to the admission of negroes. These were nearly identical with those proposed from Savannah, only a few deemed "absolutely necessary" being added by the board.

The substance of these regulations was as follows :

First. That on account of the colony's exposed and frontier condition, a negro owner must keep for every four male negroes above the age of fourteen one white male servant between twenty and twenty-five years of age, and for every additional four negroes another white male servant ; the owner's sons not to be reckoned among the white servants. Neglect or refusal for twelve months to provide such white servants forfeited from the owner £10 sterling for every negro above the number thus provided for, and £5 sterling monthly for further neglect.

Second. No artificer could take a negro as an apprentice, nor any planter let out a negro to another planter to be employed otherwise than in cultivating the plantations of the province.

Third. Owners of negroes should not have unlimited power over them.

Fourth. Registration must be made of all negroes born or sold in or imported into Georgia ; no sale to be valid without such registration. The registers must be examined at least annually by juries, and reported to the magistrates.

Fifth. A quarantine must be established at proper places, to prevent the spread of contagious diseases from negroes imported by sea.

Sixth. No master was to oblige or suffer his negroes to work on the Lord's day, but he must permit or oblige them to attend at sometime on that day for instruction in the Christian religion, which some Protestant minister of the gospel should give them ; the minister on all occasions to

inculcate upon the negroes the natural obligation to a married state where they may be cohabiting with female slaves, and not to blaspheme God's name by cursing or swearing. No intermarriages between whites and negroes should be permitted. Heavy penalties were prescribed for a white man or woman who should have sexual intercourse with a negro of the opposite sex; the negro was to receive corporal punishment.

Seventh. The trustees being determined that silk raising should be the leading industry of the colony, no grant of land should be made where the requisite number of mulberry trees had not been planted; if planted and not afterwards kept up, the grant should be forfeited and revert to the trust. Therefore, every slave-owner must for every four male negroes keep one female negro skilled in the art of winding silk. Every one hundred acres of land taken must have one thousand mulberry trees, and a like proportion must be made for lesser grants.

Eighth. For the support of certain public works, as the lighthouse, church repairs, prisons, wharfs, support of the clergy and of the civil officers, the trustees order that an import duty be laid upon negroes, and an annual per capita tax thereafter, to be paid into the hands of proper officers for the trust. The colonists may consider the amount of this duty and transmit their opinion to the trustees under the seal of the colony.

Such were the regulations under which slavery was admitted and Georgia ceased to be a free colony—a distinction to which no other English-American colony could aspire.

Could those men who so loudly clamored for negroes have raised the veil from the next century and a half, would they not have started back in horror from the spectacle of blood and woes in which the introduction of negroes was to involve their unborn children? For these descendants a thousand problems, yet unsolved, northern greed and southern avarice were preparing, and with a recklessness as to consequences truly amazing. Upon north and south alike must rest the responsibility for the negro's presence here. What questions, social, political, ethnical, remain to be solved! How pregnant with vital consequences for the south and for the nation seems the great womb of the future! Partisan bitterness may aggravate the wounds of the past, and render their healing impossible; but it can do nothing toward solving the mighty problem which confronts us. All the wisdom, philanthropy, virtue, and patriotism of the nation will be needed for the task.

Meanwhile, in ever-increasing grandeur, before generations yet to be, will loom up the noble character of Georgia's great founder, the illustrious Oglethorpe. Maligned by foes—some of them of his own household—

misunderstood even by friends, this noblest of all America's colonizers, disappointed and calumniated, at last found it necessary to quit the colony he loved so well, and never lived to see posterity do justice to his philanthropic motives nor to his great labors and achievements in behalf of the only free colony established by England west of the Atlantic.

APPENDIX

Of course the regulations under which negroes were admitted were soon practically abolished. It does not appear, indeed, that any effort was made to enforce most of them. July 19, 1750, President Stephens and his assistants report: "By an exact list taken this month it appears that there are in this Province three hundred and forty-nine working negroes, namely, two hundred and two men and one hundred and forty-seven women besides children too young to labour."

Pastor Zouberbuhler of Savannah, December 20, 1750, writes to Secretary Martyn an account of the religious destitution at that place; but he says: "I have the pleasure to see many negroes decently join our service. . . . Our school in Savannah at present consists of forty-one children and ought to increase to many more, if the masters of slaves would show a greater concern to have their young negroes instructed and brought up in the knowledge and fear of God. In expectance of which, as well as for the greater benefit and improvement of the whites, I have desired the society to send me a quantity of Bibles, testaments, psalters, primers, Lord Bishop of Man's Essay towards an Instruction of the Indians, and some other useful and pious tracts, as the society shall think proper, and to recommend them to the care of Mr. Verelst." This would seem to indicate that negroes and whites were taught together in the sabbath instruction given in that day by the Church—a singular circumstance!

Soon a question arose as to the import duty upon negroes: Was it to be levied upon all brought into the colony, or only upon those imported direct from Africa? The Georgia assembly decided for the latter; the president and assistants, for the former; but the latter officials thought the duty should be suspended for awhile until more immigrants should arrive, as the Georgians were too poor to buy negroes direct from Africa, for the whole annual produce of the colony (deer-skins excepted) barely paid the planters' necessary family expenses.

Now, too, loud entreaties began to be sent to the trustees to renew or continue their charter, which must soon expire, otherwise "the prospect is gloomy and affecting and our condition must be most deplorable."

It is really amusing to hear the piteous wails of these malcontents,

who for more than twelve years had been unceasing in traducing the government of the trustees, in slandering their agents—especially the brave Oglethorpe—in seeking to defeat every measure inaugurated by the benevolence of those men who at great expense had founded and cherished the colony—these same complainants living meanwhile chiefly upon the board's bounty—now, at last, when that bounty seems likely to be withdrawn, supplicating for its continuance. Republics may be ungrateful, but what ingratitude ever surpassed that of these pensioners toward their benefactors? Many of them had been picked up from the almshouses of London and Westminster, had been provided for and carried across the Atlantic, had had lands allotted to them—not at first in fee simple, it is true, but even this difficulty was soon removed—had been fed from the trustees' stores for years "on the charity," had received bounties and rewards on the little which they produced, and had always been most patiently cared for; yet in return had lifted up the heel against their benefactors, and had busily striven to thwart their cherished designs. No wonder the trustees regretted having ever sent any other emigrants than foreign Protestants to Georgia. That the trustees made mistakes in their policy, who will pretend to deny; yet what other colony can show such unselfish philanthropy on the part of its founders?

But the trustees had had enough. They did not even wait until the expiration of their charter; but one year in advance (1752), by permission of his Majesty, they surrendered it and gave over their weary task. In their petition to the king (August, 1751) to be permitted to surrender the charter, they give Georgia's population at above one thousand seven hundred whites and about four hundred negroes.

In 1752 the Dorchester immigrants, more recently from South Carolina, more remotely from New England, arrived and established themselves in what is now Liberty county. These were computed at two hundred and eighty whites and five hundred and sixty-six negroes. In May, 1753, the committee appointed for the purpose listed two thousand three hundred and eighty-one whites and one thousand and sixty-six blacks in the colony, but report that the list is not complete.

Georgia in 1754 passed under the immediate government of a royal governor appointed by the crown. Governor Reynolds, the first of these, writes December 5, 1754, to the board of trade, that more troops are needed on the southern border, "since St. Augustine is so near that negroes often desert thither both from Georgia and Carolina, being encouraged by the Spaniards."

Another trouble arose: The Altamaha had been regarded as a kind

of southern frontier for the British possessions. Reynolds writes in April, 1755, that numbers of settlers were crossing that stream and establishing themselves outside of Georgia, "to lead a kind of lawless life." Chief among these were Edmund Gray's miserable Quakers, formerly from the "back of Virginia," but more recently from about Augusta. These having settled south of the Altamaha lived like Indians, by hunting; and they kept the planters in constant apprehension of losing their negroes and cattle through the depredations of these marauders.

The introduction of negroes also introduced an immense and ever-increasing body of statutes, general and local, into Georgia's code. At first many of these related to the escaping of negroes to the Spaniards who still held St. Augustine. Some of these laws would be regarded with horror by Georgians of the present day, though not more cruel than laws relating to like cases in other colonies.

A close patrol system was established as absolutely necessary for the safety of the province, and the greatest caution was exercised to prevent insurrections or plots. At the same time it was provided that negroes whose fidelity had been tried and approved might be drilled and armed in case of invasion to meet the enemy.

In 1763 Florida was ceded by Spain to England, and thenceforward the laws pertaining to negroes refugeeing to that province became null, and St. Augustine, so long the nightmare of the Southern colonies, now meekly crouched under the lion of Britain.

The negro population of Georgia has never been in excess of the white, as was the case in Carolina, and the quondam dread of the negro as a wild barbarian and an alien savage gradually passed away. Georgia became the native land of its dark as well as of its white inhabitants, and both would now be loath to leave it. The negro became part of his master's family, priding himself upon its name and reputation scarcely less than did the heirs to the estate. From a heathen he became civilized and Christianized; and after a hundred years he exhibited to the world the unexampled spectacle of a slave toiling for and caring for his master's unprotected family, while the master himself was struggling upon distant battle-fields to prevent the bursting of the fetters which were to assure the negro's perpetual bondage.

H. A. Scamp.

KINGS, PRESIDENTS, AND GOVERNORS OF GEORGIA

1732-1889

1. George II. By whom the charter was sanctioned in 1732 for the establishment of the colony of Georgia in America. The projected colony was named in honor of this reigning monarch of England. John, Lord Viscount Percival, first earl of Egmont, was selected as the first president of the common council of the trustees.

2. James Edward Oglethorpe. Special agent of the trustees in the colonization, *de facto* civil and military governor of the province, and subsequently appointed general and commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in Georgia and Carolina, 1732-1743.

3. William Stephens. President of the colony, 1743-1751.

4. Henry Parker. President of the colony, 1751-1753.

5. Patrick Graham. President of the colony, 1753-1754.

6. Captain John Reynolds. First royal governor of the province, 1754-1757.

7. Henry Ellis. Second royal governor of the province, 1757-1760.

8. Sir James Wright. Third royal governor of the province, 1760-1782.

9. George III. Proclaimed king in Savannah in February, 1761.

10. James Habersham. Acting royal governor of the province in 1771, during the absence of Sir James Wright.

11. William Ewen. President of the council of safety, and, *virtute officii*, president of republican Georgia in 1775.

12. Archibald Bulloch. President and commander-in-chief of republican Georgia in 1776. By him was the Declaration of Independence promulgated in Savannah on the 10th of August, 1776.

13. Button Gwinnett. President and commander-in-chief of republican Georgia in 1777.

14. Jonathan Bryan. At one time acting president and commander-in-chief of republican Georgia in 1777.

15. John Adam Treutlen. First republican governor of Georgia, 1777.

16. John Houstoun. Republican governor of Georgia, 1778, and again elected governor of Georgia in 1784.

17. John Wereat. President of the executive council and *de facto* republican governor of Georgia, 1779.

18. George Walton. Elected republican governor of Georgia by the assembly which convened in Augusta in November, 1779.

19. Richard Howley. Elected republican governor of Georgia, January 4, 1780.

20. George Wells. President of council and *de facto* governor of Georgia during the absence of Governor Howley in attendance upon the continental congress, 1780.

21. Stephen Heard. President of council and *de facto* governor of Georgia in 1780.

22. Myrick Davies. President of council and *de facto* governor of Georgia, 1781.

23. Nathan Brownson. Elected governor of Georgia, August 16, 1781.

24. John Martin. Elected governor of Georgia in January, 1782. It was his good fortune to behold the successful termination of the Revolutionary struggle and to witness the public recognition of Georgia as a sovereign commonwealth.

25. Lyman Hall. Elected governor of Georgia in January, 1783.

26. Samuel Elbert. Elected governor of Georgia in 1785.

27. Edward Telfair. Elected governor of Georgia in 1786.

28. George Matthews. Elected governor of Georgia in 1787.

29. George Handley. Elected governor of Georgia in 1788.

30. George Walton. Governor of Georgia in 1789.

31. Edward Telfair. Governor of Georgia, 1790-1793.

32. George Matthews. Governor of Georgia, 1794-1795.

33. Jared Irwin. Governor of Georgia, 1796-1797.

34. James Jackson. Governor of Georgia, 1798-1801. He had been, on a former occasion, elected governor, but declined to serve on the score of his youth and inexperience.

35. David Emanuel. Governor of Georgia, 1801.

36. Josiah Tattnall. Governor of Georgia, 1801-1802.

37. John Milledge. Governor of Georgia, 1802-1806.

38. Jared Irwin. Governor of Georgia, 1806-1809.

39. David B. Mitchell. Governor of Georgia, 1809-1813.

40. Peter Early. Governor of Georgia, 1813-1814.

41. David B. Mitchell. Governor of Georgia, 1815-1817.

42. William Rabun. Governor of Georgia, 1817-1818.

43. Matthew Talbot. Governor of Georgia, 1818-1819.

44. John Clarke. Governor of Georgia, 1820-1822.

45. George M. Troup. Governor of Georgia, 1823-1827.

46. John Forsyth. Governor of Georgia, 1827-1829.

47. George R. Gilmer. Governor of Georgia, 1829-1831.
48. Wilson Lumpkin. Governor of Georgia, 1831-1835.
49. William Schley. Governor of Georgia, 1835-1837.
50. George R. Gilmer. Governor of Georgia, 1837-1839.
51. Charles J. McDonald. Governor of Georgia, 1839-1843.
52. George W. Crawford. Governor of Georgia, 1843-1847.
53. George W. Towns. Governor of Georgia, 1847-1851.
54. Howell Cobb. Governor of Georgia, 1851-1852.
55. Herschel V. Johnson. Governor of Georgia, 1853-1856.
56. Joseph E. Brown. Governor of Georgia, 1857-1865.
57. James Johnson. Provisional Governor of Georgia, 1865.
58. Charles Jones Jenkins. Governor of Georgia, 1865-1868.
59. Thomas H. Ruger. Military Governor of Georgia, 1868.
60. Rufus B. Bullock. Governor of Georgia, 1868-1871.
61. Benjamin Conley. Governor of Georgia, 1871-1872.
62. James M. Smith. Governor of Georgia, 1872-1876.
63. Alfred H. Colquitt. Governor of Georgia, 1876-1882.
64. Alexander H. Stephens. Governor of Georgia, 1882-1883.
65. James S. Boynton. Governor of Georgia, 1883.
66. Henry D. McDaniel. Governor of Georgia, 1883-1886.
67. John B. Gordon. Governor of Georgia, 1886-.

Charles C. Jones, Jr.

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA, August 29, 1889.

SAMUEL L. M. BARLOW

IN MEMORIAM

[*Written for the October Magazine of American History.*]

Oh, bear with me if naught appears
In this my lay but sorrowing tears !
The tribute I must grieving pay
To him whose rounded middle day
Too soon was brought to sudden end—
The steadfast, true, and matchless friend.

Turn back the dial hand of time
To days when thou wert in the prime
Of life's strong hope and eager aim,
And measure all that wealth or fame
Might purchase if thou couldst restore
One who will never cheer thee more ;
Think of the years that now are fled,
Think of the living and the dead,
And say what life has been to thee
All that this one has been to me ;—
Then bear with me my poignant grief,
Which in these sad words finds relief.

In the dark hours of our nation's woe,
I sought his noble heart to know.
I found him undismayed and strong,
Fearful of nothing but the wrong.
Wise was he in all worldly ways,
Yet shunned not blame, nor courted
praise.

He knew the public good to make
His only aim : nor did he stake
His name on desp'rate plans or schemes
That only could, from futile dreams,
End in disastrous issues when
The strife was o'er ; but baffled men
Must learn that this great nation's fate

Is linked in more than senseless hate
Of man for man, or state for state,
And that a common brotherhood
Is key to all the common good.

A large brave soul ! he knew the food
Tasted and felt by doing good.
As the Samaritan once did stay
By the roadside, where wounded lay
The traveler beaten down by thieves,
And shuns him not, and never leaves
Until from out his ample store
He oil and wine doth freely pour,
Then on his own beast lifts him up
And cheers him with the mantling cup,—
So he did daily use his generous mind
In works of mercy to his kind,
Nor asked that man, but only God,
Should know the way he noiseless trod.

In his great stores of truth and skill
Were fountains that with ease could fill
The wants that variously prest
Upon the burdened human breast,
When, worn with care, and sorely vexed,
Men came and told him that, perplexed,
They sought his guidance to unwind
Their tangled skein, which seemed to
bind

Fortune and fame and home and life
In endless bitterness and strife.
He waved his wand, he knew his power ;
Like a magician, in the hour

When all stood mute in blank despair,
 He made their passions fleet to air,
 And doubt, distrust, and fear dispelled,
 And all their warring angers quelled;
 Brought out the right, secured the end,
 And turned each foe into a friend.

The pleader's jargon he forbore;
 He dealt not in their tedious lore,
 Nor played the sophist's specious part,
 Or used the rhetorician's art,
 But in the wisdom of an honest soul
 He knew how tempers to control,
 And make men kindlier feel and live,
 Their hate forget, their wrongs forgive.
 Whence had he his consummate skill,
 That wrought out good from seeming ill?

So wisely did he serve the general weal,
 His fruit the urchins did not steal.
 Although 'twas not the law's stern voice
 That made them honest: 'twas their
 choice.

The tramp did not within his open gate
 Intrude, although the hour was late
 In the dark watches of the night;
 Nor did the poacher, shunning light,
 Roam through his grounds the game to
 find

For which he had a craving mind.
 The beggar from his door was never sent
 Without an alms, or else one went
 To learn if that poor soul could gain
 A pittance for his hunger's pain;
 If not, to give the right relief
 For every ill, in season brief.
 Sickness and want and every sorrow
 Were by his bounty, ere the morrow,
 With rapid thought and generous hand,
 Sought out by him throughout the land,
 Where in his wide beneficence
 His gifts and help he did dispense.

All blessed and trusted his great heart,
 And hers who with him bore a part
 In that unnoticed work which did secure
 Unequaled love from all their poor.
 Nor did this bounteous, noble pair
 Omit the griefs and woes to share
 Which by their presence they could
 heal;

But often would they quiet steal
 Where, prostrate by a painful lot,
 The sufferer lay in lonely cot,
 And soothing words would kindly speak,
 Bringing all needed things to help the
 weak.

Oh, think not of the mantle, wide or
 scant,

That charity to those who want
 Is said to cover o'er our sin,
 Nor yet of that which doth begin
 At our own homes; but reverence men
 And women who abroad do go,
 Without vainglory or a show,
 Not thinking how that they can win
 A cloak for any fault or sin;
 And thank thy God such souls are given
 As ministering angels out of heaven.

About Ben Adhem's name led all the rest
 On the bright record of the blest,
 Because he loved his fellow-men.
 But he, of whom my feeble pen
 Now tells of what was in my ken,
 Had equal love for large and small
 Of the dumb creatures, whom did call
 Our great progenitor by the name—
 As each one summoned meekly came—
 Which God Almighty him did give
 For those that had been made to live.
 Of these he had a chosen few
 Who well his kindly nature knew;
 Mute beings they, who showed their love
 By faithful service, which did move

His heart and gladdened all his days,
And filled his soul with grateful praise
Of the Creator's wondrous ways.

No fowler's gun on his domain
Gave to the birds or death or pain,
Though no man-traps were hidden there
The sportsman's footsteps to ensnare.
'Twas only that it was well known
He cherished lives which there had
grown,

And willed not that alarm or fright
Should put the feathered tribes to flight.
They chirped their songs about his
feet,

They skipped across his path to meet
His loving eye, his aspect sweet.
Fearless of harm, and free as air,
They builded, loved, each mated pair;
And if their tender lives extended
When from the South their way they
wended,

After bleak winter's ice and snow
Had melted in the sun's new glow,
They came again, on rapid wing,
To build and love and gayly sing
In the fresh opening of the spring.

The mastiff at his chamber door
Lay crouched and watching on the floor,
And if a peril ever seemed
To menace him who, slumb'ring,
dreamed,

The deep growl sounded through the
hall,

Nor needed he more help to call.
And when the early rays of morn
Spread o'er the mansion and the lawn,
And with the duties of the day
The master came his debt to pay,
He fed the faithful, loving beast
From his own board's abundant feast.

Deem not these traits of little worth,
But to the world's wide school go forth,
And learn that man and beast can dwell
In close companionship, as well
As in a service unsurpassed
That until death shall surely last.
And then as "even-Christian" one shall
be

Buried with due solemnity,
Such as befits the longest liver,
Whom God has made the natural giver
Of what the brutes do sorely need,
As in dear Nature's book we read.
For he was one who thought that they,
Though knowing not to speak or pray,
Might see the resurrection day:
As great Agássiz often said,
When thinking on the countless dead,
He saw how Reason held her sway
In brains that had a short-lived day,
As well as those that here could stay
While man might count his four-score
years
In happiness, or else in tears.

The steeds that willing champed the bit
Knew that by Nature's law 'twas fit
That they should be both strong and
fleet,

Their master's pleasure quick to meet.
They stamped the ground before his
door,

Restless to serve him whom they bore;
Then over hill and plain they flew,
Nor weariness nor slackness knew;
And when the far-off shining light
Beckon'd their lord, at fall of night,
To hall and hearth and home so bright,
They strained each stalwart limb and
nerve

In natural fealty to serve.
Soon, as they stood, their friendly neigh

Told plainly, in their simple way,
 Their task was ended for the day,
 And that the morrow's sun would see
 The same unbought fidelity.
 The learn'd may of blind instinct tell ;
 But one who sees and reasons well
 Knows there's a potent secret spell,
 That Nature's God has wisely taught
 To transcend all of conscious thought
 And all that discipline has wrought.

When such as know not what it is to die,
 Nor understand in aught the reason why,
 Lose the fond care of their best human
 friend,
 And all seems strangely, darkly at an
 end,
 Why may not we have faith that yet
 again,
 Where there shall be no death or pain,
 They who were here in love and service
 tied
 Shall in like bonds be there once more
 allied ?

Yet other kingdoms he explored,
 Nor aught in Nature he ignored.
 From 'neath the Tropic's burning sun,
 From the cold North, where, quickly
 done,
 The day goes down when scarce begun ;
 From distant climes and soils he brought
 The floral products, for his thought
 Of what the Maker did for man
 By the creation's mighty plan—
 Unfolded when the world began—
 Embracing tree and flower and fruit,
 To please the eye, the palate suit.
 He knew their cognate tribes so well,
 He could their various hist'ry tell ;
 But gathered all to see how fair
 The wonders of creation are,

And not to show botanic learning
 To those who were the less discerning.
 And often to sick chambers went
 Rare gifts, so kindly made and sent,
 The fruits to cool the raging heat,
 The flowers the weary eye to meet,
 And make the day the brighter seem
 For such a happy, cheerful gleam—
 As when the sun doth throw a beam
 Of light within a darkened cell
 Where some lone prisoner doth dwell.

How well he learned the finest art
 Of giving, so as to impart
 New courage to the stricken heart !
 When once in early youth he lay
 Oppressed by fever many a day,
 One placed some violets near his bed—
 A trifling gift, yet it to sequels led.
 For in all fortunes, good and bad,
 Whether that friend were bright or sad,
 He ne'er forgot those little flowers,
 Or the fresh odor that for hours
 Diffused through all his languid powers
 New life and strength ; but ever gave
 Strong, manly help, and oft did save
 The sinking fortunes of that thoughtful
 one

Who the slight act had kindly done.
 And ever thence he ne'er forgot,
 In lofty hall or humble cot,
 To do the like for others, too,
 To whom, or rich or poor, he surely knew
 It would fresh hope and gladness lend
 To see the gifts that he could send.

In the great heart of which I mourning
 tell,
 I had a place, which makes my sorrow with
 anguish swell
 When comes the bitter thought that none
 Will so more give his smile to me.

I lose his voice—nor grasp his hand,
 In all this darkened earthly land.
 Yet hold! There is another realm,
 more fair,
 Beyond the regions of the lower air.
 When I ere long am ferried o'er
 The flood that he has crossed before,
 He'll stand upon that farther shore
 And greet me as he did of yore.
 Then to Elysian fields we'll stray
 In the full light's eternal day,
 And from the sages' lips be told
 How better far than fame or gold,
 Or aught for which our toiling lives are
 sold,
 Are wisdom's stores and knowledge true.
 Alas! of Wisdom's children now how
 few!
 As Israel's king did once declare
 To Sheba's queen, the rich and fair,
 Who came, from her abundant coffer,
 Gifts of great price to freely offer,
 If she could gain the sacred lore
 That she had never heard or thought
 before.
 The Stagyrite will tell us how
 The good from ill to surely know;—
 And Plato teach us with what ease
 The grand undaunted Socrates
 Did meet blind Athens' fell decree,
 While friends around him grieved to see

That he th' Athenian youth must leave
 Untaught in what they should believe.
 And we shall find how to detect
 The false that glitters—each defect
 That marred our lives in this strange
 scene
 Where truth is but obscurely seen.
 And Dante there to us will tell
 How wandering down to lowest hell,
 With the great Mantuan bard as guide,
 He heard and saw on every side
 The awful secrets of that dread abode;
 And then how happily he found the
 road
 That upward from the regions of the
 dead
 To the pure air and sunshine led.
 Then turning where the Martyrs are
 Seated apart, in places far,
 We shall behold the noble band
 Who in each clime and every land
 Did fight the battle, win the crown,
 And gain the passionless renown.
 Thus in those endless realms of time
 and space,
 We shall together farther trace
 What we on earth had just begun
 To learn when mortal life was done;
 And work be given us to prepare,
 Under the Master's eye and care,
 For boundless acquisition there.

G. T. C.

RICHFIELD SPRINGS, July 20, 1889.

Geo. Ticknor Curtis.

THE SUBJECT OF OUR FRONTISPIECE

The readers of this magazine are familiar with the interesting career of the great lawyer, who was also the many-sided, public-spirited citizen, whose portrait forms the frontispiece to the current issue. It has been said of the late Mr. Barlow that his gifts, acquirements, and activities were so numberless and varied that it was difficult to classify him; but it is safe to predict that he will be longest remembered through his historical scholarship and the critical taste and judgment with which he brought together one of the most extensive, rare, admirably selected, and valuable libraries of Americana on this continent. A few years since he edited in connection with Henry Harrisse a work of exceeding importance to all who would understand the biography and bibliography of the discoverer of America, entitled "Notes on Columbus." His wide learning in the domain of history, obtained through close study aided by a powerful memory, was unquestionably the secret of many of his most brilliant successes in life. He was a very prominent and unique figure in the legal profession of the last few decades, an expert in business affairs, influential in politics, conspicuous in the social world, and a generous supporter of every public enterprise. As a lawyer he was rarely seen in court, and yet he was concerned in more legal contests of magnitude probably than any other member of the bar of his time. He bridged over some of the most difficult transition eras in railroad management and litigation, conducted innumerable cases involving the interests of great corporations and the management of enormous estates, and his dash and sagacity in emergencies rose to the dignity of genius. His mind was stored with rich experiences; he possessed the rare knowledge of knowing what to avoid; and he would seize as if by intuition the essential point of a dispute, and with magnetic force capture and hold the situation, reconciling the contestants and bringing harmony to all. The true story of many of his larger suits would read like veritable fiction.

Samuel Latham Mitchill Barlow was born in Granville, Massachusetts, in 1826, and died at his beautiful Glen Cove country home on Long Island, July 10, 1889. His winter residence was in Madison Square, New York. He was not a seeker after popularity, and yet no citizen of the metropolis for more than a quarter of a century was more popular; he was not a philanthropist in the usual understanding of the term, while few men of wealth ever responded more promptly to calls from th-

victims of privation and disaster, or gave more substantial encouragement and aid to struggling talent of every kind. In an infinite number of ways he revealed the richness and strength of a nature that had in it far more tenderness and sentiment than the world dreamed. He was a member of several clubs, lavish in private hospitalities, and at his dinners and entertainments he was a fascinating talker and a most charming host.

It is said that Mr. Barlow had for thirty or forty years kept a press copy of almost every important letter that he wrote, whether of business or friendship. His intimate friend, George Ticknor Curtis, whose poetic tribute to his worth graces another page, says: "He wrote with greater rapidity, facility, and accuracy than any person I ever knew. More than fifty years' practice have enabled me to write with some ease to myself, if I have not written with profit to others. But Barlow wrote and transacted business at the same time, and almost at the same instants of time; and he never wrote inaccurately or obscurely, but always in a flowing and correct style, and he rarely changed a word, and did not often revise what he had written. He very seldom dictated anything; it was easier for him to use his pen, and he would have gained no time by dictating. I have many times entered his room, and, sitting down at the end of his writing table, have waited until he should look up from his paper. He did not do so until he had finished the sentence. Then he would look at me with a smile, and without changing his attitude and still keeping his pen poised over the paper he would say: 'How are you—what's the news?' I knew perfectly well that he would not be interrupted, and I said briefly what I came for, and on he would go writing, and answering me between his sentences as they flowed upon the sheet before him. When his letter or note was ended he would sign it, touch his bell, and the clerk would take the original to the press to make the copy in the letter-book, and into the mail went the original without a moment's delay. I have seen him answering a pile of letters in this way that would have required an ordinary man's consideration for hours, and in thirty or forty minutes the whole accumulation would be disposed of. In the mean time I have seen persons come in and speak to him on business, receive replies, always patient, courteous, clear, and to the point, and there was no fretting and no hurry. I have often thought that if he had ever been a minister of state, and he might more than once have been in a President's Cabinet if he would have accepted such a place, he would have despatched business to the greater satisfaction of all who resorted to him than is recorded of any man who has ever held such an office, and have done it all to the great benefit of his country."

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY COLUMBUS

BOSTON AND NEW YORK CELEBRATIONS ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

THE TAMMANY SOCIETY'S ILLUMINATED MONUMENTS

The following account of the brilliant festivals in Boston and New York in honor of the three hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, written by the accomplished historic scholar Dr. George H. Moore of Lenox library, appeared in the *New York Times* of August 4, 1889. It will be current news to many that the famous Tammany society of New York erected an illuminated monument fourteen feet high to Columbus on that memorable occasion in 1792.

"John Quincy Adams, at the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the New York Historical Society in 1844, claimed for Jeremy Belknap of Massachusetts the distinction of having been the founder of the first historical society ever established, and so the author of all such institutions. The fact is, however, that the idea originated with John Pintard of New York, who not only suggested it to Dr. Belknap, but urged it so earnestly that it was put into practical shape in Boston, by the organization of the institution now so well and widely known as the Massachusetts Historical Society, in 1791. Yet there was here in New York before that date an association whose professed design embraced all that is implied in the distinctive name of a historical society, and which had already begun its work of collecting the materials for American history and had established its repository for them under the name of the American Museum. Of that association John Pintard was one of the first members; and it never has had a worthier name on its rolls, in its best days long past crowded with names synonymous with personal integrity and civic virtue, which made those rolls truly rolls of honor.

That association was the Tammany society or Columbian order. There had been more than one society under the patronage of that famous American Indian saint before this organization; and the certificate of John Pintard as a member of the society of the Sons of St. Tammany is No. 1, bearing date at Jersey Camp, the 1st day of May, in the year of our Lord, 1781. The new organization, however, had a wider scope. It was coeval with the government of the United States under the federal constitution, and made its first public appearance and display a few days after

the inauguration of Washington in 1789. It was still the Tammany society, but added in its new departure the title of the Columbian order, to commemorate the '*Novus ordo sæclorum*' which the American states in union had so happily begun.

The name of Columbus, which had been struggling in poetical obscurity for several years before, just then broke out all over the country, and nowhere more conspicuously than in New York, where it found its first place in legislation in 1784. The name and fame of Christopher Columbus resounded throughout the land, and as the third century after his great achievement drew near to its close a keen sense of the world's injustice to the memory of one of the greatest of the sons of man pervaded the whole community. The meagre columns of the contemporary press bear witness to the growing public sentiment, which speedily took definite shape in proposals to celebrate the third centenary of the discovery of America. A writer in a New York journal on the 18th of August, 1792, quotes a Philadelphia paper as saying: 'The 12th of October next will complete three centuries since the immortal Columbus put foot on the new world,' and emphasizing the 'propriety of celebrating the Columbian centuary anniversary.' The same paper two weeks later, August 29, 1792, reports:

'On the 3d of August inst., being precisely three hundred years since the departure of Columbus from Palos, in Spain, a gentleman of Maryland had the corner-stone laid of an obelisk in one of the gardens of a villa near the town of Baltimore, in commemoration of that great undertaking. . . . Suitable inscriptions, on metal tables, are to be affixed to the pedestal of the obelisk on the 12th of next October, etc.'

Abundant prose suggestion and poetical effusion appear on the prolific theme, which was copiously celebrated all over the country.

The earliest formal proposition to celebrate the anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus which I have met with was that of the Rev. Dr. Belknap, the correspondent of Mr. Pintard. It was made in one of the early meetings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, on the 23d of December, 1791, when it was—

'*Voted*, That the consideration of Mr. Belknap's proposal for the celebration of the centenary anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus on the 12th of October, 1492, be postponed to the next meeting, and that the recording secretary notify the absent members accordingly in his next notification.

At the next meeting, on January 31, 1792, a proposal made at a former meeting for celebrating the memorable epoch of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus on the 12th of October, 1492, was considered at the meeting, whereupon it was—

'*Voted*, To celebrate the centenary by a public discourse, and that Mr. Belknap be lesired to prepare for that occasion, and that Mr. Thacher and Mr. Eliot be desired to perform the other parts of the exercise.'

This celebration took place at the meeting-house in Brattle square, Boston, October 23, 1792. Dr. Thacher opened with prayer; Dr. Belknap then delivered his commemorative discourse, followed by prayer 'pertinent to the subject of the day' by the Rev. Mr. Eliot. At one stage of the proceedings an ode written for the occasion was sung, with organ accompaniment.

But although Boston thus has the honor of the first proposal of the kind, her celebration was not the earliest recorded in our history. Her learned scholars, in figuring the difference between old style and new style, made a serious blunder and celebrated the occasion on the wrong day, according to the determination of later chronologists, who declare that the affair should have been set down for the 21st instead of the 23d of October, 1792.

New York availed herself of the opportunity and stepped to the front with the first celebration of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century after that event—on the 12th day of October, 1792. It cannot fail to be interesting to the reader to peruse the details of that celebration as preserved in a contemporary account of the proceedings on that occasion of the Tammany society or Columbian order:

'The 12th inst. [October, 1792], being the commencement of the IVth COLUMBIAN CENTUARY, was observed as a Centuary Festival by the Tammany Society, and celebrated in that stile of sentiment which distinguishes this social and patriotic institution.

In the evening a monument was erected to the memory of Columbus, ornamented by *transparency*, with a variety of suitable devices. This beautiful exhibition was exposed for the gratification of public curiosity some time previous to the meeting of the Society.

An elegant oration was delivered by Mr. J. B. Johnson, in which several of the principal events of the life of this remarkable man were pathetically described, and the interesting consequences to which his great achievements had already and must still conduct the affairs of mankind, were pointed out in a manner extremely satisfactory.

During the evening's entertainment, a variety of national amusement was enjoyed. The following toasts were drank:

1. The memory of Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of this New World.
2. May the new world never experience the vices and miseries of the old; and be a happy asylum for the oppressed of all nations and of all religions.
3. May peace and liberty ever pervade the United Columbian States.
4. May this be the last Centuary Festival of the Columbian Order that finds a slave on this globe.
5. Thomas Paine.
6. The Rights of Man.
7. May the 4th Centuary be as remarkable for the improvement and knowledge of the rights of man as the first was for discovery and the improvement of nautic science.

8. LaFayette and the French nation.
9. May the liberty of the French rise superior to all the efforts of Austrian despotism.
10. A Burgoyning to the Duke of Brunswick.
11. May the deliverers of America never experience that ingratitude from their Country which Columbus experienced from his King.
12. May the Genius of Liberty, as she has conducted the sons of Columbia with glory to the commencement of the 4th century, guard their fame to the end of time.
13. The DAY.
14. WASHINGTON, the deliverer of the new world.

Several moral and patriotic songs, inculcating the *Love of Country* and of *Freedom*, were gratifying in the highest degree. Among others the following Ode was composed and sung on the occasion :

ODE.

Sung at the Great Wigwam of the TAMMANY SOCIETY, or COLUMBIAN ORDER, on the celebration of the 3d CENTUARY of the Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus on the 12th October, 1492.

Ye sons of freedom, hail the day
That brought a second world to view ;
To great Columbus' mem'ry pay
The praise and honor justly due.

Chorus—Let the important theme inspire
Each breast with patriotic fire.

Long did Oppression o'er the world
Her sanguine banners wide display ;
Dark Bigotry her thunders hurl'd,
And Freedom's domes in ruin lay.
Justice and liberty had flown,
And tyrants call'd the world their own.

Thus Heaven our race with pity viewed,
Resolved bright freedom to restore,
And, Heaven-directed, o'er the flood,
Columbus found her on this shore.
O'er the blest land, with rays divine,
She shone, and shall forever shine.

Hark ! from above the great decree
Floats in celestial notes along :
"Columbia ever shall be free !"
Exulting thousands swell the song.
Patriots revere the great decree :
Columbia ever shall be free.

Here shall th' enthusiastic love
Which freemen to their country owe,

Enkindled, glorious, from above,
In every patriot bosom glow.

Inspire the heart, the arm extend,
The rights of freedom to defend.

Secure forever, and entire,
The *Rights of Man* shall here remain :
No nobles kindle discord's fire,
Nor despots load with slavery's chain.
Here shall th'oppress'd find sweet repose,
Since none but tyrants are our foes.

Here commerce shall her sails extend,
Science diffuse her kindest ray,
Religion's purest flame ascend,
And peace shall crown each happy day.
Thrice favor'd land, by Heaven design'd,
A world of blessings for mankind.

Then while we keep this jubilee
While seated round this awful shrine,
Columbus' deeds our theme shall be,
And liberty, that gift divine.
Let the transporting theme inspire
Each breast with patriotic fire.

The monument is upward of fourteen feet in height, being well illuminated, and resembling black marble. It blends in an agreeable manner a grave and solemn with a brilliant appearance.

At the base a globe appears emerging out of the clouds and chaos, presenting a rude sketch of the once uncultivated coast of America. On its pyramidal post History is seen drawing up the curtain of oblivion, which discovers the four following representations :

First, and on the right side of the obelisk, are presented a commercial port and an expanding ocean. Here Columbus, while musing over the insignia of geometry and navigation, the favorite studies of his youth, is instructed by Science to cross the great Atlantic. She appears in luminous clouds hovering over its skirts; with one hand she presents Columbus with a compass, and with the other she points to the setting sun. Under her feet is seen a sphere, the eastern half of which is made to represent the then known terra-queous globe; the western is left a blank. On the pedestal is the following inscription :

THIS MONUMENT
WAS ERRECTED BY THE
TAMMANY SOCIETY,
OR
COLUMBIAN ORDER,
October 12, M DCC XCII,
TO COMMEMORATE
THE 14TH COLUMBIAN CENTURY,
AN
INTERESTING AND ILLUSTRIOUS
ERA.

On the upper part of the obelisk are seen the arms of Genoa, supported by the beak of a prone eagle.

The second side or front of the monument shows the first landing of Columbus. He is represented in a state of adoration, his followers prostrate as supplicants around him, and a group of American natives at a distance. Historical truth is attended to, and the inscription on the pedestal is as follows :

SACRED
TO THE
MEMORY
OF
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS,
THE DISCOVERER
OF
A NEW WORLD,
OCTOBER 12, 1492.

Above, the arms of Europe and America are blended and supported as on the right side of the monument.

The third or left side exhibits the splendid reception of Columbus by the Court of Spain on his first return from America. He is seated at the right hand of Ferdinand and his illustrious patroness, Isabella. A map of the newly discovered countries, with some of their peculiar productions lying at his feet, distinguish the interesting scene. Above the prone eagle supports the arms of Isabella, and on the pedestal is the following inscription :

COLUMBUS
WAS BORN AT GENOA,
1447;
WAS RECEIVED BY THE COURT OF SPAIN
IN TRIUMPH,
1493;
WAS PUT IN CHAINS BY ITS ORDER
SEPTEMBER, 1500;
DIED AT VALLADOLID,
MAY 20, 1506.

The last scene, exhibited on the rear or fourth side of the obelisk, strongly contrasts with the one just described. Columbus is seen in his chamber pensive and neglected. The chains with which he had been cruelly loaded hang against its bare walls, on which is seen written : "The Ingratitude of Kings." To cheer his declining moments the Genius of Liberty appears before him. The glory which surrounds him seems to illuminate his solitary habitation. The emblems of despotism and superstition are crushed beneath her feet ; and, to intimate the gratitude and respect of posterity, she points to a monument sacred to his memory reared by the Columbian Order. On the pedestal Nature is seen caressing her various progeny ; her tawny offspring seem to mourn over the urn of Columbus.

The upper part of the obelisk is embellished as on the other sides. But the eagle, as an emblem of civil government, is seen no longer prone or loaded with the decorations of heraldry. She soars in an open sky grasping in her talons a scroll inscribed "The Rights of Man."

The 'portable monumental obelisk' thus 'exhibited at the great Wigwag amid the plaudits of the beholders' was subsequently added to the

attractions of Mr. Bowen's Museum and Wax Work, at the Exchange, New York, where the discovery of America was again commemorated on its three hundred and first anniversary, October 12, 1793. It is described as follows in Mr. Bowen's broadside announcement, dated New York, October 10, 1793:

'The Transparent Monument erected by the Tammany Society, on the Evening of the 12th October last, to the Memory of that great and illustrious Man and Navigator, Christopher Columbus, who, at a period of only three hundred and one years past, made known to Man a New World in the West, which we now inhabit: On Saturday next, being the Anniversary of that great Event, this Monument which is placed in the centre of the Hall (and surrounded with four beautiful Female Figures), will be elegantly Illuminated, together with the Museum and Wax Work, for the first Evening: after which it will be continued three Evenings in each week, viz., on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays.

The Doors will be open at Candle-light, and the Exhibition closed at Nine o'clock.'

Of the subsequent fate of this early monument to Columbus I am unable to give any account at this time.

GEORGE H. MOORE "

LENOX LIBRARY, NEW YORK CITY.

ANTIQUITY OF THE TUPPER FAMILY

The recent two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the town of Sandwich, Massachusetts, was productive of many interesting historical and genealogical reminiscences. In a recent number of the *Springfield Republican* the following item appeared :

" A thriving farm on the line of the Cape Cod ship canal, not far from Sagamore, has been in the hands of the Tupper family since it was first settled in 1624. Thus this has passed from father to son through six generations to the present Mr. Tupper, and is doubtless the nearest example we have in America of the entailed estates in England. When the founder of this line, Thomas Tupper, settled on the land, the place was known as Shaum, an Indian village. He was a man of strict business habits, and his first will, still preserved, shows the methods by which property is retained in one family for two hundred and fifty years. It is a clear case of genuine pedigree, with none of the pomp in which it often parades nowadays."

The date, 1624, would seem to be an error, as " Thomas Tupper was one of ten men " to settle Sandwich in 1637. This Tupper family is one of the most ancient in the United States, emigrating originally from Germany. An autograph letter from Martin F. Tupper (in possession of the writer of this article) gives some interesting facts about the Tuppers.

" CINTRA PARK : UPPER
NORWOOD, LONDON, S. E. }
Jan. 14, 1882.

Worthy Sir and indubitably distant Cousin,

In answer to your kind letter written a month ago, I give you these few details respecting our family in the ages that are past. There was a Thuringian magnate of the name of Conrad Von Treffurth, who in 1260, was hailed Von Toppferr—or chief lord—as he was head of several septs of nearly the same name, as Topfer, Toepfern, Tapfer and Tophern ; they had castles at Gros Toepfer and Klein Toepfer near Weimar, and possessed several other large estates. However, being of the Protestant sort and therefore hostile to Charles V. and Philip—as well as Pope Innocent and others preceding—they incurred persecution and the loss of all things for conscience sake ; and are found at Hesse Cassel about 1520, from which three brothers Tupper migrated severally to Sandwich in Sussex, Guernsey, and Chichester ; their names being Robert, Henry, and William. Henry is my direct ancestor, and his second son Peter had a son a clergy-

man of Barbadoes, who is stated by tradition to have migrated to North America: possibly this was your Thomas. Freeman's *History of Massachusetts* will give you ten generations of the Tupper's out there; and besides Sir Charles, there are plenty of prosperous merchants and lawyers of the name, as W^m. Vaughan Tupper of Brooklyn, New York; Samuel Y. Tupper of Charleston, South Carolina; Mason Ferris Tupper of, I think, Buffalo, and others."

Whether Martin Farquhar Tupper's conjecture about Thomas Tupper is correct or not is uncertain. With reference to the Guernsey branch of the Tupper family it is said in De Haviland's *Genealogical Sketches*: "This family, settled in Guernsey since the close of the sixteenth century, has always ranked and been considered among the principal gentry of the island; many of its members have gallantly fought and bled, or otherwise distinguished themselves in the public service; and their arms and crest, granted and registered in England, bear evidence of well-earned augmentation; they are described as follows: Arms: *azure* on a fess engrailed on three wild boars passant, *or*; as many escallops *gules*; on a canton *ermine*, a medal suspended by a chain, bearing the effigies of William and Mary, *gold*. Crest: on a mound *vert* a greyhound *ermine* resting its dexter forepaw on an escutcheon *azure*, thereon the gold medal of William and Mary. The reverse of this medal represents a sea fight, and bears the singular legend of 'Nox Nulla Secuta Est.' "

Among the most distinguished members of the Guernsey branch of the Tupper family may be mentioned: "1st. John Tupper, who, in 1692, conveyed to Admiral Russell, at St. Helen's, the information that the French fleet under Tourville was in the Channel; the celebrated battle of La Hogue was the result. For this patriotic service Mr. Tupper was presented by William and Mary with a massive gold medal and chain, which his descendants are permitted to bear as an honorable augmentation to their arms and crest. 2d. Major-General John Tupper, commander-in-chief of the Royal Marines. He was commandant of a battalion at Bunker Hill, where he was slightly wounded and where the marines, having greatly distinguished themselves, won the laurel which now encircles their device. 3d. Lieutenant Carré Tupper, of H. M. S. *Victory* (Lord Hood's flag-ship), was made lieutenant at just seventeen. After distinguishing himself at the siege of Toulon, in 1793, he was killed at the siege of Bastia, 1794. A monument was erected to Major-General Tupper and his son (Carré) in the church at Chatham. 4th. Peter Carey Tupper, British consul first for Valencia and next for Catalonia, highly distinguished himself in the Peninsular war from 1808 to 1814. His name

appears honorably in Napier's history and in the duke of Wellington's dispatches. In May, 1808, when not quite twenty-four years of age, he was appointed a member of the Supreme Junta of the kingdom of Valencia. In 1816 the king of Spain conferred upon him the title of baron. He had a pension of six hundred pounds a year for his services. 5th. Lieutenant E. William Tupper, of H. M. S. *Sybil*, was mortally wounded, in command of the launch, in action with Greek pirates near Candia, 1826. 6th. Colonel William De Vic Tupper was slain near Talca, Chile, April 17, 1830, aged twenty-nine years." It may be remarked that Lieutenant E. William Tupper and Colonel William De Vic Tupper were nephews of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K. B. "7th. Captain William Le Mesurier Tupper, Twenty-third or Royal Welsh Fusiliers (also colonel in the British Auxiliary Legion in Spain), was mortally wounded at the head of his regiment, near St. Sebastian, May 5, 1836."

From the Guernsey branch there are other distinguished members of the family; but space will permit me to mention only Martin Farquhar Tupper, author of *Proverbial Philosophy* and numerous other works. Martin Farquhar's three daughters have won some reputation in literature. An interesting letter from one of these ladies, Ellen Isabelle Tupper, is in possession of the writer. It is probable that many names of distinguished members of the Tupper family have been omitted, as tradition reports that there were Tupperes among the Cavaliers.

Of the Tupperes in Massachusetts and other parts of the United States much might be written. The following members of the family are not without some claims to distinction: 1st. Thomas Tupper, one of the founders of Sandwich; he was generally known as Captain Tupper; was said to be in favor with the government in 1663; he gave his attention to the Indians in 1658; founded a church near Herring river; was a member of the council of war, a selectman many years, deputy nineteen years, besides giving much of his time to the work of gospelizing the Indians. 2d. Thomas Tupper, junior, married Martha Mayhew, daughter of the governor of Martha's Vineyard. He (Thomas Tupper) was prominent in public affairs. Says an old writer, "The family furnished Sandwich and other places with some worthy characters, some of whom were men of abilities." Thomas Tupper was also a missionary to the Indians. 3d. Samuel Tupper was a representative seven years, and a selectman nineteen years. 4th. Rev. Elisha Tupper was a missionary to the Indians. His "Correspondence with the Commissioners for propagating the gospel among the Indians" has much historical value. Several others of the family were missionaries to the Indians. 5th. General Benjamin Tupper served in

the French and Indian war, was in the battle of Bunker Hill, distinguished himself in an expedition to an island in Boston Harbor, and "was thanked by Washington in general orders." Of this daring act of General (then Major) Tupper it has been said that "Jefferson saw in it the adventurous genius and intrepidity of the New Englanders, and the British admiral said, that no one act in the siege caused so much chagrin in London as the destruction of the lighthouse." He was also at Saratoga and Valley Forge, was prominent in suppressing Shay's rebellion, and one of the pioneers of Ohio. His son Anselm "was the first school-teacher in Marietta, and was a fine classical scholar, a good mathematician and something of a poet;" General Edward W. Tupper, another son of General Benjamin Tupper, was also a distinguished man.

In passing it may be remarked that Point Tupper in Canada was named after Mr. F. B. Tupper, and that the Tupper Lakes of New York received their name from the fact that Anselm Tupper was drowned in one of them. 6th. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., is the son of Rev. Charles Tupper, a famous linguist. "He is a graduate of Acadia College" and of Edinburgh university. He has been member of parliament, minister of railways, minister of finance, Canadian high commissioner, and a member of the fishery commission. He has also been knighted and made a baronet by the Queen of England. 7th. Hon. Charles Hibbert Tupper, son of the preceding, is a graduate of the Harvard Law School, and is now the youngest member of the Dominion cabinet. 8th. Rev. H. A. Tupper, D.D., is secretary of the Southern Baptist Missionary Society. 9th. Rev. H. M. Tupper, D.D., is president of Shaw university, Raleigh, North Carolina. 10th. Edith Sessions Tupper is the author of a novel, *By Whose Hand?* Rev. S. T. Rand, LL.D., of Nova Scotia, and at one time master of at least twelve languages, says: "Whatever talent I have been blessed with, I have inherited from my mother, Deborah Tupper."

Among the families into which the Tupperes have married are those of Mayhew, Gibbs, Clark, Wheaton, Smith, Morton, Dunkin, Basset, Ellis, West, Perry, Gifford, Faunce, Nye, Jackson, Wood, Willis, Davis, Lord, White, Allen, Binney, Van Buskirk, Bill, Barker and others.

Rev. H. M. Tupper, D.D., says: "It may be a matter of interest to the descendants to learn that the old Tupper mansion is still standing in Sandwich, Massachusetts, owned and occupied by one bearing the family name, Russell Ellis Tupper."

Frederic Allison Tupper.

SHELburnE FALLS, MASSACHUSETTS.

FINANCIAL CONDITION OF NEW YORK IN 1833

In 1833 the French government under Louis Philippe employed M. Sauluier, a literary man well known at the time, to prepare a series of articles to prove that a republic was more expensive than a monarchy. General Lafayette urged Mr. J. Fenimore Cooper, then living in Paris, and with whom he was on intimate terms, to answer these articles of M. Sauluier, which were full of errors, though claiming great accuracy. The following letter is one of the series written by Mr. Cooper at the request of General Lafayette, and published after translation, in the *National* newspaper.

“Monsieur

M. Sauluier lays great stress on the debts of the states, and gives what he evidently thinks a correct account of one, which luckily is that of my own state, New York. M. Sauluier says that the governor of New York names in his message \$8,055,645 as the present debt of the state. This is very true, but haste has prevented M. Sauluier from ascertaining the circumstances of that debt. The governor of New York himself greatly qualifies the fact, though, as his message is addressed to those who were familiar with the real state of the case, he limits his explanations to all that it was necessary to say at that moment.

New York has no debt except that which arises from money borrowed to complete her canals. This money cannot be repaid, by the conditions of the loans, for a few years to come, except as the *rentes* may be bought in the market, and consequently it remains a charge on paper until it can be paid. When this money was borrowed the population of New York but a little exceeded a million, and as so heavy an enterprise in so small a community appeared hazardous, the lenders required especial securities for the repayment of their money. New York is the owner of numerous salt springs, which are rented to the public on condition that he who makes a bushel of salt from the water shall pay 12½ cents, or about 70 *centimes*, rent to the state. This rent is, in common parlance, called a ‘duty,’ but it is strictly a rent for the use of the water, since any one who owns a spring of this nature can make salt without paying these 12½ cents, or salt made anywhere else is not liable to the exaction. Now the proceeds of these salt springs, the receipts of the canals themselves, and

certain other revenues of no great account, were pledged as security for the canal loans. All this I have stated before, and I regret the necessity of being compelled to state it again. M. Sauluier says the receipts of these canals alone amount to more than 5,000,000 of francs. There is another evidence of haste. By more than 5,000,000 we understand between that sum and 6,000,000. Now the receipts of these canals were between 6 and 7,000,000 of francs the last year; the governor himself, in the message so often quoted by M. Sauluier, saying: 'The whole amount of tolls received upon the canals up to the time of closing the navigation is 1,220,423 dollars,' which, according to M. Sauluier's last valuation of the dollar, is 6,625,533 francs. These particulars are important where so much rests on statements for which the evidence is not given. But this is not all that the governor says. He expressly states the fund reserved from former receipts to be already so large as to reduce the debt in effect to 5,817,447 dollars. The Canal Commissioners, in their report, estimate the excess of this year's receipts, over and above the interest of the debt, the repairs, and all other charges, at 915,958 dol. 20 cents. At this rate of increase alone five years will raise the sum reserved to the amount of the debt. But the receipts are on the increase with the development of the resources of the country, while it is probable the cost of repairs will be diminished. Here then is this formidable debt already virtually paid by a vast excess of receipts over its interest, and in a fair way of being extinguished even in its nominal form. The interest of this Canal debt is stated by the Canal Commissioners to be 379,586 dol. 80 cents, for the year 1832, and the receipts of the entire canal fund for the same period to be 1,550,025 dollars. I wish M. Sauluier owed a debt so circumstanced, and that I owed another. But this is not all. New York owes legally 8,055,648 dollars. In this particular M. Sauluier is right. Should an earthquake destroy 500 miles of canal, should salt springs that have existed certainly more than a century suddenly grow dry, and should the other property pledged become valueless, New York would certainly be bound to supply other resources to meet this debt; but I think it would not be difficult for her to enter any European market, saddled with these chances even, and to sell her canals and the property pledged to the repayment of this debt, without difficulty. Let us calculate: There is a canal in a flourishing country, communicating between the Great Lakes and the Ocean, with a town at one end of 230,000 souls, that doubles its population every 15 or 20 years, and with towns innumerable springing up on its banks, and a population that has increased from 400,000 to 2,000,000 in forty years, and a territory that can contain with convenience 6 or 8,000,000 of souls. 'What will you give

for this canal, M. de Rothschild?' 'What are its present net receipts, M. Cooper?' 'Deducting the repairs, and the cost of collections, etc., etc., it is estimated to net this year 845,520 dol^s, and this estimate is considerably below the actual receipts of the last year.' 'At 5 per cent. this will be the interest of about 17,000,000 of dol^s, M. Cooper, and taking the chances of increase, I can give that amount.' 'Well, here we have some salt mines to dispose of—they produce already 150,000 dol. a year?' M. de Rothschild, to oblige me, I doubt not will take them for 3,000,000 more. Now let us make a calculation :

Sale of canals,	17,000,000 dol ^s
D ^o of salt mines,	3,000,000
Money on hand as per Gov ^t . message,	2,238,198
	<hr/>
	22,238,198
Deduct debt,	8,055,647
	<hr/>
Balance in favour of New York,	14,182,551 dollars

I need scarcely say that, under the circumstances, New York would not probably sell the property in question for double the amount named. It will be seen that the *canals*, and not the *citizens*, pay the interest of this nominal debt, a debt which even now brings in such happy results.

J. Fenimore Cooper."

J. Fenimore Cooper

COOPERSTOWN, NEW YORK.

A TRIP TO NIAGARA IN 1835

MISS CAROLINE SPENCER'S JOURNAL

NEW YORK, *July* 16, 1835. }
On board Steamboat. }

Adieu, New York ! adieu all that I regret leaving behind ! I shall have a month's enjoyment before I again tread your dusty streets or greet the faces of those I love. These were my last thoughts as I watched the wharfs of the city fast receding from my view, when, after they were entirely lost sight of, I retired to the lower deck and began to meditate on a grand commencement to my journal. However, the great concourse of passengers put all thoughts of journalizing out of my head, and I soon found sufficient amusement in noticing the variety of characters thus drawn within so small a circle. After breakfast Miss Watson and myself took our seats on deck, which we did not leave for the whole day, so completely enchanted were we with the scenery of our noble river, which may be seen the hundredth time and yet give renewed pleasure. We reached Albany about seven o'clock in the evening, and after disposing of our baggage in the railroad-house, proceeded to Uncle Ames's in South Pearl street. We were very much disappointed in finding that uncle and aunt had gone to the Springs, as uncle is very much out of health ; however, an old housekeeper who has lived with them several years gave us our tea, when we went to call on Cousin Marcia, having Cousin Angelo for an escort.*

We spent an hour with her pleasantly, and returned to South Pearl street, making some purchases of ribbon for my bonnet, and thick shoes which I was told were indispensable in a trip to Niagara. We visited Uncle Ames's gallery of portraits, and passed the remainder of the evening in Cousin Julius's little study looking at his collection of miniatures,

* Caroline Spencer was married in 1836 to Rev. George Benton, and sailed on her bridal tour to Athens, her husband being one of the commissioners in the cause of education to the Greeks, associated with Dr. J. H. Hill and Dr. Robertson. Her father was Reuben Spencer of New York City, and her mother the daughter of Mr. Ames the portrait-painter. Miss Watson also went to Greece, and aided in the philanthropic work for some years. Marcia Ames, the cousin of Miss Spencer, became the wife of Rev. Wm. James, the uncle of the novelist Henry James. This unique journal is in possession of the son of its author, Mr. Robert A. Benton.

and retired to rest early as we were obliged to rise again at five o'clock in the morning.

Friday, 17th. Got up and dressed in haste ; picked a lovely bunch of roses from the garden, and then set off for the railroad-house, Cousin Angelo being kind enough to break his morning slumbers to accompany us. The walk up the hill was very pleasant, the air so pure and refreshing, and the lovely appearance of the capitol and other lofty buildings as they were just gilded with the first rays of the morning sun added very much to the scene. We were soon, with a hundred others, packed in a car, or rather a train of cars, and motion given to the whole mass, were hurried along with a rapidity that is inconceivable to one so inexperienced as myself, and in rather less than an hour we reached Schenectady, a distance of sixteen miles. The level of the railroad is more than a hundred feet above that of the city, and the descent is performed by an inclined plane, the railways of which are laid for two sets of cars ; and when one descends its motion is retarded by loaded cars which serve as a balancing power, and ascend as the others descend. The country between Albany and Schenectady seems like a barren waste, for with but few exceptions it is entirely uncultivated. We breakfasted at the hotel, and were hurried on board the packet-boat waiting for us, and were pleased to find some of our fellow passengers from New York, particularly an elderly gentleman from Demerara with whom father was very much pleased. He wore (I suppose to be eccentric) an immense palm-leaf hat, a West Indian fashion, for which reason Miss Watson gave him the title of Captain Palmetto.

I was agreeably disappointed in the specimen of canal traveling that we now had. The boat was exceedingly pleasant, and it seemed such a relief from the hot bustling steamboat, and the close, hurried railroad car, for the quiet movement of the canal boat. The windows of the boat are sufficiently large to make the view pleasant from them ; and as you glide along through the most rich and delightful country, whose banks touch the sides of the boat, you might almost fancy yourself in a fairy land. The canal from Schenectady to Utica lies on the south side of the Mohawk river, and almost the whole distance directly on the border of the river, whose banks rise in many places in a bold and almost mountainous outline ; and in others stretching away in the distance, rich in verdure, with the river looking in the sunshine like a line of silver spread across the landscape. We were told by some English travelers that it reminded them of the wildest scenes of Derbyshire. We ascended several locks during the day, at each of which we had an opportunity of leaving the boat and walking a short distance if we chose. We found it very

pleasant to do so, that we might get a bunch of the wild flowers that are profusely scattered along the canal, and refresh ourselves with a little exercise. We were more fortunate, however, than a poor dog belonging to Captain Palmetto, who, having the same taste as ourselves for walking, landed from the boat at a lock, and being left behind was obliged to run a number of miles before he could get on board again, the captain not being willing to extend his politeness so far as to stop the boat for a dog. We passed a number of pleasant villages, and among others Canajoharie which signifies in the Indian tongue "Boiling pot;" and after exclaiming until admiration itself became weary, the afternoon waned and night found us ready to make use of her ample curtain for retiring to rest, very sorry that we must pass the village of Little Falls during the night.

July 18, Saturday. We arrived at Utica about six o'clock, and went to the National hotel to breakfast, as we here exchange boats. We had but an hour to spare, so we could not see much of the city, but what little we did see showed us that it was a place of business, and situated in an extensive plain with hills surrounding it in the distance; it is very much improved with handsome villas and gardens, and both the canal and river run through it. From Utica to Syracuse is the most tedious part of the canal route, the country being a level of sixty-nine miles, without a lock to relieve one a few moments by walking, and the scenery has not that varied appearance to be met with before; however, we passed through some nice, pretty places where a contented mind might easily find happiness. We reached Syracuse about nine o'clock in the evening. We had prepared for going on shore, as we were afraid we should have to wait for a packet to Oswego; but what was our surprise on being asked if we wished to go directly on to Oswego, to see our things handed out of the window into another boat like our own, and we were desired to step on board, which we had hardly done when the boat moved off, and we were on our way to Oswego. We regretted very much that it was night, as we were told that this route is remarkably beautiful. The distance is thirty-eight miles, but the canal excavation is only twelve miles, as the lake and river are both made use of for the passage of boats, and where there are falls in the river (of which there are many, which prevent its being navigable) the boat is passed into a lock and lowered to the proper level, when it shoves out in the river again. But the lake, river, falls, and all we missed.

July 19, Sunday. After a comfortable night's rest we were wakened about daylight by an Irish woman on board, who said, "Get up! Get up, ladies dear, sure an' ye're at Oswaygo." We were both in such a delightful morning nap that it seemed impossible to break our slumbers, but she

persevered and would not let us sleep : so, after feeling very cross about it for a few moments, we arose, and, although we found on going on deck that we were eight miles from Oswego, we were amply repaid by the beauty of the morning and the lovely appearance of the country through which the river (on which we were sailing) now wound its way. When we reached the village we came to the Oswego house, kept by a Mr. Ives, and finding to our great joy that the boat to Niagara did not leave till nine in the evening, we concluded to pass the Sunday here.

After breakfast we made ready for church, and having two hours to spare before church time, we set out for a walk, to secure a peep at the lake. We had gone but a short distance when we came in sight of it, and I was much struck with its appearance, it was so like the ocean. I could scarcely think it possible it was only a lake, and still more one of the smallest of the great chain that forms the boundary between the United States and the British possessions. We walked about half a mile to an old fort, built two hundred years ago, when all around was a wilderness, to protect the colonies from the French and Indians. It is now in ruins, little remaining except raised mounds of earth, and an old well in the centre. We took great pleasure in walking around it, and on going within we found some curious wild flowers growing there. The site of the fort commands a beautiful view of the village, lake, and adjacent country ; we were so much pleased that we were not conscious how time passed till the bell called our truant feet back to attend church. Oswego is built on both sides of the Oswego river, over which there is a bridge, and by far the largest part of the village is on the south side, opposite from where we were staying, so that in going to church we had to cross the river. There are several churches of different denominations here, and the Episcopal church is a very neat edifice. We heard a very excellent sermon from the Rev. Mr. McCarty, who is the rector, and is very much liked. As we returned we saw the steamboat *Great Britain* enter the harbor, bearing the British flag ; it delighted Miss Watson to get a sight of it once more, as she said it was nearly a year since she had seen that flag

“ Which has braved a thousand years
The battle and the breeze,”

and she must always love it, as it waves over the home of her youth. I admired her feelings, for if I were ever called away from country and home, everything that had breathed the air of America would be dear to me.

After dinner wrote journal, read a little, and felt very like going to sleep, when I was quite roused by seeing a storm rise from over the lake :

the waves were soon very high and showed their white caps, dashed on the beach, and their roaring resembled still more the Atlantic.

"Oh," thought I, "thou treacherous element, that smiled so sweetly this morning, how quickly is thy face o'er-clouded, and thy waves like unrestrained passion rush on, threatening destruction to all that feel their power!" Father went to church, but as the shower was soon over he returned without getting his feet wet. But we were disappointed in another walk; took tea, and then prepared to go on board of the boat; we had a pleasant ride of half a mile to the wharf, and embarked on the steam-boat *United States* about nine o'clock. We were much pleased with Oswego, its situation and appearance. I should like to live there very well. The *United States* is a splendid boat, the best on the lake, and runs between Ogdensburg and Niagara, but crossing the lake four times, it takes three days to make the whole trip. The ladies' cabin is beautifully fitted up, having state-rooms on each side with everything elegant and convenient. As it was not dark, we remained on deck, and I tried my hand at sketching the old fort and a part of the village, but did not make much of it. The damp night breeze soon forced us to retire, though I longed above all things to get a look, first of all, at the great inland sea; went to bed, however, and slept soundly till daylight.

July 20, Monday. The boat goes up the Genesee river six or seven miles, and as we were told that the scenery was wonderfully wild, we made haste to get on deck, but were disappointed in seeing it, as the boat had stopped at the wharf before we came out. The banks are very steep, rising perpendicularly nearly an hundred and fifty feet. There is an inclined plane here, made use of for carrying up the baggage; but passengers are obliged to climb the precipitous road or mount a steep and dangerous stairway to the top, where railroad cars are waiting to convey them to Rochester, about three miles distant. We preferred the former, as we had decided upon going to Rochester and returning with the cars; but finding that by doing so we would miss our breakfast at both places, we concluded to go only to the falls, a short distance nearer, and walk back: so we got into a car and were soon set down in the road within a few rods of the upper falls. We crept through a fence, climbed over another, and ran across a wet field, where we had a first view of them. They are very fine, but scarcely a remnant of what they once were before the extensive mills and manufactories were built. The water falls in one sheet about ninety feet, and the river is about forty rods across. After walking a short distance we came to a flat rock called "Table Rock;" here we were some time admiring and gazing at the water, as it dashed

furiously down the descent, when I spied some blue-bells growing down the side of the rock. I stretched myself down, while father held me by my dress, and I succeeded in getting a bunch of them. They were the Scotch harebell, the first I had ever seen. We were soon obliged to leave a scene so very attractive and return to the boat, which we did along the bank of the river; we saw several smaller falls, and about a quarter of a mile from the upper is the lower falls, which are still higher and much more picturesque than the other, the scenery around being still in a state of nature. We had a beautiful peep at them, when we hurried on through dew and dust to the boat, after stopping to read an inscription on a tombstone placed alone in a most romantic spot quite near the lower falls. The name or epitaph was nothing of note, but I wondered if the spirit that once inhabited that silent dust chose that lovely spot for its sepulchre.

We arrived in time for breakfast, with appetites finely sharpened by our walk. We were much pleased with the river as we passed out; it is very beautiful. In many places the banks rise in one unbroken mass of rock, in others opening in dells or dingles, shut out from the sun, but where pale wild flowers are seen in the greatest profusion. We had a large increase to our passengers from Rochester; and now away across this broad lake to Toronto. The day was beautiful, and I was much struck with the appearance of the water: it is not so deep a green as the ocean, but much prettier; very cold, and so clear that in looking over the stern we could see the whole length of the rudder and the numberless fish that darted round the boat. It is excellent water for drinking and is used on all the boats for that purpose. We entirely escaped anything of a blow on the lake and arrived at Toronto about sunset. The entrance to the bay or harbor is very pretty, and the town is handsomely situated; but that there is a great difference in the climate from ours I should judge from the appearance of the trees, which seem to be all hardy evergreens, and the luxuriant foliage we had before met with seems here to be wanting. Miss Watson having an acquaintance in the city, we inquired our way to him and found him without any difficulty. He was very polite and offered to walk with us about the city; we accepted his offer and went up King street as far as the governor's house and looked through the gates. It was all very new to me, who had never seen anything like aristocracy before—the king's arms displayed on every sign; and it would seem that every individual is his Majesty's, for his Majesty's service, his Majesty's ships, and his Majesty's officers are constant subjects of conversation. The governor's name is Sir John Colburn, and he is universally respected as a kind and excellent man. His house, as nearly as we could see, is a

very plain one, though surrounded with a good deal of state, a guard being constantly kept and relieved every two hours. The government is building him a new and elegant mansion, we were told, as this is an old wood edifice. After picking a branch of locust growing on the grounds, we passed down the road along the bay and strained our eyes through the darkness to get a view of the houses of the archdeacon, the solicitor-general, and the judge-advocate, and other officers of the crown living there, all very beautiful mansions and grounds. We could hear the band playing at the garrison, a short distance back of the town, and returned to the boat about eleven, very much pleased with our evening ramble. We left there about twelve and arrived at Lewiston about sunrise; we parted with Captain Palmetto at Toronto and felt quite melancholy in consequence. He is going to purchase a farm in Canada and remove his family who are now in Devonshire, England.

July 21, Tuesday. We had a very fine view from Lewiston of Queenston Heights, and Brock's Monument which is conspicuous and is seen at some distance on the lake; indeed, everything that we saw was of interest to us. We breakfasted at Lewiston and got immediately into a stage for Niagara. The road rises by a gradual ascent to a level with the heights opposite, and is then quite smooth till you reach Niagara, seven miles distant. About three miles before we reached the falls the stage stopped at a place called the Devil's Hole, a horrid spot, as tradition tells of a number of French soldiers who had here stopped to rest, and were surprised by a party of Indians and were forced at the point of the sword to leap down the precipice. They all perished but one, who was caught in the fork of a tree and escaped. About two miles before we reached the falls an opening in the woods gave us a glimpse of them, though we had heard the distant roaring some time and had seen the cloud of spray.

That slight view was so different from what I had anticipated, that for a moment I was disappointed: the height of the fall seemed small contrasted with the width of the river—for what is one hundred and fifty feet compared with four thousand!—so that its very vastness seemed at that distance to take from the effect. We were driven to the Cataract hotel and as soon as we alighted from the coach we ran up two or three pairs of stairs to the uppermost piazza, thinking we would have a view of the falls from there; but we could only see the rapids, so were obliged to restrain our impatience till we had our rooms assigned to us, when, having arranged our things, we seized our parasols, and entreating father to accompany us, ran on, on, till we reached the bank near the ferry steps where, mute for some minutes from wonder and surprise we first saw

Niagara. The sight is at first overpowering, and seems to stun the mind with a feeling of something terrible, as if it were some convulsion of nature, and it is long before one recovers sufficiently to enjoy the beautiful and sublime as displayed in this cataract. After consulting father we concluded to spend the morning on Goat Island and defer our visit to the Canada shore till afternoon. Goat or Iris Island is connected to the American shore by a bridge a short distance from the hotel and about twenty rods above the falls to which we now bent our steps. It seemed perfectly astonishing to us how a bridge could have a firm foundation in the rapids which are foaming and boiling with inconceivable fury directly underneath it; but that the art of man has made it sure is sufficiently tested by the numbers who cross it daily. The island is much larger than I had any idea of, being a beautiful tract of ground of seventy-five acres. It is very nearly in a state of nature, walks being opened through the trees in every direction, forming the most romantic and beautiful retreat that can be imagined. It stands very nearly in the centre of the river and divides the falls in two distinct parts, which unite again below the island; that on the west is by far the greatest fall of water and is called the Horse-shoe fall, as the weight of water in the centre is so much greater that the rock has given way under it, and the shape of the falls is that of a crescent or horse-shoe. There is a slight difference in the height of the two different falls; that between Goat Island and the American side is said to be one hundred and sixty-four feet, and the other only one hundred and fifty-six feet. After rambling about the island, which was rich in nature's loveliest flowers, we came to a stairway or enclosed steps for the purpose of descending to the foot of the falls on the island. They were built at the expense of Mr. Biddle, the president of the United States Bank, and are called the Biddle staircase. We went down, and after clambering along a rocky path came quite near to the falls; but clouds of spray drove against us, and we were forced to retreat or get completely wet. They were very grand and beautiful from here, as indeed they are from every possible point of view. When returning we found some very fine wild strawberries, of a large size and delightful flavor. I really felt it too much honor to eat them—strawberries that grew within a few feet of Niagara, moistened with its spray, and ripened by the sun that gives glory to the cataract! Simple as was this feeling, I should have preserved them as relics if they had not been so perishable, and perhaps committed myself in some lines to them, about their having no need of rain or dew, or some other folly; but alas! I saw them dropping one by one from the stem, and I was fain to eat them to save them from a worse fate—that of being trampled under foot.

The path from the staircase in an opposite direction from that we took leads to a deep recess in the rocks called the Cave of the Winds; they were breaking away a projection of the rock to effect a passage underneath the American fall, not subterraneous, but sub-aquatic (if there be such a word), quite through to the other side. After ascending we came to the west side of the island, next the Horse-shoe; they have here built a bridge about thirty rods in length, and jutting directly ten feet over the dreadful chasm below; a tower thirty-five feet high is erected near the end of the bridge upon a rock which supports the timbers of the bridge. It is called "Sam Patch's Tower," and with a feeling of dread at our own temerity we went to the top of it. It is a fearful place, too high, too daring for impotent man to have built. It is thought by many that the top is the best place for feeling the full grandeur of Niagara; but I found none so much so as the end of the bridge, where, wrapped in clouds of spray, and the water thundering under your feet, you feel embodied with the cataract. Here we first saw a rainbow (or rather a number of rainbows), for the sun, which had been obscured all the morning, now burst forth in all its splendor and completed the glory of the scene, and my highest anticipations were more than gratified: Niagara far exceeded my expectations. After remaining here about an hour, we took the path leading quite round the island. There are several interesting places to be found here, a number of small islands and beautiful cascades; the view of the rapids from the extremity of the island is very grand—it is almost impossible to give a proper idea of them. They commence about three miles above, and from that to the cataract the river makes a descent of about fifty feet, and, instead of running smoothly and swiftly down, the water is hurried over an uneven surface of immense rocks, till foaming and boiling it is tossed over the immense precipice. We passed on our return the place supposed to have been an Indian burying-ground, a most sublime spot for that purpose, and one of a thousand proofs of the inherent poetry of nature. We returned to the toll-house to rest, and were quite interested in looking over a large collection of Indian workmanship here exposed for sale—belts, bags, pouches, etc., etc. Miss Watson and myself each bought a pair of moccasins, and had our names written in the list-book of travelers.

There is a very large paper-mill here, which we also visited, and bought (as a rarity) some of the paper made at Niagara, and then left that lovely spot to return to dinner; dined, and then away to the Canada shore. Father invited a Mr. Ansley, a young gentleman from New Brunswick, to join our party, as we had been fellow-travelers from New York. We made all haste down the ferry-steps, but the boat left just as we were

down, and we had to wait its return, which gave us time to look at the falls from this place: they are very, very fine; you have a side view of the American fall and a front view of the Horse-shoe. We saw some young ladies seated on the steps who were afraid to cross the river, although their father was urging them and reasoning with them on their foolish timidity. But as we had no fears we embarked in our frail vessel, and in spite of the impetuous current were quickly rowed over to the Canada side. The ascent to the top of the bank is by a tolerably good road, though rather steep, which is far preferable to those long, enclosed steps, which are very fatiguing and seem insecure. We had to walk about a quarter of a mile to reach Table Rock, so famous as being the great point of view to which all desire to go; and, indeed, it fully repays one for the exertion required. It is not that the Crescent fall appears more magnificent from this place, but you here have a view of the whole—the immense fall on the American side, seen nowhere else to so great advantage; the beautiful and luxuriant island, looking like an emerald set among diamonds, is directly before you, and the vast bend of the Crescent fall which seems retiring within its glory; all in connection are spread before you there. Let no one say she has fully seen Niagara till she has stood on Table Rock and felt the flood of admiration too strong for utterance. Miss Watson and myself had promised each other that we would certainly descend and pass under the sheet of water; but as father did not feel able to go with us he rather discouraged our going, and we delayed sometime making inquiries of the guide about it. Mr. Ansley promised to be our escort: so, getting father's consent, we retired to make our toilet for the dripping naiad to whom we were to be presented; and surely two more grotesque looking figures were never seen before. We disrobed ourselves of every article of our own apparel, and having a long, loose dress given us, over which we put an oil-skin frock-coat, girt with a stout girdle, a tarpaulin hat on our heads, with woolen stockings and thick boots, we were ready for starting. Our appearance was so ridiculous that we could scarcely get ready to go, for laughing at one another. Just as we were leaving our dressing-room a young lady from New York, who arrived when we did, came to get ready. She started back on perceiving us, not recognizing us at all, but, hearing our laugh, she came forward and enjoyed it as much as ourselves. We waited for her and her father, who was also going, when we descended the long, interminable staircase, on our novel and perilous adventure. After proceeding a short distance by ourselves, the guide took Miss Watson by the hand, gave me in charge to Mr. Ansley, and the young lady to her father, and we passed on, one behind the

other, till we reached the entrance to the passage. Here the water and spray dashed over us with so much violence as almost to stifle us, but by keeping the head inclined downwards we soon passed through, and found ourselves in comparatively a dry place. But the young lady was so much frightened that she returned and did not enter. I turned round to look for her, and in so doing the wind took off my hat and carried it some distance behind. It was such a serious evil to part with it, that I let go my companion's hand and turned back to pick it up, which I did in triumph at my self-possession. After walking about a hundred and fifty feet the guide stopped, and, seating us on a small projection of the rock to take breath, he bade us remark the great rush of wind from the chasm below. It was perfectly astonishing. The blast was irregular, but so violent that it would force a heavy body upwards; indeed, it is in this the guide places his best security. There was a yellowish green light which enabled us to see very well, and the noise, though thundering, and jarring every sense, did not prevent our voices from being heard by each other. After two or three minutes the guide took us separately to the farthest possible step on the rock, where he cautioned us not to look up; but my desire to do so was so strong that I said: "Oh, I must, I must look up!" and surely such a sight I shall never be permitted to see again. It is impossible to describe it: the variety of color that the water exhibited; the snow-white mountains of foam which passed through it, pouring as if it were from the heavens; the awful, awful rock which projected far above over our heads, looking like the blackness of despair—all presented such a spectacle as only the most vivid imagination, picturing the horrors of the last day, can equal. . . . I was aroused from such thoughts by the guide, who reminded me that it was imprudent to stay too long in so dense an atmosphere. So joining Miss Watson and Mr. Ansley, who were a few paces off, we made our way out, taking another shower bath as we made our exit. The air underneath the water is very oppressive and slightly impregnated with sulphur, so that it was quite a relief to get out in a fresh, pure atmosphere. The path on which you walk is shelving and jagged and broken, not slippery as I feared, but free from any danger of slipping or losing your footing. On coming out I looked up and saw father on Table Rock looking over in some anxiety at our long stay. We hastened up to our dressing-room, feeling really refreshed from our bath, where we found some ladies animated by our example prepared to descend. We hastened out to the rock to look at their progress. We soon saw them below, looking like so many pigmies—five or six gentlemen accompanying them—though it was impossible at the distance to distin-

guish them apart ; but, like the other young lady, they had scarcely got wetted, before they drew back in fear, and the gentlemen entered by themselves. Indeed, the guide said (which I suppose we consider flattering) that there had not been a lady there since Mrs. Butler [Mrs. Kemble] who had exhibited the fortitude and courage that we had. It was now getting late, and as we were very much fatigued we declined going to the museum and collection of natural curiosities found at Niagara, which I believe are well worth seeing, and we started on our return. But seeing the boat had just put off with a party we sat down on the bank to take a last look at the falls. Miss Watson commenced sketching the Crescent fall and Goat Island. The sun was quite low, and the bow reflected on the spray was in consequence much higher than at midday ; and as I looked I no longer wondered at the former, or indeed the proper, name for the island—Iris Island—for the two rainbows, one from the American and the other from the Horse-shoe, completely encircled it and at that hour gave it the appearance of a fairy palace built in the clouds. It was perfectly enchanting ! The lovely scene, the noise of the waters, the gentle breeze, the hum of happy voices—all lulled the mind to such a sweet dream of happiness that it was with sighs of regret that we were forced to leave it. The view from the middle of the river is very fine, and would perhaps be the best place for an artist to choose for making a sketch of the whole cataract. After tea we went to the music-room, and finding it unoccupied, Miss Watson gave, or would have given, me some delightful music, but the piano was cracked and most wretchedly out of tune, so we soon gave it up and went to our room. Miss Watson retired early, but I, though quite as much inclined to sleep, was obliged, according to promise, to write to some of my friends in New York ; after finishing my letters I leaned from the window and listened to the roar of waters. . . .

July 22, Wednesday. Rose early and sealed my letters, which father put in the mail-bag. After breakfast he told us that we were to start at twelve, as he had engaged seats in the stage for Buffalo ; so with feelings quite sad that we were to go so soon, we hastened to Goat Island that we might once more ramble over its lovely walks. We visited the tower, bridge, and every other scene that we found interesting, and I returned to the toll-house completely laden with spoils which I was taking as relics—stones, branches, roots, flowers—but I was forced to throw half of them away in the stream as we crossed, for it would have been impossible to carry them in the stage. And thus adieu to Niagara.

(Contributed by)

Robert A. Benton

MINOR TOPICS

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES

HIS EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY

On the 29th of August, just passed, the versatile writer who for upward of half a century has delighted his contemporaries with polished verse and satiric humor, and whose cheerful spirit has been a perpetual benefit to the human race, reached his eightieth birthday. It was as long ago as 1836 that he published his first volume of poems, which contained, among other sparkling gems which established his reputation, *The Last Leaf*, the closing lines of which are :

" My grandmamma has said—
Poor old lady, she is dead
Long ago—
That he had a Roman nose,
And his cheek was like a rose
In the snow.

But now his nose is thin,
And it rests upon his chin
Like a staff;
And a crook is in his back,
And a melancholy crack
In his laugh.

I know it is a sin
For me to sit and grin
At him here;
But the old three-cornered hat,
And the breeches, and all that,
Are so queer !

And if I should live to be
The last leaf upon a tree
In the spring—
Let them smile as I do now,
At the old forsaken bough
Where I cling."

But Dr. Holmes has to this day kept all his faculties in such constant exercise, cultivating meanwhile that bright, healthy current of common-sense which shakes the cobwebs out of the system, that there is no probability of his ever " tottering " like the man in the poem, and causing a smile thereby. But who of us will ever cease to laugh with him while life remains? Mr. Lowell wrote truly of him, more than forty years ago, when he said in *A Fable for Critics* :

" You went crazy last year over Bulwer's ' New Timon ; '
Why, if B., to the day of his dying, should rhyme on,
Heaping verses on verses, and tomes upon tomes,
He could ne'er reach the best point and vigor of Holmes.
His are just the fine hands, too, to weave you a lyric
Full of fancy, fun, feeling, or spiced with satiric
In so kindly a measure, that nobody knows
What to do but e'en join in the laugh, friends or foes."

A writer in the Boston *Transcript* of August 28 says : " Judging from what a man accomplishes in life, it surprises no one to be told that Dr. Holmes is eighty

years old : measured by that standard, he might be twice eighty and excite no especial wonder. So that while with one breath we marvel that this light-stepping gentleman we meet on the sidewalk should be eighty years of age, in the next we find ourselves wondering how one who has done so much can have passed so short a time on earth. He is as great a mystery as any that his pen has explored and elucidated.

The inhabitants of New England take Dr. Holmes's eightieth birthday more calmly than one would, at first thought, imagine that they would. Considering the fact that he has done them, in their literature and in their life, an immense service in letting out of the bag of their Puritanism, so to speak, the cat of their natural gayety ; and considering, also, that they fully recognize in their hearts and upon their lips the service that he has done them in this and other important regards, it would not appear at all unlikely that they should hold jubilations, and go down to Beverly Farms with illuminated addresses, and declare the anniversary a legal holiday, and all that sort of thing. Dr. Holmes's life and literary work—we must not forget the appalling fact that *The Last Leaf* was published more than fifty years ago, and *Old Ironsides* well nigh sixty years ago—have corresponded pretty closely with the New England Puritan's progress from the slough of social and literary despond which he was in at the beginning of the century to the at least comparatively delectable mountains upon which he dwells at present. From a state of absolutely literary slavery we have emerged, in a considerable degree under the guidance of Dr. Holmes himself, and for the rest under the influence of an inherent impulsion which he himself has been constrained to obey, into an epoch of intellectual daylight which occasionally dazzles even the gaze of the clear-sighted autocrat beyond the power of seeing quite correctly. The impulse has carried us, perhaps, a little beyond the point which Dr. Holmes would have marked out for us. In stimulating the literary activities of his countrymen, Dr. Holmes has struck off more gyves than he knew. In regarding the effect of it all, he has lately seemed not quite disposed to say of conditions of American literature that are in some degree his own work, 'They are good.' However, that is neither here nor there in the tributes which are paid to Dr. Holmes on his birthday. Among the first, we have no doubt, to yield the praise which is surely due to Dr. Holmes's work, as well as to his personality, would be the disciples of the younger school, who have drifted beyond his direct leadership."

PRIZES FOR HISTORIC WORK

TO PERPETUATE THE MEMORY OF THE FESTIVAL OF 1892

The Spanish government has offered two great prizes, one of \$6,000 and one of \$3,000, for the best essays on Spanish activity in discovery, with special reference to the discovery of Columbus. The following circular has appeared.

"This competition is instituted with a view to celebrating this great festival with some lasting literary work which will perpetuate its memory. This work, for which a prize will be given, must consist of an historical study, written in prose, recording the great event which it is intended to commemorate.

Ever since the sixteenth century a great deal has been written on the life and deeds of Columbus, and no doubt difficulties exist in bringing anything new to bear on the subject. It is proposed, therefore, that the paper to be written should be of a comprehensive, synoptic, and concise character, without tedious and recondite details. Although there are numerous works respecting American travels and discoveries, there is not one that sufficiently demonstrates the marvelous efforts made by the nations of the Iberian peninsula from the beginning of the fifteenth century for the acquirement and knowledge of hitherto unvisited portions of the planet in which we live. In this work there is a growing interest which, putting aside various mythical voyages, such as those of Doria and Vivaldi and others, began at the epoch when Gil Eannes doubled Cape Bojador, discovered Guinea, etc., and concluded at the period when Elcano circumnavigated the globe.

The culminating point of all these voyages of discovery was when Columbus first hoisted the European flag on the soil of the new world—a deed which led to the knowledge of the whole globe, to the advancement of the Christian religion, and to the general wealth of all nations.

No doubt the actors in these glorious achievements were inspired by diverse sentiments—some by the thirst for renown or wealth, others by the desire to eclipse the feats of the ancient Greeks and Romans. But the subject to be treated of is the vast significance of this discovery of Columbus, the centenary of which it is proposed to celebrate, without in the least detracting from the deeds of Bartolomé Dias, Cortes, Pizarro, and others, bringing into due notice the civilizing power Portugal has brought to bear, and the crowning act of Spain, when she for the first time braved the unknown Atlantic and circumnavigated the globe.

The program for this paper, thus vaguely sketched, should contain in a compendious introduction accounts of travels and geographical advances made up to the time of the settlement of the Infante Don Enrique of Portugal, in Sagres, concluding with an ample treatise on the changes and benefits wrought on civilization by our united efforts as regards commerce, the policy of nations, the extension of learning, etc. The vastness of the subject necessitates that the paper should be a highly finished work of art, not so much from the richness of diction, but rather from the general arrangement and neatness of style: for its nobility and beauty should spring from the simplicity of the phraseology and from a just appreciation and careful judgment.

Any unpublished paper, written *ad hoc*, in Spanish, Portuguese, English, German, French, or Italian, may enter into the competition. The tribunal to award the prize will be composed of two members of the Royal Academy of History, of one member of each of the royal Spanish academies, and of various others.

The diplomatic representative of each power will also form part of the tribunal ; he will forward, to take part in the competition, any work of his countrymen or present any person that power may designate. The tribunal will select a president, and all decisions will be made, by means of voting, by all the members composing it.

The works presented for competition should be neatly bound, written legibly on good paper, the name of the author not being mentioned, and marked with a motto ; but the author should write his name and address in a folded sheet, on the exterior of which he should repeat the same motto and the first sentence of his book. Those folded sheets belonging to works that receive no prizes will be burned unopened. Although it is difficult to assign the exact dimensions of the works entered for competition, they should not exceed two volumes of five hundred pages, of the same size and of the same type as those of the complete works of Cervantes, by Rivadeneyra, 1863-64. Still, if desired, another volume, containing documents, maps, etc., may be added. In order that the jury may have time to examine and vote, the competing works should be sent to the secretary of the Royal Academy of History before January 1, 1892.

One prize of £1,200 (30,000 pesetas) will be given, together with a second one of £600 (15,000 pesetas).

In addition to these rewards, each of these two authors will be given five hundred copies of the edition of his book.

The centenary commission will decide how many copies of the editions of these works are to be published, and to whom they are to be presented.

The authors will preserve full rights over their works, and will be able to have them reprinted, translated, etc. But the commission, nevertheless, retains the right of having either or both of the prize works, should they be in a foreign language, translated into Spanish.

The above is published by the commission for the information of the public and of the governments of the persons who may desire to take part in the competition.

DUKE DE VERAGTA, *Vice-President*
J. VALERA and J. RIANO, *Secretaries*

MADRID, June 19."

NOTES

HELENA, MONTANA—This town was named and laid out in 1864. The original minute of the "meeting called by the citizens of Last Chance Gulch, to name the town," reads :

"October 30th, 1864.

At a meeting of the citizens of Last Chance Gulch, for the purpose of naming the town and electing town commissioners, etc.—On motion, G. J. Wood was elected chairman, and T. E. Cooper secretary. After several motions and balloting, the name of 'Helena' was given to the town, and G. J. Wood, H. Bruce, E. L. Cutler were elected town commissioners, and ordered to lay out the town and get their pay for the work by recording the lots at \$2.00 each. They were further authorized to make such laws and regulations as might be deemed necessary to regulate the location and size of lots, streets, alleys, etc."

This happened twenty-five years ago this month. The city of Helena now contains twenty thousand people, is the capital of Montana, and is claimed to be the wealthiest city in the world according to its population. Its assessed value, last year, for taxation was over \$11,000,000, which is not much more than one-half of what its inhabitants are worth. Continental railroads centre here. It has all modern improvements, gas, electric lights, water companies, the best of schools and churches, hospitals, etc.,

ad lib. WILLIAM F. WHEELER
HELENA, MONTANA.

DR. FRANKLIN'S PULPIT—In reciting the innumerable ways in which Dr. Franklin preached to the people in the

early part of his career, outside of the famous almanac—John T. Morse, Jr., in his recent work, says : "A little later Franklin founded a philosophical society, not intended to devote its energies to abstractions, but rather to a study of nature, and the spread of new discoveries and useful knowledge in practical affairs, especially in the way of farming and agriculture. Franklin always had a fancy for agriculture, and conferred many a boon upon the tillers of the soil. A good story, which may be true, tells how he showed the fertilizing capacity of plaster of Paris. In a field by the roadside he wrote with plaster, THIS HAS BEEN PLASTERED; and soon the brilliant green of the letters carried the lesson to every passer-by."

USES OF ELECTRICITY—The following questions originated with *Scribner's Magazine*. They are of interest to every one :

1. How strong a current is used to send a message over an Atlantic cable ?
2. What is the longest distance over which conversation by telephone is daily maintained ?
3. What is the fastest time made by an electric railway ?
4. How many miles of submarine cable are there in operation ?
5. What is the maximum power generated by an electric motor ?
6. How is a break in submarine cable located ?
7. How many miles of telegraph wire in operation in the U. S. ?
8. How many messages can be transmitted over a wire at one time ?

9. How is telegraphing from a moving train accomplished?

THE ANSWERS.

1. 30 cells of battery only. Equal to 30 volts.

2. About 750 miles, from Portland, Maine, to Buffalo, N. Y.

3. A mile a minute, by a small experimental car. 20 miles an hour on street railway system.

4. Over 100,000 miles, or enough to girdle the earth four times.

5. 75 horse power. Experiments indicate that 100 horse power will soon be reached.

6. By measuring the electricity needed to charge the remaining unbroken part.

7. Over a million, or enough to encircle the globe forty times.

8. Four, by the quadruplex system in daily use.

9. Through a circuit from the car roof inducing a current in the wire on poles along the track.

QUERIES

AZARIAH CRANE'S SILVER BOWL—Azariah Crane was a son of Jasper Crane, one of the founders of Newark, New Jersey. He married Mary, daughter of Gov. Robt. Treat, and died Nov. 5, 1730, aet. 83. In his will he mentions his "silver bowl" which "he gives to the Church of Christ in Newark, aforesaid, to be used for the service of God for ever in the Town of Newark." Can any one tell me if this bowl is still in existence and if so where it can be seen?

C. SIDNEY CRANE

NEW YORK CITY.

LEE'S LEGION—Major Henry Peyton. Has any complete roster of the troops of "Lee's Legion" ever appeared in print? I desire especially to learn something of Major Henry Peyton of the Legion. He was appointed Captain in the Continental Line July 2, 1778. In 1784 he was granted 5,000 acres of land in Virginia for three years' service. Did he survive the war or die in service? The grants of land were sometimes made to the heirs of officers. Some

years ago a valued friend, now dead, informed me that two trunks full of the papers of "Lee's Legion" had come down in her family to her two brothers, who had put them, as usual, in the garrets. These brothers, returning from a week's absence on one occasion, discovered that their cook had used the bulk of the papers in kindling her fires.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

THE "BOOK OF THE UNITED STATES" was first published in Boston in 1834. Grenville Mellen, editor. Speaking of the writer of the Indian part of his book, he says that he was "a person who has spent many years in intimate contact with several tribes of the northwest, and may therefore be considered good authority. He writes expressly for this book." And again, referring to the chapter on *American Antiquities*, Mr. Mellen says, "This article has been furnished by the intelligent writer, to whom we have been indebted for a portion of the chapter on Indians." In the words of the author himself it ap-

pears that he had been "on the tributaries of Hudson's Bay, and on the waters of the Mississippi," having, specifically, in 1825, discovered two skeletons under the roots of a large tree on the bank of said river which turned out to be Dakotas.

This unknown writer makes some very

curious and important statements, but such as cannot be taken literally unless supported by the authority of his own name. Could there have been any Fort Snelling officer about that time who was given to writing for the press?

ALFRED J. HILL

ST. PAUL, MINN., Sept. 6, 1889.

REPLIES

HANNASTOWN'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, [xxi., 522]—The action "of the general meeting, inhabitants of the county of Westmoreland, Pennsylvania, held at Hannastown, the 16th day of May, 1775, for taking into consideration the very alarming situation of this country occasioned by the dispute with Great Britain," will be found in a series of resolutions on pp. 615, 616, of Force's Archives, series 4, vol. II. An account of this action will be found in Egle's and also in Day's *History of Pennsylvania*.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

KIT-KAT PICTURES, [xxii., 257]—Are portraits of three-quarter length, and derive their name from the forty-two portraits that were painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, of the members of the famous Kit-Kat Club, to suit the walls of the room wherein the club used to hold its meetings.

This club was composed of Whig "patriots," who, at the end of the reign of William the Third, met to secure the Protestant succession. Addison, Steele, Congreve, Garth, Walpole, Stanhope, Vanburgh, Pulteney, Essex, and many other noted literati, wits, and politicians of that era, belonged to the club, and

Pope tells Spence that each member gave his picture. Strictly speaking, a "Kit-Kat picture" is a canvas twenty-eight by thirty-six inches.

DAVID FITZGERALD

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 29, 1889.

"PERFECTION NO TRIFLE," [xxii., 257]
—*Editor Magazine of American History:*

In your last number, Mr. M. P. Burton, of Raleigh, N. C., asks for the author of the quotation, "Trifles make perfection, and perfection is no trifle." It was Michael Angelo who made the remark under these circumstances: A friend called on him as he was finishing a statue. Some time afterward he called again, and the sculptor was still at his work. His friend, looking at the figure, said, "You have been idle since I saw you last." "By no means," answered the sculptor, "I have softened this feature, and brought out this muscle; I have given more expression to this lip and more energy to this limb." "Well, well," said his friend, "but these are trifles." "It may be so," replied Angelo, "but recollect that trifles make perfection, and that perfection is no trifle."

CHARLES H. NEWCOMB

WORCESTER, MASS.

SOCIETIES

THE MONTANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting August 30, in its rooms in the court-house at Helena. Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows: president, Colonel W. F. Sanders; vice-president, Granville Stuart; recording secretary, Judge Cornelius Hedges; corresponding secretary, W. S. Cullen; treasurer, Samuel T. Hauser; librarian, W. F. Wheeler.

On motion of Matthew Carrol a resolution was passed to be presented to the legislature as soon as deemed necessary, asking for an appropriation of \$2,000 for the benefit of the society. Colonel Sanders said that during the nine years following 1865 there had never been a quorum of the society. Action had been taken by the legislature allowing any number present to be a quorum. This had been all right in the days when there were no railroads, but he suggested that it was no longer necessary, and that a regular time and place be set for the meetings. Suggestions were made that biennial meetings be held. Some members thought Fair week should be set as the time. Others thought the beginning of the legislature should be the time. Colonel De Lacy made a short speech suggesting that the writings of the ancients were lacking in minor details, and the publishing of records was a thing that would be supported universally. Colonel Sanders suggested a meeting on Thursday of Fair week and biennial meetings at the opening of the legislature. A resolution to this effect was unanimously passed. Prior to the opening of the meeting an

interesting discussion took place concerning the significance and origin of the name Helena, and the original copy of the minutes of the meeting which fixed the name of the town was produced and read. It has been generally believed that it was from the name of a beautiful Jewess called Helena Goldberg, who lived here at the time. Mr. Somerville, as Colonel Sanders related, "tried to have the Indian name 'Toma' given to the settlement, but when it was suggested that 'Helena' was the name of the most beautiful woman who ever lived, it was decided to name the place 'Helena.'" Some very entertaining stories were told by a number of the pioneers present.

THE SARATOGA MONUMENT ASSOCIATION—The twentieth annual meeting of the Saratoga monument association was held at Saratoga Springs the 13th of August. Since the last meeting four new tablets have been placed on the battlefield at Bemis Heights. It was voted to petition congress for the custody of the four bronze cannons captured from General Burgoyne, and now at the Watervliet arsenal. The association desires to station the pieces at the four corners of the Saratoga monument at Schuylerville. Congress will also be asked for an appropriation of \$20,000 to cover the expenses of the dedication of the monument. The association elected the following officers: president, John H. Starin; vice-presidents, James M. Marvin and Warner Miller; treasurer, Delcour S. Potter; secretary, William L. Stone.

BOOK NOTICES

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. By JOHN T. MORSE, JR. [American Statesmen Series.] 12mo, pp. 428. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889. Boston and New York.

This volume is decidedly one of the best of the series. Next to Washington, no American statesman excels Franklin in fascinating interest for the present generation. It matters not that the story of this remarkable man has been told over and over again, and as Mr. Morse remarks in his introduction, "once has been told so well." The world will never tire of tracing his diversified career, which covered a period of eighty-four years, and was as many-sided as a kaleidoscope. It would be impossible for any one author to touch the whole theme within the limits of an ordinary volume. Mr. Parton's work is excellent, but without a life of Franklin the series of American Statesmen would, indeed, have been conspicuously imperfect. Mr. Morse has wisely written the book himself, and considering the space in which he was compelled to crowd his man, it is admirably well done. The abilities of Franklin were vast and various: he was at once a philosopher, statesman, diplomatist, scientific discoverer, inventor, philanthropist, moralist, wit, and author. His ceaseless industry, the many points at which he touched human life, and his enthusiasm for the good and advancement of the human race are shown with rare skill in the volume before us. The work cannot fail to be popular with readers of all ages and tastes. The pen-portrait of Franklin is bright with color. His services to the country are recorded in sharp outline. We see in turning these pages the boy, the youth, the little scrambling settlements in which he is the chief figure—and the man starting from the humblest beginnings and attaining great and enduring splendor. The author says: "Intellectually there are few men who are Franklin's peers in all ages and nations. He covered, and covered well, vast ground. He was one of the most distinguished scientists who have ever lived. Bancroft calls him 'the greatest diplomat of the century.' His ingenious and useful devices and inventions were very numerous. He possessed a masterly shrewdness in business and practical affairs. He was a profound thinker and preacher in morals, and on the conduct of life: so that with the exception of the founders of great religions it would be difficult to name any persons who have more extensively influenced the ideas, motives, and habits of life of men. He was one of the most, perhaps the most agreeable conversationalist of his age. He was a rare wit and humorist, and in an age when 'American humor' was still unborn. By the instruction which he gave, by

his discoveries, by his inventions, and by his achievements in public life, he earns the distinction of having rendered to man varied and useful services excelled by no other man; and thus he has established a claim upon the gratitude of mankind so broad, that history holds few who can be his rivals."

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF SWITZERLAND. An Essay on the Constitution. By BERNARD MOSES, Ph.D. 12mo, pp. 256. Pacific Press Publishing Company, Oakland, California. 1889.

The antecedents of Swiss republicanism form an interesting chapter in the history of the world. During the popular revolt from feudalism many small republics came into existence in Europe, but no other was as conspicuous for the persistence with which liberty was developed in the immediate presence of rejected authority as in Switzerland. It was pre-determined to federation by its geographical position; the need of a common internal administration became apparent under the force of external pressure, for, as is well known, Switzerland is composed of valleys separated from one another by mountains so far impassable as to limit to the inhabitants of each valley the development of the community sentiment. The able author of this volume tells us that "the local independence acquired by the several isolated communities made them unwilling for centuries to join any union closer than that involved in an offensive and defensive alliance; and when finally a strictly federal power was created by the adoption of the constitution of 1848, it was done in opposition to the vote of the cantons of Wallis, Thurgau, Appenzell-Interior, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Uri, and Zug."

Dr. Moses writes with critical care and has produced a work of much value. He describes the first important event in the history of the Swiss republics as "the union of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, in 1291. The movement by which this union was effected was not an isolated undertaking, but was in some sense characteristic of the age to which it belongs. Other phases of it are seen in the organization of city republics, and their attempts to acquire a recognition of their liberties, and in the formation of leagues of cities, like the Hanseatic League, or the League of the Rhine." He gives the history of the various steps in the political development of Switzerland through the centuries that followed, to the time of the adoption of the constitution in 1848, and then follows with a careful analysis of that constitution—its Distribution of Power, its Legislature, Executive, Judiciary, Foreign Relations, Inter-

nal Relations, Army and Finances, Rights and Privileges, and Common Prosperity. We learn that "the meager resources of Switzerland have made it annually necessary for a certain part of the native population to emigrate," and that "however hospitable might be the designs of the Swiss with regard to persecuted foreigners, yet, as compared with the United States, their rugged country presents few resources through which refugees may find daily support or a betterment of their fortunes."

NEW MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Translated from documents in the French archives. Edited by JOHN DURAND. 12mo, pp. 311. Henry Holt & Co. 1889. New York.

These documents relate to the manner in which the French were concerned in the affairs of the American Revolution. They contain descriptions of men and events from points of view with which we are the least familiar. The author explains in his preface "that France furnished a large proportion of the soldiers, arms, officers, and military supplies, nearly the whole of the navy, and most of the credit and money by which the war was successfully terminated. The risk to France was great, the cost enormous—amounting to twelve hundred and eighty million livres—and the effect on the country disastrous, increasing as it did the financial difficulties which led to the French revolution. In taking up the cause of the American insurgents, France was obliged, in many respects, to control the war, and this necessarily made it a joint operation. Her military and diplomatic agents, consequently, provide us with a mass of documents in the shape of official letters and reports which serve as a separate history of the Revolution."

Under the guide of an Antwerp merchant, one Frenchman, named Bonvouloir, visited America in the early part of the revolutionary trouble, and entered into relations with the committee of correspondence of the continental congress, but in such a covert manner as not to attract attention. He obtained accurate information for Vergennes, and drew from the principal patriots their desire to obtain aid from France. He describes the secret congressional council, composed of five members—Franklin, Harrison, Johnson, Dickinson, and Jay—saying, "I have had frequent interviews with them in a private capacity. Each comes to the place indicated in the dark, by different roads. They have given me their confidence, after having stated that I would neither *promise*, *offer*, or be *responsible* for anything, and with repeated assurances that I would act as a *friendly individual*." Bonvouloir also writes to his employer that "they are satisfied they cannot

maintain themselves unless some nation protects them by sea; that two powers alone, France and Spain, are able to help them, but they see the difference between one and the other. I dexterously managed to make them feel the superiority in every way of the king, my master, over Spain, and they are convinced of it. I have made no offers, absolutely none, *merely* promising to do everything that *depended on me personally* without *committing* myself. They wanted to know if I thought it prudent in them to send a deputy with full powers to France. I replied that this seemed to me precipitous and hazardous; that everything done either in London or in France got to be known in both places, and that it was slippery business in the face of the English."

An interesting chapter of the book is the report of a French officer in America to his government, on the "Characteristics of the States and Sentiments of the People." Of Connecticut he says, "the brains of this state are in the head of Governor Trumbull." Of Massachusetts, "Boston is the head and heart. The French here are more liked than esteemed, being viewed pedler fashion, as so many shrewd bargainers, an assertion all recognize who have lived amongst them. The tone here is English." Of New Jersey, "almost on the borders of the city of New York, it has shown heroic constancy. The militia turn out of their own accord at sight of a red-coat. The governor, Livingston, is a Roman." Of Pennsylvania, "this state is the province most infested with royalists." The writer also says, "the members of congress are like husband and wife, always quarreling, but always uniting when family interests are concerned." The Lees and the Adamses are described as "all so many heads under one bonnet. Lee is English at heart, undoubtedly under English pay, and he will do all he can against France. Mr. Adams is a very cunning man and no friend of Dr. Franklin. Dr. Franklin is an honest man, or I am much mistaken; I fear there are few of his metal in America. The doctor is very intimate with Mr. Hartley, member of the House of Commons, and, as the latter has often proposed that the king (of England) should make peace with the Americans, this intimacy should be watched."

The policy of Vergennes was for reducing the power of England through the American revolution. He was closely studying affairs in America long before the battle of Lexington. The caution with which he proceeded, and the manner in which he turned his information to account, are curiously unfolded in these valuable documents, the greater portion of which have not heretofore been easily accessible to the student. The volume is one that should be placed in every library.



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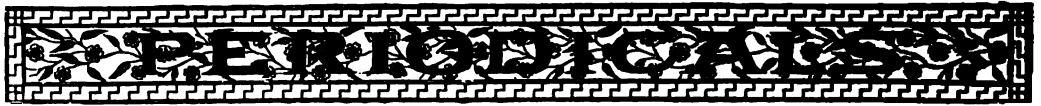
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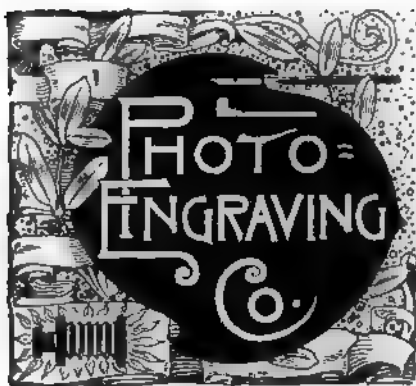
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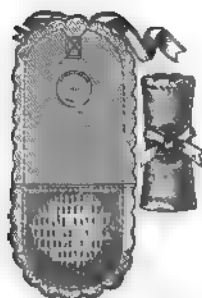
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Increase in Assets,	\$7,275,301 68
Surplus at four per cent.,	\$7,940,063 63
Increase in Surplus,	\$1,645,622 11
Policies in force,	158,369
Increase during year,	17,426
Policies written,	32,606
Increase during year,	10,301
Risks assumed,	\$103,214,261 32
Increase during year,	33,756,792 95
Risks in force,	482,125,184 36
Increase during year,	54,496,251 85
Receipts from all sources,	26,215,932 52
Increase during year,	3,096,010 06
Paid Policy-holders,	14,727,550 22

THE ASSETS ARE INVESTED AS FOLLOWS:

Bonds and Mortgages,	\$49,617,874 02
United States and other securities,	48,616,704 14
Real Estate and Loans on collateral,	21,786,125 34
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,	2,813,277 60
Interest accrued, Premiums deferred and in transit, etc.,	3,248,172 46
	\$126,082,153 56

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Surplus.
1884 . . .	\$34,681,420 . . .	\$351,789,285 . . .	\$4,743,771
1885 . . .	46,507,139 . . .	368,981,441 . . .	5,012,684
1886 . . .	56,832,719 . . .	393,809,203 . . .	5,643,568
1887 . . .	69,457,468 . . .	427,628,933 . . .	6,294,442
1888 . . .	103,214,261 . . .	482,125,184 . . .	7,940,063

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NOVEMBER, 1889

No. 5

HOME OF CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON

ABOUT one historic figure all the old traditions of Doughoregan manor-house, in Maryland, seem to cluster. Charles Carroll, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, inherited the estate, which for a variety of reasons was one of the most interesting in Maryland. He was born in 1737, at Annapolis, and in pursuit of an education spent about twenty years abroad. His father first placed him, when seven years of age, at the college of St. Omer in France. Later he entered the college of Louis le Grand, from which he was graduated at the age of seventeen. He studied law in Paris, and afterward at the Middle Temple at the same time with Joseph Reed of Delaware, and other Americans, and returned to Maryland in 1764, one of the most finished scholars of the age.

The manor-house which became his home was entered by a wide hall with English hunting-scenes and other old pictures on its walls. To the right was the library and the family sitting-room, both heavily paneled in oak, and more tenderly associated than any other part of the mansion with the useful life of the last surviving signer of the great document which made us an independent people. His portrait, and that of his son and grandson, have in the past added greatly to the attractions of these apartments. The dining-room, to the left of the entrance, was where the principal family portraits were displayed, representing the works of some of the best artists and the most fashionable costumes of the period in which they were produced. Sir Joshua Reynolds painted one of these—a beautiful young Carroll lady. A fine picture, executed in 1790, which hung in the large billiard-room of the right wing of the house, was a quaint sketch of the lord of the manor bidding adieu to his eldest son, about to sail for France—in the distance the ship, in the foreground the lad turning half reluctant to his father, whose hands are upon his shoulder, and his sisters standing by weeping. Half in shadow the negro servants watch the scene with sorrowful faces. The eldest sons of the Carrolls, as is probably well known, were all educated abroad for nearly two hundred years, and each one bore the name of Charles.

The historic dwelling itself, of low, rambling architecture, with supporting wings, three hundred feet long, had been erected on an artificial knoll, the land rolling away gently on every side. A handsome private chapel was attached to it, as shown in the illustration, the Carrolls having always been strict Catholics. The surrounding grounds—some three hundred acres of park, lawn, and gardens—were beautified with stately trees and innumerable patches of bright-colored flowers. The situation was in a rich, rolling, wooded country, about a mile from the old turnpike leading to Frederick city, and six miles above Ellicott's Mills on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, in Howard county. In its palmy days the manor farm is said by some writers to have supported about a thousand slaves, although documents extant hardly swell the number above four hundred.

Charles Carroll, the grandfather of the signer, was an Irish barrister of the Middle Temple, who was appointed by Lord Baltimore attorney-general of the American province in 1688, and shortly afterward arrived at Annapolis with quite a retinue of dependents. He possessed ample means to render life comfortable in the wilderness, and proceeded to secure extensive tracts of land, which were in due course of time erected into a manor with power to hold court-leet and court-baron. His son Charles, born in 1702, was the father of the signer.

On his return from Europe, in 1764, Charles Carroll found his native country in a turmoil about taxation. Lord Grenville had been promoted to the head of the treasury, and was energetically preparing to enforce the acts of navigation. The laws of England had become, as it were, invalidated, and Grenville took pride in his determination to restore them to their proper sphere. He regarded the colonies merely as settlements in remote corners of the world for the improvement of trade. England must not be defrauded of her natural rights. It was estimated that of a million and a half pounds of tea consumed annually in the colonies, not more than one-tenth part was sent from England! The nation's purse was thereby suffering. Measures founded upon the true principles of policy, commerce, and finance must be adopted. Thus reasoned the lord of the treasury, and thereby came to pass the stamp act of historic renown—one of the causes of the American Revolution.

With fearless energy young Charles Carroll opposed the scheme, and ere long became one of the important leaders of the opposition in America. He engaged in a newspaper war with the authorities of Maryland, and kept up a close correspondence with his friends in London, who advised him from time to time of the temper and movements of the king and of parliament. He became distinguished as a political writer, and coming



HOME OF CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON

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out triumphant from the contest with Dulany, the secretary of the colony, a brilliant writer on the side of the government, he received the thanks of his fellow-citizens of Maryland and ever after possessed their unbounded confidence. The essays which created such unparalleled excitement at the time were respectively signed "First Citizen" and "Antilore," and it was not known until after his antagonist was ignominiously overthrown that Carroll was the author who styled himself "First Citizen." As years rolled on his firm character and clear judgment made him the umpire in many momentous cases, notably when a prominent merchant of Annapolis imported a quantity of the obnoxious tea, and he advised the burning of the vessel in broad daylight in Annapolis harbor.

Charles Carroll's letters, such as are preserved, are, considering the period in which they were written, models of elegance in penmanship as well as diction. One addressed to Washington, bearing date September 26, 1775, counseling force if peace cannot be obtained on just terms, we are permitted to reproduce in *fac-simile* through the never-failing courtesy of the public-spirited collector, Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, to whom also our readers are indebted for the excellent portrait which forms our frontispiece, engraved from the bronze medallion recently executed by Dr. Charles L. Hogeboom. All who are familiar with the work of this emi-

Sir. At the request of the bearer Mr. T. I have presumed to trouble you
 with this letter, to introduce to your notice & countenance that young
 gentleman, who I flatter myself, will endeavour to deserve your
 good opinion, & favour. Should hostilities be suspended and
 a negotiation take place this winter, I hope to have the
 pleasure of seeing you in this city on your way to Virginia.
 If a treaty is but once taken on foot, I think, & much, terminate
 in a lasting & happy peace; an event, I am persuaded, you
 most earnestly desire, as every good citizen must, in which
 number you rank foremost: for who is justly deserving
 of that most glorious of all titles, as the man singled out by
 the unanimous voice of his country, for his love & attachment
 to it, and great abilities and placed in a station of the
 most exalted & dangerous Prominence? If we cannot
 obtain a peace on safe & just terms, my great wish is, that
 you may catch by force from our enemies, what their policy,
 & justice should have granted; and that you may long
 live to enjoy the same of the best, the noblest deed. The defending
 & securing the liberties of your country. Join with the
 greatest them.
 Annapolis 26. Sept. 1775. Sir. Cf. method. hum. look
 O. S. I desire my most respectful compli-
 -ments to General Lee & Gates. I should have done myself the pleasure
 of writing to the former by this opportunity, but that I think he has
 other things to do than to read letters of mere compliment.
 This city affords nothing new.

FAC-SIMILE OF A LETTER FROM CARROLL TO WASHINGTON IN THE COLLECTION OF DR. THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

nent artist—a series of studies in bronze, medallion portraits of Washing-
 ton, Lafayette, Jefferson, Franklin, Lincoln, Grant, Hamilton, and others
 —and have noticed his skill in giving expression to character and preserv-
 ing wonderful likenesses of his subjects, will unite in a cordial welcome to
 this new portrait of the great Maryland signer of the Declaration. When
 he affixed his well-rounded signature to that immortal document the

remark was made, "There go a few millions." He was then believed to be the richest man in the colonies. It is said that as he was writing his name a fellow delegate suggested that his cousin, Charles Carroll, might easily be taken for him, and he (the signer) escape attainder or any other punishment in store for the patriots, whereupon he added the words "of Carrollton" to the end of his name, exclaiming, "They cannot mistake me now."

From the signing of the Declaration until 1801 Charles Carroll's life was a public one, the history of which is well known. He was small of stature, with a high forehead, large aquiline nose, and gray eyes full of intelligence; his skin was so remarkably clear and thin that the blood could be seen meandering through every vein and artery. In his advanced years his hair was white, thick, and flowing, and he wore it brushed back from his lofty brow. He was an early riser, dressed with scrupulous nicety, was refined in his tastes and pleasures, and was animated and charming in conversation. He was not rhetorical, but a man of facts and logic, and a somewhat unenthusiastic speaker, but he wrote with fluency, dignity, and ease. He rarely dined out, and his habits of life at home were regular, although his style of living was very handsome and generous. As many as twenty guests were often in the old manor-house at one time, and yet the domestic affairs went on as if by magic, well-trained servants anticipating every want. His hospitalities were known and noted abroad as well as at home, and very few Englishmen of distinction visited this country without calling upon him. The British ministers to this country were his frequent guests, and Washington, Jackson, Taney, and others entered his door as intimate friends. One of his grand-daughters married Lord Wellesley, viceroy of Ireland, another Baron Stafford, and still another the Duke of Leeds. His son Charles married Harriet, the daughter of Benjamin Chew of Philadelphia. Charles Carroll lived, honored and revered by the republic, until 1832—lived to see forty-four years of progress under the Constitution, and at the age of ninety laid the corner-stone of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad.

A CHAPTER FROM THE HISTORY OF UTAH *

At the opening of January, 1848, the saints were housed, clad, and fed in moderate comfort, and general content prevailed. The season was exceptionally mild; there were occasional light falls of snow, but not enough to interfere with plowing and sowing,[†] and a large tract of land was partially enclosed and planted with wheat and vegetables.

So many people were now in the valley, that notwithstanding the abundant crops, food at length became scarce. Families weighed out their flour, and allowed themselves so much per day. The wheat was ground at a mill on City creek, but as there was no bolting-cloth, the shorts and bran could not be separated. The beef was very poor, as most of the cattle had been worked hard while driven to the valley and after their arrival, while those turned out to range did not fatten quickly. Butter and tallow were needed. One wild steer, well fattened, was brought in from Goodyear's rancho. A herd of deer, crossing from one range of mountains to another, was startled by the unexpected obstruction of the fort, and one sprang into the enclosure and was killed. Wild sago and parsnip roots constituted the vegetable food of the settlers. A few deaths occurred from poisonous roots. The bracing air and hard work stimulated appetite as stores decreased. For coffee, parched barley and wheat were used, and, as their sugar gave out, they substituted some of home manufacture. In the spring thistle tops were eaten, and became an important article of diet. Anxiety began to be felt about clothing, and the hand-loom was now busily at work, although wool was scarce. As shoes wore out moccasins were substituted, and goat, deer, and elk skins were manufactured into clothing for men and women, though most unsuitable for use in rain and snow.

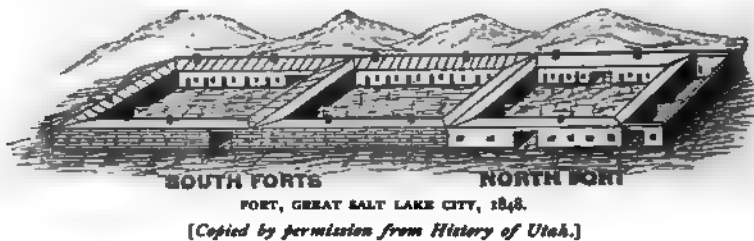
At the time of Parley P. Pratt's arrival the city of Great Salt Lake consisted of a fort enclosing a block of ten acres, the walls of part of the buildings being of adobes and logs. There were also some tents. As

* By permission of the publishers, we place the following extracts from Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft's latest volume, the twenty-first of his *History of the Pacific States*, before our readers. The photographic illustrations were made during the past summer by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes, of Albany, one of the prominent members of the New York Society of Amateur Photographers, while on a tour across the continent.

† It was a strange sight to see sometimes furrows on one side and snow on the other. In February men worked out of doors in their shirt sleeves — *Horne's Migrations*, MS. 24.

additional companies came in they extended the south division, which was connected with the old fort by gates. Wagon boxes were also brought into line and served for habitations until better accommodations were provided. The houses were built of logs, and were placed close together, the roofs slanting inward, and all the doors and windows being on the inside, with a loop-hole to each room on the outside. As everything indicated a dry climate the roofs were made rather flat, and great inconveniences resulted. In March the rains were very heavy, and umbrellas were used to protect women and children while cooking, and even in bed. The clay found in the bottoms near the fort made excellent plaster, but would not stand exposure to rain, and quickly melted. All breadstuffs were carefully gathered into the centre rooms and protected with buffalo skins obtained from the Indians. The rooms in the outer lines adjoined, and many of the families had several rooms. On the interior cross-line rooms were built on both sides, the streets being eight rods wide.

There were serious depredations committed by wolves, foxes, and cata-



mounts, and great annoyance occasioned by the howling of some of these animals. Further discomfort was caused by innumerable swarms of mice. Digging cavities and running about under the earthen floor, they caused the ground to tremble, and, when the rain loosened the stones of the roofs, scampered off in hordes. Frequently fifty or sixty had to be caught and killed before the family could sleep.

The furniture was home-made and very little of it at that. The table was a chest, and the bedstead was built into the corner of the house, which formed two of its sides, rails or poles forming the opposite sides; pegs were driven into the walls and rails, and the bedcord tightly wound around them. The chimneys were of adobe, and sometimes there was a fireplace in the corner with a clay hearth. [This describes the furniture of the first house occupied in the fort by Brigham Young's family. *Mrs. Clara Young's Pioneer Experience*, MS.]

During the winter of 1847-8, some Indian children were brought to the

fort to be sold. At first two were offered, but the settlers peremptorily refused to buy them. The Indians in charge said that the children were captured in war, and would be killed at sunset if the white men did not buy them. Thereupon they purchased one of them, and the one not sold was shot. Later several Indians came in with two more children, using the same threat: they were bought, and brought up at the expense of the settlers.

Before the expedition of the year 1848 there were nearly three thousand inhabitants, and including the pioneers, the battalion men, and the companies that arrived under Parley, at least five thousand of the saints assembled in the valley. In a private letter written in September, 1848, Parley writes: "How quiet, how still, how free from excitement we live! The legislation of our high council, the decision of some judge or court of the church, a meeting, a dance, a visit, an exploring tour, the arrival of a party of trappers and traders, a Mexican caravan, a party arrived from the Pacific, from the states, from Fort Bridget, a visit of Indians, or perhaps a mail from the distant world once or twice a year, is all that breaks the monotony of our busy and peaceful life. . . . Here too, we are all rich—there is no real poverty; all men have access to the soil, the pasture, the timber, the water power, and all the elements of wealth, without money or price."

On his arrival in the autumn, Brigham Young stirred up the people to the greatest activity. Fencing material being scarce, and the lands all appropriated, it was proposed that a large field for farming purposes adjoining the city should be selected and fenced in common. By October there were eight hundred and sixty-three applications for lots, amounting to eleven thousand and five acres. A united effort was made to fence the city, which was done by enclosing each ward in one field, and requiring the owner of every lot to build his proportion of the fence. No lots were allowed to be held for speculation, the intention originally being to assign them only to those who would occupy and improve them. The farming land nearest the city was surveyed in five-acre lots to accommodate the mechanics and artisans: next beyond were ten-acre lots, followed by forty and eighty acres, where farmers could build and reside. All these farms were enclosed in one common fence, constituting what was called the big field, before mentioned.

The streets were kept open but were barely wide enough for travel, as the owners cultivated the space in front of their houses. At a meeting on the 24th of September, permission was granted to build on the lots imme-



EAGLE GATE SALT LAKE CITY 1889.

(From a recent photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes.)

diately, all buildings to be at least twenty feet from the sidewalk, and a few days later it was voted "that a land record should be kept, and that \$1.50 be paid for each lot; one dollar to the surveyor and fifty cents to the clerk for recording." A council-house was ordered to be built by tithing labor;* and it was suggested that water from the Big Cottonwood be brought into the city; the toll for grinding grain was to be increased, and a resolution was passed against the sale or use of ardent spirits. That all might be satisfied, the lots were to be distributed "by ballot, or casting lots, as Israel did in days of old."

The law of tithing in its fulness requires the tenth of the surplus prop-

* Upon the matter of tithing, Joseph Smith in 1831 had three several revelations, each containing a clause requiring money and other property to be set apart for general use in the church. The first was received in February, the second in May, and the last in August.—*Times and Seasons*, iv 369; v. 416, 466. But it was not until several years later that an organized system was established, by revelation dated Far West, July 8, 1838.—*Doctrine and Covenants*, 382-3.

erty of the members coming to Zion to be paid into the church as a consecration, and after that one-tenth of increase or earnings annually. This is to be used for the poor, for building or other church purposes, and for the support of those engaged in church business. There are no salaried preachers. Tithing is paid in kind to the bishop, who renders a strict account, the whole financial system being in the hands of the bishopric, but supervised by the trustee in trust through the aid of an auditing committee. The names of those who do not keep the law of tithing shall not be enrolled with the people of God ; neither shall their genealogy be kept.*

Of the houses built early in 1849, few had more than two rooms, many had only board windows, and some were without doors. Several of the adobe houses in the fort had fallen down from the effects of the thaw. When at last they had learned how to make adobes, they were of the best kind. Alkali at first was mixed with the clay, which, when exposed to rain, would expand and burst the bricks. After this year more commodious structures were erected for public and private use, the means being supplied in part by traffic with emigrants for California. Conspicuous among them was the council-house on East Temple street, a two-story stone edifice, forty-five feet square, used originally for church purposes, and afterwards occupied by the state and territorial legislatures. In front of the council-house was temple block, on the south-west corner of which stood the tabernacle, built in 1851-2, on the ground now occupied by the assembly hall, with accommodations for twenty-five hundred persons, and consecrated on April 6th of the latter year. During its construction, the saints in every part of the world were urged to self-denial, and it was voted to dispense with the use of tea, coffee, snuff, and tobacco, the sums thus saved to be also used for the building of the temple, which was to stand on the same block. The latter was to be built of stone quarried in the mountains, and a railroad from temple block to the quarry was chartered for the conveyance of building material.

Within less than two years after the founding of Salt Lake city, the

* Says William Hall, "When I came to Illinois, I gave, as was required, one-tenth of the amount of my whole estate to be appropriated to the building of the temple. After this, annually, I gave one-tenth of the products of my farm ; even the chickens, cabbages, and other vegetables in kind were turned over, with a like share of the grain."—*Mormonism exposed*. Mrs. Stenhouse during her first winter in Salt Lake city made bonnets for Brigham Young's wives, for which a bill of \$250 was presented to Young, when the latter gave orders that the amount should be credited to the Stenhouses for tithing.—*Englishwoman in Utah*. There are two colonies of Mormons in Arizona that are free from territorial and county taxes. They are so isolated that the cost of collecting amounts to more than the taxes. They do not escape tithes, however.—*Elko* (Nev.) *Daily Independent*, Jan. 28. 1882.

population there had become larger than could be supported in comfort on the city lots and the lands in their vicinity, and it had been found necessary to form new settlements toward the north and south, the latter part of the territory being preferred, as water, pasture, and land fit for tillage were more abundant. Instead of merely adding suburb to suburb,



TITHING HOUSES. SALT LAKE CITY. PEOPLE BRINGING TITHES. 1889.

[From a recent photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes.]

all clustering around the parent centre, as might have been done by other communities, the church dignitaries, while yet Salt Lake city was but a village, ordered parties of the brethren, some of them still barely rested from their toilsome journey across the plains, to start afresh for remote and unprotected portions of a then unknown country. As new locations were needed, exploring parties were sent forth, and when a site was selected, a small company, usually of volunteers, was placed in charge of an elder, and ordered to make ready the proposed settlement. Care was taken that the various crafts should be represented in due proportion, and that the expedition should be well supplied with provisions, implements, and live stock.

When, for instance, at the close of 1850, it had been resolved to form a settlement in the neighborhood of Little Salt Lake, a notice appeared in the *Deseret News* of November 16, giving the names of those who had

joined the party, and calling for a hundred additional volunteers. They must take with them thirty thousand pounds of breadstuffs, five hundred bushels of seed wheat, thirty-four ploughs, fifty horses, fifty beef cattle, fifty cows, and twenty-five pairs of holster pistols ; each man must be supplied with an axe, spade, shovel, and hoe, a gun and two hundred rounds of ammunition. Among them there should be five carpenters and joiners, a millwright, a surveyor, and two blacksmiths, shoemakers and masons. Thus equipped and selected, the settlers, with their marvelous energy and thrift, made more progress and suffered less privation in reclaiming the waste lands of their wilderness than did the Spaniards in the garden spots of Mexico and Central America, or the English in the most favored regions near the Atlantic seaboard.

During these first years, while yet engaged in building houses, fencing lands, planting crops, and tending herds, the Mormons provided liberally for the cause of education. In the third general epistle of the twelve, dated the 12th of April, 1850, it is stated that an appropriation of five thousand dollars per annum, for a period of twenty years, had been made for a state university in Salt Lake city, branches to be established elsewhere throughout the territory as they were needed. In the curriculum, the Keltic and Teutonic languages were to rank side by side with the Romanic and all living languages spoken by men who were to be included. Astronomy, geology, chemistry, agriculture, engineering, and other branches of science were to be studied ; for having sought first the kingdom of heaven, the saints were now assured that knowledge and all other things should be added unto them. The world of science was to be revolutionized ; the theories of gravitation, repulsion, and attraction overthrown, the motion of atoms, whether single or in mass, being ascribed to the all-pervading presence of the Holy Spirit. The planetary systems were to be rearranged, their number and relations modified, for in the book of Abraham it was revealed that in the centre of the universe was the great orb Kolob, the greatest of all the stars seen by that patriarch, revolving on its axis once in a thousand years, and around which all other suns and planets revolved in endless cycles.

In 1850, by vote of congress, \$20,000 were appropriated for the building of a state-house, and the sum of \$5,000 was appropriated for the foundation of a library in Salt Lake city. The delegate from Utah was authorized to make a selection of books, and several thousand volumes were forwarded from the East during this and the following year. Rooms were prepared in the council-house for their reception, and many periodicals, both Mormon and gentile, were added to the stock of reading matter.

On the 15th of June, 1850, was published at Salt Lake city, under the editorship of Millard Richards, the first number of the *Deseret News*, a weekly paper, and the church organ of the saints. In this number, a copy of which I have before me, is a report of the conflagration which occurred in San Francisco on Christmas eve of 1849, and of Zachary Taylor's message to the house of representatives relating to the admission of California as a state.

Until the year 1849 the Mormons were entirely under the control of their ecclesiastical leaders, regarding the presidency not only as their



THE THREE WIFE HOUSE. SALT LAKE CITY.

[From a recent photograph by Miss Catherine Weed Barnes.]

spiritual head, but as the source of law in temporal matters. Disputes were settled by the bishops, or, as they were also termed, magistrates of wards, appointed by the presidency. The brotherhood discountenanced litigation, as before mentioned, but the population did not consist entirely of members of the church. There was already in their midst a small percentage of gentile citizens, gathered, as we have seen, from nearly all the civilized nations of the earth. It was probable that, as the resources of the territory were developed, this number would increase in greater ratio, and it was not expected that they would always remain content without some form of civil government. Not infrequently litigation arose among

the gentiles, or between Mormon and gentile; and though strict justice may have been done by the bishops, it was difficult for the latter to believe that such was the case. When the loser appealed to the presidency, their judgment always confirmed the decision of the bishops, and hence was further ground for dissatisfaction. The saints regarded their courts as divinely commissioned and inspired tribunals; but not so the gentiles, by whom reports were freely circulated of what they termed the lawless oppression of the Mormons. Thus it became advisable to establish for the benefit of all some judicial authority that could not be questioned by any, whether members of the church or not, and this authority must be one that, being recognized by the government of the United States, would have the support of its laws and the shield of its protection. Further than this, if the Mormons neglected to establish such government, the incoming gentiles would do so ere long.

Early in 1849, therefore, a convention was summoned of "the inhabitants of that portion of Upper California lying east of the Sierra Nevada mountains," and on the 7th of March assembled at Salt Lake city. A committee was appointed to draft a constitution, under which the people might govern themselves until congress should otherwise provide by law. A few days later the constitution was adopted, and a provisional government organized, under the name of the state of Deseret.* An immense tract of country was claimed, extending from latitude 33° to the border of Oregon, and from the Rocky mountains to the Sierra Nevada, together with a section of the territory now included in southern California, and the strip of coast lying between Lower California and 118° 30' of west longitude. The seat of government was to be at Salt Lake city, and its powers were to be divided, as in other states, into three branches, the legislative, executive, and judiciary. The legislative authority was to be vested in a general assembly consisting of a senate and house of representatives, both to be elected by the people. The executive power was placed in the hands of a governor, elected as elsewhere for four years; a lieutenant-governor, who was chosen for the same term, and became ex-officio president of the senate; a secretary of state; an auditor, and a treasurer. The judiciary was to consist of a supreme court, and such inferior courts as the general assembly might establish. A chief justice and two associate judges were to be elected by a joint vote of the senate and house of representatives.

* The word "Deseret" is taken from the book of Mormon, and means honey-bee. As it is written in the book of Ether of the people who came over the great water from the old world to the new: "And they did also carry with them 'deseret,' which, by interpretation, is a honey bee"

All free white male residents of the state over the age of twenty-one were allowed a vote at the first election, and all between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, except those exempt by the laws of the United States and of the state of Deseret, were to be armed, equipped, and trained as a state militia, embodied a few weeks later in the Nauvoo legion, which was now reorganized and divided into two cohorts, each cohort containing four regiments, each regiment two battalions, and each battalion five companies, Daniel H. Wells being major-general, and Jedediah M. Grant and Horace S. Eldredge brigadier-generals. On the 12th of March a general election was held at the bowery in Salt Lake city, this being the first occasion on which the saints had met for such a purpose. For the successful ticket six hundred and twenty-four votes were polled, Brigham Young being chosen governor, Willard Richards secretary, Horace S. Eldredge marshal, Daniel H. Wells attorney-general, Albert Carrington assessor and collector, Newell K. Whitney treasurer, and Joseph L. Heywood supervisor of roads. As no session of the assembly had yet been held, the judiciary was also elected by the people, Heber C. Kimball being chosen chief justice, and John Taylor and Newell K. Whitney associate judges. The general assembly was first convened on the 2d of July, and on the 3d, Willard Snow, being appointed speaker of the house of representatives, administered the oath of affirmation to the executive officials.

Thus did the brethren establish in the valley of the Great Salt Lake, the state of Deseret. It was certainly a novel and somewhat bold experiment on the part of the saints, mustering then little more than one-sixth of the number required for admission as a state, thus to constitute themselves a sovereign and independent people, with a vast extent of territory, and calmly await the action of congress in the matter. It will be remembered that they themselves had lent their aid, in howsoever slight degree, in wresting a portion of this territory from Mexico, and they did not claim more than they believed they could in time subdue and occupy. Already they felt assured that proselytes would gather by myriads under the banner of the prophet. Nor was their assurance unfounded: for not less than fifteen thousand arrived in the valley before the close of 1852, and were content to remain there, believing that they had found better prospects than were to be had even in the gold fields of California, which lay but a few weeks' journey beyond.

The Mormons did not, however, hope to remain an independent republic, nor did they probably wish to do so. Well they knew that the tide of westward-bound emigration, soon to be increased by the establishing of a stage line and possibly by the building of a railroad, which, as we shall see

later, was already projected, would sorely disturb the peace of their mountain home unless their claims were recognized by the United States. On the 30th of April a memorial had already been signed by more than two thousand persons, asking for a "territorial government of the most liberal construction authorized by our excellent federal Constitution, with the least possible delay." On the 5th of July Almon W. Babbitt was elected delegate to congress in a joint session of the senate and representatives, and on the 6th a memorial was adopted by the representatives, in which the senate concurred three days later, asking for admission as a state.

The latter memorial is a somewhat remarkable document, and serves to show the slight esteem in which the Mormons held the legislature of the United States, and the unbounded confidence which they placed in themselves. Congress is reminded that it has failed to provide a civil government for any portion of the territory ceded by the republic of Mexico; that the revolver and bowie-knife have so far been the law of the land; and that since the gold discovery many thousands have emigrated to California, all well supplied with the implements and munitions of war. Fears are expressed that, through the failure to provide civil jurisdiction, political aspirants may subject the government to great loss of blood and treasure in extending its authority over this portion of the national domain. The memorial declares that, for their own security, and for the preservation of the rights of the United States, the people of the state of Deseret have organized a provisional government, under which the civil policy of the nation is duly maintained; also that there is now a sufficient number of individuals to support a state government, and that they have erected at their own expense a hall of legislature which will bear comparison with those in older states. "Your memorialists therefore ask your honorable body to favorably consider their interests; and if consistent with the constitution and usages of the federal government, that the constitution accompanying this memorial be ratified, and that the state of Deseret be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with other states, or to such other form of civil government as your wisdom and magnanimity may award to the people of Deseret; and upon the adoption of any form of government here, that these delegates be received, and their interests properly represented in the congress of the United States."

The remarks made in this memorial on the danger of failing to provide a civil government at a time when California was occupied by thousands of armed and resolute men, seem the more pertinent when it is remembered that between 1846 and 1849 occurred the great struggle in congress on the question of slavery or no slavery in the ceded territory. When

congress adjourned on the 4th of March, 1849, all that had been done toward establishing some form of government for the immense domain acquired by the treaty with Mexico was to extend over it the revenue of the laws and to make San Francisco a port of entry. Thus "Upper California," as the entire region was still termed, had at this time the same political status as was held by Alaska between 1867 and 1884, at which latter date the national legislature placed that territory within the pale of the law. It is worthy of note also that in September, 1849, the people of California, incensed by the dilatory action of congress, followed the example of the Mormons by framing a constitution of their own.



HOME OF BRIGHAM YOUNG. SALT LAKE CITY.

[From a recent photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes.]

On his arrival in Washington Babbitt met with a somewhat cool reception. That the Mormons, not deigning to pass through the years of their political minority, should now ask admission as a state, and meanwhile constitute themselves a free and independent community, an imperium in imperio, issuing full-fledged, as did Minerva from the cranium of Jove, into the society of republics, was a proceeding that of course failed to meet with the approval of congress. The memorial, accompanied by the constitution of the state of Deseret, was presented to the senate on the 27th of December, 1849, by Stephen A. Douglas, who moved that it be

referred to the committee on territories, and about one month later it was so referred. On the 28th of January, 1850, it was ordered by the house of representatives that a memorial presented by the delegate, praying to be admitted to a seat in that body, be referred to the committee on elections. The committee unanimously recommended the adoption of the resolution: "That it is inexpedient to admit Almon W. Babbitt, Esq., to a seat in this body, as a delegate to the alleged state of Deseret."

In a committee of the whole the report of the committee on elections was read, and among the reasons given against the admission of Babbitt the following is most cogent: "The memorialist comes as the representative of a state; but of a state not in the Union, and therefore not entitled to a representation here; the admission of Mr. Babbitt would be a quasi recognition of the legal existence of the state of Deseret; and no act should be done by this house which, even by implication, may give force and vitality to a political organization extra-constitutional and independent of the laws of the United States." After considerable debate the report was adopted by a vote of one hundred and eight to seventy-seven, and the state of Deseret thus failed to receive recognition from Congress.

Some action must be taken in the matter, however, for while yet the struggle on slavery was at its fiercest, the inhabitants of the territory ceded by Mexico had formed themselves into two separate states, each with its own constitution, the people of California having declared against slavery, and the people of Deseret having taken the reins into their own hands. Finally, on the 7th of September, 1850, on which day the celebrated compromise measures became law and were supposed to have settled forever the slavery question, a bill passed the senate for the admission of California as a state, without slavery, while the self-constituted state of Deseret, shorn somewhat of its proportions, was reduced to the condition of New Mexico, under the name of the Territory of Utah.

Hubert H. Bancroft

RISE OF A GREAT MASONIC LIBRARY

"O for a Booke and a shadie nooke,
Eyther in-a-doore or out,
With the greene leaves whisp'ring overhede,
Or the Streete cryes all about,
Where I may Reade all at my ease,
Both of the Newe and Olde,
For a jollie goode Booke, whereon to looke,
Is better to me than Golde."

Old English Song.

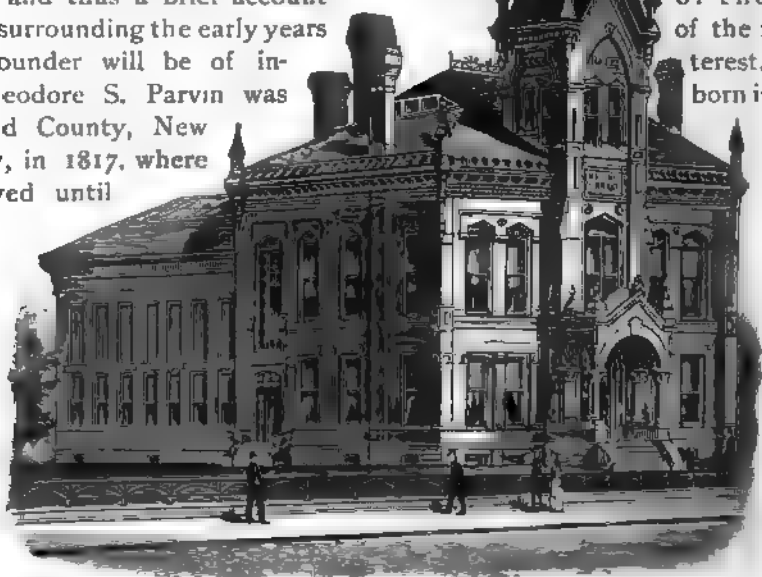
It is safe to presume that even among book lovers there are not many who would fully indorse the sentiment of the above quotation if applied to books of so distinctive a character as those of a masonic library. There is no science, art, or order, nevertheless, without its own especial devotees, and the glowing lines from the old song do in reality but feebly express the fond regard for "masonry and its kindred sciences" of those to whom the country is chiefly indebted for this truly unique institution—the only one of its kind in either the old world or the new.

It is a singular fact that this library is little known outside the immediate membership of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, whose property it is, and it has never received that recognition from scholars, either within or without the general ranks of masonry, to which as a treasure-house of rarest historic information it would seem justly entitled. This may in a measure be owing to its being an institution of comparatively recent growth, during one period of which it was retarded by the distracting influences of a disastrous civil war, although probably more largely due to the fact that from the first moment of organization the Grand Lodge was composed of "men of affairs," business men, professional men, statesmen, and others, whose hands and brains had been so occupied with the double task of building up their own fortunes, while shaping the destinies of the young state with which these fortunes were identified, that matters pertaining especially to the lodge were largely left to the management of their Grand Secretary. Mr. T. S. Parvin has served the lodge in this capacity, with the exception of one brief period of twelve months, during the entire forty-five years of its existence. With this officer a high order of scholarly tastes and devotion to masonic interests were alike inborn and inseparable. His associate members appreciated these qualities; thus

library matters were completely left to his discretion. More than a quarter of a century elapsed before the peculiar features of his work became much known and talked about. Except Mount Holyoke seminary, founded by Miss Lyon, it is doubtful if there is another institution in America whose history is so intricately interwoven with the life-history of a single individual as that of this masonic library at Cedar Rapids, Iowa. As cause and sequence the two are inseparable; to understand the one is to know the other, and thus a brief account of the influences surrounding the early years of the illustrious founder will be of interest.

Theodore S. Parvin was born in Cumberland County, New Jersey, in 1817, where he lived until

born in Cumberland County, New Jersey, in 1817, where he lived until



GRAND LODGE LIBRARY BUILDING, CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA.

nearly twelve years of age, when his parents moved to Cincinnati, Ohio. After a course in the high school the lad matriculated in the law department of Cincinnati college, then under the presidency of Dr. McGuffey, the noted author of the Eclectic series of school-books, and was graduated therefrom in 1837 when but twenty years of age. In the meantime he had pursued a course of private study under the tutelage of Judge Wright of the supreme court and Judge Walker of the superior court. One year later he was admitted to the bar of the supreme court.

A slight but permanent lameness, the result of an accident in early boyhood, enforced a sedentary habit, and was one impelling cause of his rapid progress in scholastic work; but that which most contributed to the final life purpose, toward which all this was but a step in preparation,

seems to have been a matter of inheritance. Endowed with an unusually vivid imagination, among the earliest and deepest impressions of childhood was a mingled feeling of awe and wonder concerning the mysteries of that strange lodge-room to which his father so frequently and, to all appearances, so solemnly repaired. What was the object? What was done in that ever locked and silent room? Were the secrets of earth or of heaven? A subsequent visit to this room in company with his father served only to strengthen his interest; for, either from something that was then said or from what was there seen or perhaps still more imagined, certain it is the lad left that apartment with the firm determination to make the study and practice of masonry a part of his coming life-work, and in steady pursuance of this end, on the day he became twenty-one years of age—the earliest moment possible according to the rules of the order—he presented himself as a candidate and was admitted to the “Nova Cesarea Harmony” Lodge of Cincinnati, the third masonic lodge organized west of the Alleghany mountains.

Soon after this event, as well as soon after his admission to the bar, the young man was present at a farewell banquet given by the city of Cincinnati to Governor Lucas in honor of his appointment as first territorial governor of Iowa, and attracting the governor's favorable attention he was invited to accompany him to his new field of labor in the capacity of private secretary. The offer was accepted, and soon thereafter the whilom young law student found himself established at the gubernatorial headquarters in Burlington, Iowa.

At that time there was not a single masonic lodge in the territory, nor for two years later; then, November 12, 1840, Mr. Parvin helped to organize Des Moines Lodge No. 1 of Burlington, the worthy progenitor of the many prosperous masonic lodges to be found in the state to-day. Thus early did Mr. Parvin become identified with the fortunes of the state, and thus did the inclinations of boyhood assume definite form by means of active identification with the organization whose principles, as exemplified in the high character of its membership, have been among those effective agencies which have tended to bring Iowa to its present honorable place among the states of the Union.

At the time of Governor Lucas' appointment the territory was very sparsely settled, the bulk of population being confined to a narrow strip along the eastern boundary, where, as late as January 8, 1844, there were really less than one hundred masons and but four subordinate lodges. As one report says, “the prospects for great literary activity were not flattering,” and had it not happened that Mr. Parvin was appointed Grand Sec-

retary when the officers of this important lodge were first chosen, it is probable there would have been no story of a Grand Lodge library to tell to-day. He had already distinguished himself as a "reading mason," and already was the project of a future monster library beginning to find lodgment within his mind, and to assume the form of an individual purpose. Among the first recorded acts of the Grand Lodge of Iowa was the appointment of a library committee, whose report at the first annual meeting in 1845 reads as follows: "We believe that a commencement should be made, and additions from time to time as the Grand Lodge may be able, so that in time we may have a collection of masonic information that may be an honor to us." The immediate result of this was an appropriation of *five dollars*, "to be expended under the direction of the Grand Secretary for receiving such information as he may see proper."

Thus was begun what was claimed to be the first Grand Lodge library in existence, and is now the largest and most complete collection of masonic works in the world. An amusing story is told of the means by which the first book was obtained. Calling one day upon a young lady friend in the winter of 1842-43, Mr. Parvin found on the centre-table a copy of Cole's *Fhiman Rezon*, and becoming absorbed in the volume he forgot his surroundings, until the lady suggested that if the book was so much more interesting than herself he had better take it. How peace was made with the offended lady is not told, but he took the book, and this initial volume may still be seen upon the shelves.

Five dollars would seem but slight foundation upon which to base hopes of a great superstructure, but Mr. Parvin's zeal in this especial work knew no bounds, and with the small sum he set about the desired collection, and so early as 1849, four years from date of first appropriation, books enough had been gathered to justify the publication of a small four-page catalogue. Thenceforward the work went steadily on until the year 1882, when the annual report showed a library worth fully \$12,000, but which, through the indefatigable exertions of its collector, had been procured at an expense to the Grand Lodge of not more than \$2,500.

It is only by knowing how multifarious were Mr. Parvin's other duties while engaged in making this collection that one is able to appreciate the magnitude of the achievement indicated by these figures. For at no time in its history up to that date, 1882, had he given his exclusive attention to this work. Like all the other members of the Grand Lodge he was a man of affairs, with a family to support, and business interests to both enhance and protect. From the place of governor's secretary he was successively promoted by election to the clerkship of the United States

district court of Iowa, and registrar of the state land office, which he finally resigned to enter upon a ten years' term as professor of natural history in the Iowa state university—of which institution, as a member of its first board of trustees, he was also one of the founders. While there, in addition to the duties of his chair, Professor Parvin acted as curator and librarian for the institution, besides laying the foundations of Iowa's now fine state library by taking it in charge for one year and purchasing for it its first five thousand volumes.

It would seem that so many conflicting personal interests would have



THEODORE A. PARVIN, GRAND SECRETARY.

[Engraved from a photograph.]

been more than sufficient to daunt his courage for outside undertakings. These, however, were by no means the greatest difficulties with which the library project had to contend, which were found in the unfavorable literary conditions under which the work was begun and for a long time carried on, as shown by the following statement from Mr. Parvin: "Fifty years ago a large part of the literature of 'masonry and its kindred sciences,' outside the ritual, *attainable to readers of English only*, was, with comparatively few exceptions, and those mainly pamphlets, contained in Webb's Monitor, Cross's Chart, and a few books of similar character.

Among the newer settlements of the west then, and for many years after, even these few were scarcely attainable; and reading masons, like 'book farmers,' were regarded with little favor if not with actual suspicion by their brethren more fortunate, because desiring no knowledge beyond an ill-digested and contradictory ritual and a few traditional stories, improbable and childish, although rendered sacred by being often repeated."

How far the efforts of this one man were directly instrumental in bringing about the now existing very different state of things, it would be difficult even to conjecture; but certain it is that, soon after this library project had assumed definite shape, masons in this country began to awaken to the fact that if their order was to meet and satisfy the ever-increasing intelligence of an enlightened age, it must place itself in a position to answer inquiry and show aims worthy of respect. So to this end investigation began, ancient records were searched, and translations made, until with the old, and the much that was new which soon began to be written and scattered broadcast, it was not many years before masonry had won for itself a very respectable place in the great modern republic of letters.

In 1882 this library had already assumed really formidable proportions, but before the expiration of that year it was destined to become nearly doubled in size and value by the addition of the private library of Mr. R. F. Bower of Keokuk, Iowa, which, besides an extensive miscellaneous assortment of books on subjects allied to masonry, embraced the largest collection of purely masonic works ever belonging to one individual, its cost having aggregated fully twelve thousand dollars, to say nothing of the time and labor expended in its collecting. The Grand Lodge obtained this fine library at the very low price of four thousand dollars.

Now indeed had they that "collection of information which should be an honor to them," as had been foreshadowed in that long ago first report. With books worth twenty-five thousand dollars on hand, the question of some safe and suitable place for them became a matter of immediate import. For years previous the librarian had felt this to be a matter of vital concern, but his solicitude had not been shared by the members of the lodge in general. The necessity was too apparent to be longer ignored, and in less than two years from the time the lodge took the matter earnestly in hand, May 17, 1884, it became Mr. Parvin's happy privilege to assist in the imposing ceremonies of laying the corner-stone of what is now the completed structure of one of the most beautiful and most perfectly appointed library buildings within the borders of the United States. It is a fire-proof building, constructed of brick, stone, and iron, at a cost of thirty-two thousand dollars; the ground upon which it stands, with ten

thousand dollars in cash, having been donated by the public-spirited masons of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, which generous gift determined its location. Thus that which while in embryo came to be facetiously known as "Parvin's hobby," now stands proudly before the world a grand accomplished fact—a worthy monument to a life of worthy endeavor.

Since the erection of this building Mr. Parvin has devoted his whole time and attention to the care and arrangement of the library, and it is probable that within these walls he will complete his life-work. Could anything be more fitting or more beautiful?—the dream of youth, the hope of maturer years, becoming the perfected ideal of a well-rounded life.

It is unnecessary in this connection to attempt a complete survey of the literary fields from which the treasures to be found upon the shelves of this building have been gleaned, and only the general character will be indicated. First in importance stand the works on masonic history and jurisprudence, in the study of which the previously uninstructed reader is liable to meet with something of a surprise in finding that masonic history is so interwoven with the history of the world as a part of its religions, arts, customs, and social institutions, that to well understand the one is to know much also of all the rest. Works therefore on all these related subjects are to be found in great abundance. In works on mythology and tradition this library is especially rich. Among these, wherein they touch upon the beginnings of the present Christian civilization, one learns why masonry is both exoteric and esoteric—a part free to the whole world and a part known only to the initiated.

In the library report for 1885 there is an account of how all this came about, how mystery became a corporate part of the system, and why purely "speculative" masonry—in contra-distinction to "operative" which only could make an extensive masonic literature possible—is of so recent date that its oldest publication is said to be not more than two centuries. After showing what were the religious conditions of the world at the time Christianity was first finding for itself a foothold, this report says: "You will also recognize the importance and the need for a pure religion, like the Christian, to protect itself against misconception of its rites and symbols, and misunderstanding of its doctrines, which severally must present many features in common. There was a graded worship, so to speak, to meet this necessity, and as persecutions, bitter, cruel, and fierce, arose to destroy the infant church, it became necessary to guard against acts of treachery. The word 'traitor' had its origin in this very connection. The heathen power soon became conscious of the fact that, to stamp out this religion of the Christ, it must obtain and destroy its sacred writings.

Consequently life was offered to such as would give up the writings which might be in their individual possession, and those doing so were called 'traditores'—i. e., traitors. They were held in such disfavor by the faithful, that although they might repent—as some did in bitter humiliation and sorrow—still that one act was held to disqualify for any place of honor or trust ever afterward. Amidst such trying circumstances, the church became a secret society. The creed was not only a symbol of faith but a pass with which to obtain access to the worship. The heralds of the cross did not hesitate to preach the gospel publicly, even at the ever constant risk of martyrdom. It was not the good news of God which was to be held in secret, but those mysteries of redemption which must be forever dissociated from their debased imitations in the false religions. The central act of worship was a mystery which none might witness except the initiated who had passed through a careful course of instruction, and won the distinction not only of illuminati but also the title of the faithful. So, beside the symbol of faith professed at baptism, the faithful had their token, called *tessera*—a cubical piece of wood, ivory, or other material on which were engraved the Greek initial letters for the names of the ever blessed Trinity, and it is said that these *tesserae* were found in use as late as the eleventh century, as we now use written certificates for communicants. *Mark well*, then, brethren, the necessity for an act of secrecy, and for sign and token, even in the development of the Christian religion. To this day a custom is still prevalent which bears witness to the truthfulness of this position, viz., the departure from the church of all except those who are about to communicate—the Lord's Supper being still considered the highest act of worship and a mystery of our holy religion. . . . It is universally admitted that for centuries learning was confined almost wholly to the clergy of the Christian church. They were the patrons of the arts and sciences. From the time of Charlemagne in the eighth century, to the middle of the twelfth, it is asserted by Mackey that all knowledge and practice of architecture, painting, and sculpture were confined to the monks. Not only the principles but the practice of the art of building were secrets scrupulously maintained within the walls of cloisters and utterly unknown by laymen. St. Boniface, who is called the apostle of Germany, organized his workingmen into classes—*operarii*, craftsmen; *magistri*, workmen or masters of the works; and *coementarii*, or stone-masons. This latter name affords one of the clues to the connection of our order of freemasons with Ancient Craft masonry, for there were established Roman colleges of stone-masons in all Roman colonies and provinces, to further building and promote civilization. These came

under the influence of the church in due time. Then came a class of men superior to these, from their learning, refinement, and piety, who built the sacred edifices. But the work outgrew their power to cope with it as in the time of St. Boniface. The laymen became a necessity. Gradually the laity became possessors of the secrets of the religious orders and the principles of architecture, and organized lay fraternities. The work gradually and inevitably passed into the hands of these lay organizations, including architects, builders, and laborers. They had, however, the protection and patronage of both the church and the state. They wielded great influence, and secured large privileges as a consequence."

Such was the original character and purpose of the fraternity of freemasons. Their first written constitution of which there is authentic record was framed in England in the year 926; but the first large gathering of the fraternity was not until 1275, nearly three and one-half centuries later, when Erwin Van Steinbach, architect of Strasburg cathedral, called together master builders from Germany, England, and Italy, and organized the great body of operative freemasons, which continued to wield great influence until the year 1703, when by a change brought about by statute in England the society became purely speculative—a change which had become necessary by the change in all social conditions.

It would be impossible to make altogether clear to the general reader the differences between the earlier and later organizations, but the simple tools of the original craft stand in both the later and higher organization as symbols of its great and beneficent principles. In the department of jurisprudence in this library, the most valuable book is a copy of *Anderson's Constitutions*, a London publication in the year 1723. All true masons hold this book as beyond price in being for them the "end of the law," its "charges of a freemason" being the fundamental principles, universal and unchangeable, upon which all valid laws of the order must be based, so that an appeal to its pages becomes the absolute end of all controversy.

Somewhat over twenty years ago one enthusiastic lover of old and rare works wrote as follows: "What a history this book has had! Printed one hundred and forty-two years ago, where has it been during all these generations? George Washington was not born until nine years after it was printed. This great nation was then but a few scattered colonies along the Atlantic coast—the mere germ of the mighty empire it is to-day. At that time there was not a lodge of freemasons on the American continent, and but very few in Europe. New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore were but little more than large villages, while the locations of Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Chicago were unknown to civilized man. London

had hardly yet recovered from the great fire; the monument was yet new; St. Paul had been completed only three years before; and Sir Christopher Wren, the world-renowned architect, and grand master, had but recently passed away." To this graphic sketch might now be appended the equally striking events of the period since it was written.

The lover of rare old books would find much more of equal interest in this department; but in this connection, two other volumes only, supposed to be the only copies of the original editions now in existence, need be mentioned. The quaint title-page of one is as follows:

A

Serious and Impartial

INQUIRY

Into the cause of the present Decay of

FREEMASONRY

in the

KINGDOM OF IRELAND,

Humbly Addressed to all the Brethren Accepted of before and since
the *Constitutions*,
to which are added

Such Instructive Remarks as may be found useful to Revive the Honour of the Ancient
Craft.

As likewise, by way of Appendix, will be inserted the Old and New Regulations of the
London Constitution, by the consent and approbation of the GRAND LODGE of
Ireland, and dedicated by the Right Worshipful and Right Honorable, the
Lord Viscount ALLEN, Grand Master of this Kingdom.

The whole adorned with a curious copper-plate [unfortunately missing] suitable to
the order and design.

By Fifield Dassigny, M.D., author of the Impartial Answers to the Enemies of Freemasons.

DUBLIN :

Printed by Edward Bate, in George's Lane, near Dame street.

MDCCLXIV.

Masons will be interested in the following reference to this book which we quote from the librarian's report for 1884: "This work contains the earliest known reference to Royal Arch Masonry, and we quote the passage: 'How comes it to pass (he inquires on page 32) that some have been led away with ridiculous *innovations*, an example of which I shall prove by a certain propagator of a *false system* some few years ago in this city [Dublin], who imposed upon several very worthy men under pretense of being MASTER OF THE ROYAL ARCH, which he asserted he had brought with him from the city of *York*, and that the beauties of the craft did principally consist in the knowledge of this valuable piece of masonry.'

The *italics* and small CAPITALS are ours [Mr. Parvin's]. It is curious to read how the learned brother goes on to denounce the 'scheme' and the 'fallacious art' which he plainly proves to be 'a false doctrine,' for which the scheming innovator was 'excluded from all benefits of the craft.'

. . . . 'The stone which the builders rejected,' etc."

The other volume is entitled—

THE
OLD CONSTITUTIONS
belonging to the
ANCIENT AND HONOURABLE SOCIETY
of
FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.

Taken from a Manuscript wrote about five hundred years since.

LONDON :
Printed and sold by J. Roberts, in
Warwick-Lane, MDCCXXII.
(Price, six-pence.)
12mo, pp. 24.

Among the many donors of valuable gifts to this library, Mr. S. F. Matthews of St. John, New Brunswick, has been the most conspicuously generous, his contributions to the book department alone having already been sufficient to warrant the setting apart of one of the ten large book-cases in the building for the exclusive use of the "Matthews Collection," while more space is promised for the near future. Some of the books in this latter collection are over three hundred years old. Among those of later production which would prove most interesting to the general reader is an *Iconographic Dictionary* in six volumes, and an illustrated French work in five large quarto volumes entitled :

Histoire des Religions et des Mœurs de tous les Peuples du Monde, etc. By B. Picart. Paris, 1816.

Also :

The Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the Greeks and Protestants. London, 1736. In six large folio volumes

These last-mentioned works are to be found in the basement of the building, in what is termed the "Government Room," which is chiefly devoted to the use of books coming from the large public libraries, state societies, Smithsonian institute, and other national departments and or-

ganizations upon whose several exchange lists this library is numbered. Adjoining this room is one in which Mr. Parvin has stored a fine private collection of Iowa historical works, to obtain an unbroken series of which he has labored unceasingly since his first coming to the state, over fifty years ago. This series includes *all* the publications issued by state authority, and very many others by societies and individuals. This collection is large, rare, and valuable, and has been much sought after by those in charge of the libraries of our state, the state historical society, and state university, as well as some of the leading colleges, etc.

For one small octavo volume therein—one of the earliest published territorial reports—the state of Michigan recently offered the sum of \$50. It is needless to say the offer was not accepted. In the large, well-lighted attic which forms the fourth story of the building is found the librarian's "workshop," where all the unbound volumes of proceedings, pamphlets, periodicals, etc., which from all quarters of the globe are constantly pouring into his hands, are assorted and arranged for the binder.

It is probable that this is Mr. Parvin's most laborious as well as most important work for the library. To know what to reject and what to preserve from out such a constant and varied stream of masonic literature in order that the rapidly filling shelves may not become encumbered with a mass of sometime useless matter, cannot fail to be difficult. By means of his long apprenticeship to masonic interests, Mr. Parvin has become thoroughly conversant with the needs of the young and struggling lodges which are constantly springing into existence throughout the newer communities, and it was to meet one of the most pressing necessities of these that, when the Bower collection with its large number of volumes duplicating those in the library came, he hit upon the plan of a circulating library, which has proven not only of great benefit to such lodges, but to authors and students as well—who for purposes of consultation and reference have been unable to visit the library in person.

One item in a recent report mentions the presentation of a full set of ten bound volumes of Grand Lodge Proceedings to the Grand Lodge of Colored Masons of Liberia; and similar sets to the British Museum, the congressional library, and the public library of the city of Toronto, Canada, which shows how the influence of this library is otherwise extending.

To an outsider not the least interesting feature of this library is its seventy-five Masonic periodicals, thirty-three of which are published in this country and forty-two in foreign countries. One comes from far-off New Zealand, one from Australia, and others from Germany, Hungary, Spain,

France, Great Britain, Cuba, South America, and Mexico, being among contemporaneous lodges what similar publications are among the churches—safeguards against the encroachments of error and schism, while aiding to cement the bonds of fraternal union.

Since masonry assumed its speculative form, it has become more or less interwoven with all general matters. Political systems, scholastic and religious culture, all its various environments, have affected it as it has them, until, as in tracing to their fountain-head the national peculiarities of victorious peoples, one has to familiarize himself also with the history of those they have subjugated; so in studying masonry must he make long excursions into those cognate but outlying fields. With this in view the librarian has enriched the collection with books of travel, of history, of poetry, and even of fiction, while in those "quaint and curious volumes of forgotten lore," treating of the worship of the powers of nature, of the occult sciences, and of those thousands of "uncanny subjects on which few well-regulated minds desire to dwell," the shelves contain many rare and valuable selections.

Among the curios of this miscellaneous department it is amusing to find a number of almanacs, ranging in date from 1682 to 1693, filled as are those of the present time with antique jokes and advertisements of patent medicines. A decidedly unique collection of books is that of all the *anti* masonic literature of any repute ever published, and one who desired to overthrow the institution could not do better than to come here for his arguments. In the year 1885 it was decided to add an archæological department, which at once made for itself friends, and has been steadily in receipt of donations until it has already become one of the most interesting if not the most valuable features of the library. A distinguished object in this department is a magnificent collection of spar from the lead mines of Dubuque.

Independent of its worth to the order of masons everywhere, this institution will stand in all the future as a noble monument to simple personal endeavor the parallel of which the world will seldom witness. And of the one to whom its achievement has been one long labor of love, when his efforts shall have come to an end what more or better can be said than:

"He did his work, in his small sphere
That God had given him, and labored well"?

Lydia Jackson Lufphere

THE STONE IMAGES OF SAN AUGUSTIN

Near the little village of San Augustin, in Tolima, a department of the republic of Colombia, are found the remains of an ancient people, which in durability and interest must be classed among the most remarkable aboriginal relics upon the continent. This region was inhabited by the Andaquies, whose nascent civilization was stifled in its very cradle by the Spanish conquest. According to Codazzi,* the religious idea had germinated powerfully among them and produced sculptures in which they endeavored to materialize or express their conception of Divinity. As, unlike the neighboring tribes, they did not possess gold in abundance from which to manufacture small images, they cut their idols, almost of heroic size, from the solid rock. Neither did they understand the art by which to remove their gods from the eyes of the vulgar, enclosing them within sacred walls: so they hid them in the dense forest of the tropics, and gave them for a temple an entire valley—isolated, mysterious, and almost impenetrable.

Upon arriving at the bridge which spans the Magdalena river on the road from Timaria, a barrier of apparently inaccessible rocks is encountered; but once scaled by a tortuous and difficult path, the little valley of San Augustin is seen in all its picturesque beauty. It is traversed by the wooded stream of the same name, and partly inclosed by the Naranjo and Granadillo, which unite to form the impetuous Sombrerillo, that in its turn soon empties into the Magdalena. On each side of the valley there rises a line of gently sloping hills, upon whose diversified summits groups of trees blend harmoniously with the green turf, which seems to cover the earth perpetually at this altitude of six thousand feet and delicious temperature of seventy degrees Fahrenheit. These hills terminate in the vertical scarf of the Naranjo upon the east and that of the Magdalena upon the west; while southward the view is limited by obscure and deserted forests shelving the highest ridge, which is crowned by the bleak *pdramo* of Las Papas, and crossed by the craggy path that connects the headwaters of the Magdalena with the canton of Almoguer. From its edge rises clearly the loftiest of the peaks of Catanga, which reaches an altitude of

* In the preparation of this paper the writer acknowledges the free use of Colonel Codazzi's valuable and interesting (Spanish) report of the operations of the Colombian Cosmographic Commission, the secretary of which, Señor Paz, executed upon the spot the wash-drawings from which the illustrations have been made.

more than fifteen thousand feet ; while not far away and distinguished by its peculiar configuration is the *cerro* of Peña grande, measuring twelve thousand feet in absolute height. Following with the eye this line of noble summits in a northerly direction, the five snowy Coconucos are discovered, distant only about thirty miles if the frozen crests of Mazamurras did not interpose ; but, as if in compensation, the *cañon* of the river Paez discloses, above the lowlands which contain the Plata, the majestic snow-clad Huila, with its three resplendent peaks more than three hundred feet higher than El Tolima. Such is the magnificent setting in which is inclosed the valley of San Augustin.

The accompanying engravings faithfully represent the various images that are found lying in different parts of the valley. Codazzi has given them the ingenious and not unreasonable interpretation to which reference is made in the description. This distinguished investigator believes that an examination proves conclusively that they were carved with a premeditated design and are essentially ideagraphic. There is nothing to indicate that they were the result of a simple attempt to reproduce the human figure, in its common form, according to the Andaquian type ; on the contrary, there is observable a manifest intention to modify the features of the face in every idol, as if to characterize its vocation or office, thus forming, as it were, so many petrified thoughts or hieroglyphical studies. All these images, he says, differing among themselves, undoubtedly express a religious system, with a possible application to social life. If otherwise, how can we explain these complete transformations of the human face which occasionally, as in the caryatides, the same or a different artist was able to copy with such perfection ? This judgment, adds Codazzi, is confirmed by the topographical plan of the valley ; and besides the characteristics which bespeak it to have been a grand temple, there are likewise indications that it was a place of mysterious initiation. It is not improbable, however, that these sculptors belonged to an older and more enlightened nation than the Andaquies, who appear to have left few other relics of their civilization ; and it is a remarkable fact that the stone of which the figures are carved is not found in the immediate vicinity. Belalcázar, who passed near the valley in his march from Quito to Bogotá, made no mention of it, and the discovery of the images is of comparatively recent date. As yet, a systematic investigation can scarcely be said to have taken place, and every year new and perhaps more interesting pieces are being unearthed by the indefatigable but destructive treasure-seeker.

Soon after entering the valley, three figures are encountered upon a hillock. Two of them have evidently been torn from their ancient seat,

while the third, judging from its incomplete state, was probably never erect. All are carved out of a hard, ferruginous sandstone. The first (Fig. 1) measures four feet three inches in height. Its head, which is large and flat, is covered by a sort of calote and has neither ears nor nose. Instead of eyes and mouth, there are three rectangular cavities symmetrically placed. It seems to be seated, the chin supported upon a staff held in both hands. The trousers—for such they appear to be—are turned up as if for a journey, and behind, a cape is suspended from the head after the manner of the Indian women of to-day. Perhaps this image represents

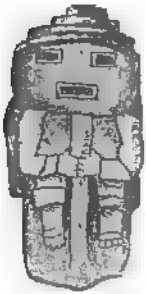


FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

the neophyte in his peregrination, with eyes that see not, a mouth that cannot speak, and without ears by which to receive the truth. The second (Fig. 2), three feet four inches high, is a cylindrical shaft. The head is thrust into a curious but regularly shaped covering that conceals the nose and ears but exposes the eyes, which are round and open, and a disproportionately large mouth fully armed with teeth. From between the latter projects what seems to be a tongue, terminating in a small, human head bearing an expression of death. No legs are apparent. The third (Fig. 3) is an unfinished head. As these images are placed at the very beginning of the path which crosses the valley and leads from one stone or group to another, Codazzi thinks they were designed to indicate to the pilgrim that henceforth he should endeavor to perfect his sense of sight, adding perhaps a threat of death if he loosed his tongue and spoke of what he was about to see.

From this point the path leads to the right, where upon an eminence is found a group (Fig. 4) cut in relief from the solid rock, about three feet four inches high and of equal width, representing a large monkey which shelters with its body and caresses a smaller one, as if manifesting maternal affection. Adjacent is found the half image of a naked and not ill-

formed woman, nearly three feet high, which, with another that is probably buried under the *débris* left by treasure-seekers, and among which there are indications of the destruction of an image, would humanly complete the significance of the group.

From this point the path leads eastward to the little village of San Augustin, whence, following the brook which irrigates the valley, there is found a grove of trees in which is discovered a trough perfectly hewn out of a solid mass of sandstone, four feet three inches in length, about one foot wide and eight inches high, the proximity of which to the water can have had no other object than that of purifying the proselyte by bathing him before conducting him to other points that were doubtless of a more sacred character. Three-quarters of a mile farther, upon the flat top of another eminence, is seen the image of a woman seated upon a hexagonal pedestal with a perfectly carved circular cornice, which breaks the continuity of the body and thighs. The whole is nearly five feet in height. From the hemispherical casque which covers the head, a flap falls and conceals the right ear. The face is round and juvenile, and the eyes are closed or downcast, from which there results a certain expression of humility. There is no mouth apparent, but from the point where it should be there projects a sort of musical instrument shaped like a trumpet, which the figure maintains with both hands in the attitude of playing. This image may refer to the obedience and silence imposed upon woman, or it may symbolize melody and indicate that henceforth the neophyte will be accompanied by music.

Crossing a small stream the path now leads to a high esplanade, on the edge of which is found a rude pillar, nearly four feet high, chiseled in the form of a huge owl with closed wings and tail. In the same place there is a hexagonal stone, two feet in height, which is carved with evident care and probably served as an altar. The owl, symbol of mystery and of wisdom, is found in many other spots, not in this simple attitude but grasping a serpent with its beak and claws. Three hundred yards beyond, upon the same esplanade, there is a small but dense cluster of trees, in the centre of which is found an artificial mound formed of the earth taken from an excavation more than two yards in depth, three yards wide, and four yards long, constructed beneath the mound like a grotto. Two cylindrical pillars, something more than six feet and a half high and each a foot and eighteen inches in diameter, not including the figures in relief, which give them the aspect of caryatides (Fig. 5), are found, one on either side of the entrance and supporting the roof, the rear of which rests upon two thick conical stone columns, of the same height as those in front but

without sculptures. The roof consists of a single flag of compact sandstone, six inches thick, which it is difficult to believe, as it is of the pillars,



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.



FIG. 7.

could have been hewn without the aid of metallic instruments. The sides of this temple are formed of large flat stones placed vertically, and it is probable that the floor was once paved to correspond with the otherwise neat construction of the edifice and with the images that were found in it. The front columns are remarkable for the sculptures which adorn them, representing a warrior wearing a sort of helmet and bearing a club or mace, above whom there is a symbolical mask. The physiognomy is in no way monstrous, and reproduces with considerable fidelity the type of the present Andaquies of pure blood. The casque, mace, and clothing (in which sleeves are indicated, as in many of these figures) manifest an acquaintance with the manufacturing arts and a social culture of which there are no vestiges among the savage remnants of this destroyed nation, wandering and dispersed amidst the Amazonian forests. Within this temple are found two remarkable images. The principal of these measures more than six feet in height and three feet across the shoulders, and consists of a trunk without legs, crowned by an enormous head. The cap which covers the latter is confined by a band wound twice around it and artistically knotted before and behind. The face has little that is human in it except the eyes, and a large square mouth from which project the canine teeth—a sign of old age. In each hand is an instrument or tool—possibly representing respectively a mallet and a chisel—from

which it is inferred that this is the statue of the god of sculpture or perhaps of labor in general, an inference that may be corroborated by the adjacent image, which appears to represent extreme youth, since no eye-teeth are shown. The body is slender and unadorned, and the patient and attentive attitude is that of one who obeys and perseveres. This group may, therefore, symbolize labor and teach that it should be accompanied by application and humility. Near this little temple there is another, similar in construction but with plain pillars, in which is found an image six feet high and three in diameter, apparently of an old man seated and wearing a calote.

Two thousand yards farther there is a low hill, ascending which there is found an extensive grove in which were two notable temples that were destroyed by an earthquake in 1834. There are no less than thirteen different images, all more or less damaged, which would seem to indicate that this was the site of the principal sanctuary. At a short distance and upon the very edge of the path, there is an image showing the upper half of a body, and an almost cubical head with peculiar features which possess little that is human except their relative position and a certain expression of impassibility. From its rectangular mouth, armed with prominent and protruding eye-teeth, is suspended an object similar to the supposed tongue of the second image in the series (Fig. 2), likewise terminating in the representation of a human head, from which and its position in front of the temple, Codazzi infers that it may have been designed to impose silence upon pain of decapitation. Near this was another image (Fig. 6) of about the same size, holding a serpent in its hands. As snake-charming has always been distinctive of the juggler or professional quack, this figure not unlikely represents the god of medicine or of the art of healing and of prognostication. It is accompanied by another image (Fig. 7), more than five feet in height, carved with many reliefs and of a grave countenance, representing, perhaps, the god who presided over fishing, since it holds a fish in its hands. Beyond these, and as if guarding the path leading thereto, are two corresponding busts three feet high, with the hands partly folded and an almost natural if exaggerated physiognomy. Presently a colossal owl (Fig. 8), five feet in height and more than a yard in diameter, holding a serpent in its beak and claws, is discovered. The superstition of almost all nations attributes to the owl even at the present day the faculty of augury, to which has doubtless contributed the circumstance of the unexpected appearance of this melancholy bird about midnight, the hour especially ascribed to preternatural apparitions, interrupting with its weird cry the silence of sleeping nature. Not without design,

then, did the Andaquies include among their idols this image in union with that of a serpent, typical, perhaps, of their soothsayers and exorcists of evil spirits, which last they believed produced illness. Thus the presence of this mysterious bird may have symbolized the supposed power of the priests to interpret dreams and perhaps pronounce oracles.

Looking eastward, near the colossal owl, is found an enormous head the weight of which has caused a perceptible depression in the earth. Its front presents a width of more than six feet, with a height but little inferior. The large eyes and open features of this gigantic face, besides its orientation, would seem to suggest the sun or the day, confirmation of which surmise is perhaps found in the image (Fig. 9) at its back, facing westward, with pyramidal cap, a notably somnolent air, and what appears to be a crescent or quarter moon in its hands. The scrawling characters scratched upon it are probably no part of the original statue.

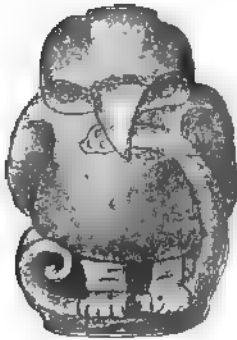


FIG. 8.



FIG. 9.

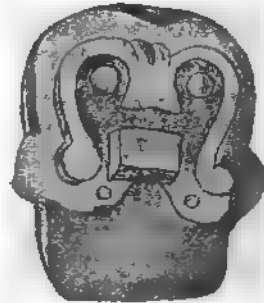


FIG. 10.

Upon this same esplanade there were evidently two subterranean temples similar to the one already described, and under their ruins are probably hidden various interesting and characteristic images. From one of them the treasure-seekers have extracted a monstrous cylindrical figure about six and a half feet high by three in diameter. Its ferocious aspect and the apparently human spoils which it grasps in its hands would seem to indicate that it was consecrated to murder or that it represented the god of destruction, whose worship must have found expression in the sanguinary customs of the people who adored him. A stone trough near by and similar to that already described (Fig. 6), possibly served to receive

the fragments and blood of the victims that were offered to this frightful divinity. Descending a short distance to a small stream of water there is discovered a colossal frog, which doubtless had the same signification as among the Chitchas, the inhabitants of the elevated tablelands of Bogotá, viz., the abundance of water—an interesting coincident, inasmuch as it indicates a certain interchange of ideas between these two distinct and separate nations.

More than three hundred yards westward, upon a smooth plateau, are found six huge images arranged in line. This spot may have been the place of assembly in which the final instructions were given to, and the prize of initiation conferred upon, the expectant neophyte. This conjecture, perhaps, finds corroboration in the presence of one image much larger than the remainder, measuring seven feet in height and three and a half across the chest; the hands are covered as if gloved, and a maniple or stole is tied about the left wrist, as if to designate the high priest or chief who presided.

Nearly three miles farther is found an excavation, evidently made by treasure-seekers, and the ruins of another temple similar to that described, where, perhaps, occurred the last ceremony of the initiation into the mysteries of this wonderful valley. Among the *débris* is found a stone altar like the one mentioned heretofore, but of smaller proportions. The owl and the serpent are also repeated. Perhaps the most important image of this last group is a column four feet and a half high and one foot in diameter, representing a youth with a natural countenance, whose body is apparently enveloped in a tunic confined at the waist by a band. The *φαλλος* and its correlative organ the *κρηις*, which the ancient Greeks adored in Biblos and in Heliopolis, as symbols of the creation and of the fecundity of the physical world, and that are found in almost all East Indian pagodas, are both shown in this image, and indicate that the Andaquies likewise possessed this worship. The two adjacent images might confirm this belief. The first, more than six and a half feet high and about three feet in diameter, clothed in a simple tunic and cap, is that of a robust young man at the virile age, as is evinced by the delicate and scarcely formed eye-teeth; while the second, something more than four feet in height and of a corresponding thickness, is apparently that of a woman whose body and head are covered with a mantle. These three images would seem to indicate that this temple was consecrated to Hymen, the god of marriage, of whom the first described may be the material expression.

From this point the path leads to the entrance to the valley already mentioned. At a distance of several miles is found a grotesque mask

(Fig. 10) more than four feet high. It is without ears, and its mouth is covered by a square block similar to that seen in the Chitchan images of baked earth, as if to impose absolute reserve upon those who returned from this religious pilgrimage.

Such are the remarkable aboriginal monuments inclosed by the little valley of San Augustin; and it is interesting to consider not only the origin but what might have been the fate of this growing people, just passing from the nomadic to the sedentary life, when they were swept from the face of the land where they had already formed the nucleus of a nation and established a common religion. Dispersed by the Spanish conquest, hurled back upon the interminable forests of the Amazon, the Andaquies have retrograded to the most complete barbarism. There is little difference between them and the wild animals with which they dispute the dominion of these vast and gloomy solitudes. The women marry at the tenderest age, are mothers at twelve, and solely adorned with a shell suspended from the loins, instead of the biblical fig-leaf, as an insignia of their condition, they begin the ungrateful and abject life of a beast of burden. The intense heat renders clothing of any kind unnecessary, but the men frequently wear an apron and head-dress of the brilliant plumage of tropical birds. The height of beauty consists in removing every vestige of eyebrow and hair from the body, painting it in variously colored streaks, and staining the teeth black. The lips and nose are pierced by sharp-pointed sticks or thorns, and strings of jaguär or puma teeth ornament their necks. The features of these poor creatures indicate neither grace, sensibility, nor elevation of soul; they are born, live, and die in the most absolute ignorance; and of mankind, it may be affirmed, they have only the image. In these regions, adds Codazzi, man is dominated by the gigantic, overwhelming, irrational creation, and even the European, reduced to his individual efforts, would become a barbarian on a par with the Indian.

Henry Rowan Lundy.

SOME OF THE BEGINNINGS OF DELAWARE

WILMINGTON SETTLED BY THE SWEDES, 1638

The first Swedish settlement in America determined the location of the city of Wilmington, Delaware, if not its actual existence, and was largely instrumental in giving a state to the Union, thus making a notable addition to the galaxy of stars in our beautiful flag.

Wilmington now contains sixty-five thousand inhabitants, with a constant yearly increase, and it is divided into twelve wards with two hundred and thirty-one streets. It is a city furnished with every appliance of growing life and, when the saloons are extinct, of peaceful, prosperous, and happy life. Herein are found all varieties of business, benevolent and literary institutions. It has public schools, churches, cemeteries, public buildings, hotels, restaurants, newspapers, authors, and publishing houses. Besides these there is no end to its industrial works of every character—no human want that cannot be supplied. The finest ships, steamboats, pleasure yachts, and all kinds of water-craft are here made and launched; cars, carriages, wagons, agricultural machines, gunpowder, cotton, woolen, and leather goods, are manufactured; also electric light and power, and the smaller necessities of existence.

* In 1629 two of the directors of the West India Company in Holland, Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert, effected a purchase from the Indian chiefs of a beautiful tract of land on the Delaware river, extending from Cape Henlopen thirty-two miles up the west shore of Delaware bay, and opposite sixteen miles square, including Cape May. This embraced portions of the present Sussex and Kent counties. It was called Swaanendael. The title was attested by the Dutch governor, Peter Minuet, and his council, at New Amsterdam, July 15, 1630, and is the only instrument in existence which bears the original signature of that august body. Before the end of the year Godyn and Blommaert divided this Delaware property with Patroon Van Rensselaer, the historian De Laet, and Captain David Pieterse De Vries—who had just returned from a three years' voyage to the East Indies. The latter by request of the others took charge of an expedition to the Delaware, consisting of a colony of thirty Holland settlers fully equipped for the cultivation of tobacco and grain. They landed in the spring of 1631, and their fort was built and

their fields prepared and the first seed sown before Captain De Vries returned to Holland. When next he visited America, in 1633, he found that every settler had been massacred by the natives and the little fort totally destroyed. After various stratagems he succeeded in persuading some of the Indians to come on board his vessel, and through attractive presents drew from them the story of a terrible tragedy: an indiscretion of the commander of the post had been followed by savage vengeance, and the entire region of the Delaware was left without a white inhabitant. Lord Baltimore's grant of Maryland was given three years later, but because the land had been settled, though the colony was extinct, a bar was raised against his claim to the three lower counties of Pennsylvania, now forming the state of Delaware, and so it was decided in the English courts by Lord Hardwick in 1750, the long, sharp legal struggle not being ended till that date. Mason and Dixon's line, run in 1764, divided the two states.

The first Swedish colony, led by Peter Minuet, former governor of New Netherland, reached the shores of the Delaware in April, 1638. The contemplation of their long perils by the way inspires our glad sympathy as we see them in the midst of an early spring stepping ashore to breathe the sweet, warm air, and look upon leafy trees, springing grass, flowering shrubs, and climbing vines, welcomed by waving banners of Nature's own spinning and coloring. Their first landing was on a point between Murderkill and Mispillion creek in Kent county; and no wonder they called it "the Paradise," for such it must have seemed to the weary voyagers. Here they tarried a little for rest and refreshment, but soon the anchors were raised and the heavy sails spread to carry them onward in search of a permanent settlement. They passed the spots now known as Port Penn and Delaware city, taking cognizance of Reedy Island—though of the Pea Patch they probably saw nothing. Crossing that beautiful curve from Delaware city to Newcastle, they find the locality inviting, but to their agricultural eyes the sand-banks peeping out forbid their landing. They sail on, beckoned by the more enticing prospect, toward the north, east and westward. Within three or four miles they come to our creek, the Minquas, now called the Christiana, and if the tide is in they see a vast area of water, adorned here and there with wooded islands and promontories; but beyond the flood are ancient forests covering the long slopes, rising in gradual elevation toward the west and south. Scanning every mile they pass, this unrivaled picture captures the party, and observing the rich soil beneath the lofty growth of trees, all voices cry: "This is the place!" And Peter Minuet, from the high quarter-deck of the *Key of Calmar*, gives

the order, "*Turn in here!*" They sail by a winding channel two and a half miles, and there, to their unbounded surprise and delight, discover a wharf of level rock, of fifty paces front, lifted high and dry above the flood, a natural landing-place, with deep water at its base, and a commodious harbor running inward on the east side.

With what pleasure they step ashore—men, women, and children! And when the ships are secured, then come the officers and seamen. After putting up a covering they bring ashore their slender outfit of beds, tables, chairs, and kitchen vessels; and such an experienced commander as Peter Minuet doubtless placed his ships on guard with loaded guns pointed to the approaches, lest some concealed foe should appear. The Dutch, however, were not near enough to be feared, and a paper pellet from Governor Kieft at Manhattan, warning them off, was not as formidable as a cartridge. As for the Indians, the Swedes took care to conciliate them, and did it so effectually that, anticipating the good policy of William Penn, it is not known that a single man on either side was ever murderously killed by the other on our Delaware shores.

The two vessels which brought our brave Swedes to Delaware were the *Key of Calmar* and the transport *Griffin*, each well supplied with provisions, arms, ammunition, and merchandise for trade and gifts with the Indians. The Rev. Reorus Torkillus, a Lutheran minister, came with the settlers; also a schoolmaster and a chorister. Peter Minuet was governor, and Magnus Kling the royal surveyor.

These vessels had sailed from Gothbord, still to be found among the rocks off the Cattegat on the southwest coast of Sweden, August 12, 1637. Thus the voyage had been prolonged eight months, encountering the fall and spring storms and the winter cold. It was not, however, altogether owing to the slow sailing of those days, but rather to the fact that they had not learned the shortest route, making their tedious way by the Azores and the West Indies; and when we consider the cramped, cribbed vessels they came in, the hard-tack and salt meats, the hardships and dangers, the forsaking of home forever, the unknown shores, untilled lands, unbuilt dwellings, and unfelled forests swarming with dark-skinned savages, we must credit them with heroic minds and trustful hearts.

This humble expedition with its fifty colonists in two ships is not to be compared with a scheme for the same destination ten years before, which consisted of many vessels, with admiral, vice-admiral, subordinates, commissioners, merchants, assistants, troops, and colonists, that, owing to a jealous, watchful Spanish fleet, never set out—at least it never reached our shores. Perhaps, like Gideon's host, it was *too many* for the wise hand

that was overruling. The projector of this Swedish settlement was one of the grandest of mortals, a Protestant Christian, a statesman and soldier, and the largest benefactor of humanity in all his royal line—Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, the “Lion of the North,” the early leader of the Protestant governments against the assailing Roman Catholic powers in the terrible thirty years’ war. His grand presence and noble countenance gave the outward showing of the invincible courage and warlike genius that inspired his soldiers with ardor, whilst his mental accomplishments and eloquent speech did no dishonor to his distinguished appearance. The battle of Lutzen, in 1632, where, says Bancroft, “humanity won a most glorious victory and lost one of her ablest defenders,” removed him from the scene of action before the plan of settlement was carried into effect. But one just as notable and worthy was left to fulfill the king’s wishes and add the lustre of his name to the enterprise that blessed our shores: this was Count Axtel Oxenstien, whom Bancroft calls “that wise statesman, that serene chancellor,” the administrator of the kingdom under Christina, the little queen of Sweden, who directed the movements and found the supplies for the war that in 1648, by the peace of Westphalia, set Protestant liberties on an immovable basis. Yet amidst all those tumults and toils, assisted by William Usselinx, he made ready the expedition that, under charge of Peter Minuet, reached the Delaware in 1638.

It was not in search of golden sands, nuggets, and mines that these colonists were sent from Sweden; nor did fabled diamond fields attract them. Through some wonderful channels of information, the Delaware shores were pictured in most glowing colors of beauty and fertility; and it was thought that such a region would prove favorable to Sweden’s trade and tend to extend her dominions. But the prevailing motive with the king was a desire to give a refuge to persecuted people, to open an asylum for wives and daughters against the effects of war and bigotry, and provide homes for the common people. It was also contemplated to carry gospel blessings to the Indians and enlarge the area of civilization and religion, and on no consideration was a single slave to be imported.

Where the Swedes first fell in with the Indians is not certified; but they met, and a legal purchase of the territory was effected, which the colonists expected to occupy. A part of the tract covered the soil previously bought by the Dutch, which was of course well known to Governor Minuet, but extended much farther up the Delaware side of the river, reaching from Cape Henlopen as far north as the Schuylkill, afterward carried to Trenton Falls, then called Santican; and the posts set at the two extremities, Acrelius tells us, might be seen sixty years later. Whilst

the Indians had no scruple in selling the unoccupied ground over again, it is to be noted that the double transaction laid the ground for subsequent quarrels and wars between the two European contracting parties.

The Swedes acted wisely with their Indian neighbors when settled on the Christiana; for when they needed a plot of land occupied by Mattahoon, an Indian chief, instead of driving him off, on the ground that it was already purchased, they satisfied him for his plot and improvements with a copper kettle and some smaller utensils. For another spot they bargained with the same chief by promising him half the tobacco it should produce, of which the poor Indian complained that he never got a single leaf! Are we not bound to conclude that it was a bad season for tobacco?

We need not overlook the effect upon the natives of this memorable arrival of the Swedes. The sailing in of strange and curiously shaped vessels excited their unbounded wonder, and the explosion of the great guns, with the sight of the execution made on the trees, filled the bravest of them with awe. So were the natives of the West Indies stupefied at the sight of Columbus' vessels; and when Henry Hudson first drew near to the Manhattan shores the inhabitants could not make out whether they were fishes or sea monsters, whether they had come down from heaven or were devils from below! Perhaps, were a second expedition of that same build of ships, rigging, and sails, navigated by the similar-garbed old Swedes, to come groping up our waters to-day, we should be no less surprised at the "ancient mariners."

Indeed, the two parties were wonders to each other, for the Swedes had never seen such little light birch canoes as now were skimming up and down the many waters. And how strange the skin dresses, the bows and arrows, and stone hatchets; the squaws with their children strapped on boards and in baskets about their shoulders, and the girls and boys with their black eyes, straight black hair, and tawny skins!

It is clear that in their more important transactions they needed an interpreter, but some of the Indians understood a little Dutch from their intercourse with that race, and Peter Minuet spoke both Swedish and Dutch. In trading, particularly in the shape of simple bartering, that inborn art natural alike to both Christian and heathen, very little language was needed, and the delightful business was early in lively operation. The natives eagerly grasped the glittering European trinkets; the colonists as gladly obtained game, fish, corn, and fruit, so needful and delicious after their long hardships. The Minquas, with whom the settlers were best acquainted, lived so near by that wigwams and log cabins were in close proximity. Some of the Indians visited the Swedes every day,

but after corn-planting, in June, they came in large numbers for a regular fair. In like manner the Swedes made journeys far into the Indian country, carrying their wares to the native villages, although bitterly complaining of the sharp gray stones, the swamps, the brooks, and unbridged streams they encountered, there being far more water then than now. They took with them needles, scissors, awls, knives, axes, guns, powder and ball, beads, and blankets. In exchange they gathered all sorts of skins—beaver, raccoon and sable, gray fox and wildcat, lynx, bear and deer. We will not believe of the honest Swedes what Diedrick Knickerbocker says of the Dutch traders, that in making weight the hand equaled one pound and the foot two; but they took care to undersell their rivals who came down from New Amsterdam, injuring their profits to the amount of thirty thousand florins, whilst they were so successful with all their other labors as to accumulate thirty thousand skins during the first year.

Before the people were allowed to erect their family dwellings a small fort was constructed. From the *fac-simile* of Lindstrom's plan, it seems that Fort Christina was built close to the rocks. It was carefully laid out by Kling the engineer, furnished with bastions, parapets, and breastworks, and mounted with cannon from the ship—of course well stocked with ammunition and muskets. A large entrenched enclosure was set round the fort, running southward to the creek, and having the large harbor for its boundary on the east. Within the enclosure they built their chapel, also the governor's house, and a warehouse for holding the public property. Within the lines was a cave more than six feet high, clean and cool, in one corner of which a delicious spring of fresh water started, and after running across the level rocky bottom was carried off by a natural opening in the side. Miss Montgomery, in her *Reminiscences of Wilmington*, tells us that her mother's mother used the cave as a milk-house, but long ago it had entirely disappeared.

Brick and stone were not at command, but material far better for the fort was available. "Pinewood Point," on the banks of the Christiana, was about a mile from the rocks, at a spot afterward called Long Hook, where the old Jaquette house still stands. The Swedes, accustomed at home to timber cutting, had nothing to do but repair to this forest with sharp axes, roll the logs to the water and float them, like Solomon's cedars, to the rocks where they were to be used. So constant and diligent were their labors that by the 31st July the work was finished. They then put up a cluster of houses, making a little village which they called Christinaham, just north of the fort, which would have about covered that

end of the present Sixth and Seventh streets ; but they could not build very far, because of the heavy timber covering the ground, and that still grew there one hundred years later. They had to build wherever an open spot gave them a building lot ; nor were they afraid to settle on the south side of the kill, in a suburb called Crane Hook, where the royal surveyor Kling had pitched his tent, facing the broad Delaware, with a meadow on one side and an orchard on the other, running down to the creek. In time, as new colonists arrived, their farms and dwellings became sprinkled over all the adjacent regions, from which the Indians peacefully withdrew into the deeper retreats of the forest shades.

The dwellings were necessarily made of logs, two stories high. The upper rooms, however, had to be furnished with long, narrow slits instead of windows, not very serviceable for air and light but good to put the barrels of their muskets through in case of an attack from savages. By the end of two years the good people became much discouraged ; the Dutch said " their hands were paralyzed with despondency," and there was reason for it. They were few in number, and some had died since their arrival, and they saw no end to their labors. The two ships that brought them had sailed home, and Minuet, their governor, returning to Sweden by way of the West Indies, and dining on board a Dutch vessel, had been carried down with ship and crew by a passing hurricane, leaving Kling and Henry Hughens to administer affairs. But worse than all, they felt themselves to be cut off from home. For two years not a word of news came to their ears ; nothing rose to cheer their hearts, no fresh supplies of provisions or men, no hope of relief from unceasing watching and working. They determined to forsake their fort and dwellings, their growing crops and farms. They had no ship to take them to Europe, but they would walk up the Delaware banks, cross to Manhattan island, and live among the Dutch. Every preparation, it is said, was made ; they would start the next morning—but, lo ! a good Providence for them and us intervened and put a sudden stop to the movement.

That very evening, the 17th of April, 1640, Fort Christina was startled by the sound of a cannon from the Delaware, and soon they saw a ship approaching with the national colors streaming from the mast.

It was their old friend the *Key of Calmar*, Captain Jansen, fresh from Sweden, bringing their new governor, Peter Hollander, with several companies of emigrants, and laden with cattle and farming tools. A letter from the home authorities was also put into their hands assuring them that two more ships would soon be on the way.

This arrival put a new face on their prospects, and to such an extent

that, instead of going to the Dutch, a ship-load of Hollanders from Utrecht came to them, November 2, of the same year. These good people, under Jost de Bogart, settled eighteen or twenty miles south of Christina Fort, having full toleration from the Lutherans for the Reformed Dutch worship, but binding themselves to be faithful to the queen of Sweden and obedient to the Swedish laws.

This coming of the *Key of Calmar* is called the second expedition ; a third arrived in 1641 under surveyor Kling, who had been home and returned ; then, after a very sickly year, a fourth company arrived in 1643 ; and soon the number of expeditions counted nine.

The Swedes had four successive governors, the third of whom, Lieutenant-Colonel John Printz, was the most noted. Two vessels of war, the *Swan* and *Charitas*, with an armed transport, the *Fame*, forming the fourth expedition, attended him, bringing a large number of colonists, arms, ammunitions, and necessities, with many troops ; the Delaware had never before been favored by the presence of so large a military force. The governor's wife and daughter, the stylish Madame Armagott who became the wife of John Papegoija, accompanied him ; also an eminent clergyman, the government chaplain, Master John Campanius. This good man remained six years in New Sweden, laboring diligently for Swedes and Indians. He learned one of the native languages, into which he translated the Lutheran catechism and, no doubt, portions at least of the Holy Scriptures. Out of his journal his grandson compiled a history of those times, held to be of great value. Governor Printz had received instructions to keep the Delaware safe from the Dutch. He was a man of action, perhaps somewhat rapacious, and enforced his instructions with unwarrantable violence. The Dutch, with perhaps a grain of malice, have set him forth as "*a very great man*, weighing four hundred pounds and able to bear three drinks at every meal." Taking advantage of his strong military force, he went down the river and planted eight guns at the mouth of Salem creek, with a garrison of twelve men on the Jersey side, whence he overhauled the Dutch ships on their way up to their Fort Nassau, searching the cargoes and making them lower their flag ; but the Swedes were whipped out of this stronghold (which was called Elsenborg) by the mosquitoes. The governor also built a fort at Passyunk, which was commanded by Lieutenant Swen Schute, another at Manayunk, another still at Upland (now called Chester), and still another on an island at the mouth of the Schuylkill.

Besides all these warlike movements, he forsook Fort Christina and came out upon the broad Delaware to make a new capital on Tinicum

island, where the Lazaretto now stands. Here he built a palatial dwelling, called Printz Hall, which remained till it was burned in 1811. Around the house large manor-grounds were laid out and handsomely planted. Here he also erected a wooden chapel, that was consecrated by Campanius, September 4, 1646. A cemetery was laid out, the first interment in which was the body of Catharine, daughter of Andrew Hansom, on the 28th of the same month. The new capital started in such a fashionable style as to draw all the richer classes to build residences and lay out plantations in the same beautiful island, which was defended by a fine fort called New Gothborg. Like all the rest, this fort was built with two tiers of logs, having sand and stones packed between, and well armed and stocked from the ships.

But the arrogant and quarrelsome Swedish governor had a foe to deal with, as zealous for their High Mightinesses of Holland as he was for the queen of Sweden, and as competent to defend governmental rights. This was Peter Stuyvesant, the governor of New Netherland, whose broad, high forehead, grand, long nose, and firm mouth, as shown on the canvas in his portraits, it would not do to trifle with. When he heard of these many Swedish forts, especially of that on Jersey soil, and of the searching of Dutch ships and the lowering of Dutch flags, he could bear it no longer. The ominous thumping of his wooden leg was heard in just indignation. With a competent force he sailed to the Delaware, and sought and obtained an interview with Governor Printz; but obtaining no satisfaction he demolished Fort Nassau as of no use, sailed down the river, bought some ground over again from the Indian chiefs, and built Fort Cassimar. The purchase was made, July 19, 1651, at a spot then called Sandhuken, afterward New Amstel, which the English called New Castle.

Governor Printz, becoming alarmed at the storm he was raising, finding himself unpopular with his subjects, and tired from his ten years' labors, resigned his post and sailed in November, 1653, for Sweden. John Papegoija, appointed by his father-in-law, acted as governor till the arrival of John Claudius Rising, in May, 1654. This was the new governor, the fourth and the last Swedish ruler. Governor Rising came in the ship of war *Aden*, Captain Swensko, with three hundred new settlers, and signalized his arrival by a most unaccountable act, that soon brought to a close the sovereignty of New Sweden in the new world.

On a warm, brilliant Sabbath day, May 31, it is said in a neat story-book entitled "Life in New Sweden Two Hundred Years ago," the people were worshipping as usual at Christinaham, and Lars Lock had just ascended the pulpit, when they were startled and alarmed by the sound of cannon,

and before night they learned that their new ruler had arrived and the Dutch fort Cassimar was in his hands. When this proceeding became known at New and Old Amsterdam, the wrath of the Dutch government knew no bounds. On the 5th of September, 1655, fifteen months later, all eyes in the little city of New Amsterdam watched from the battery a fleet of seven ships of war, carrying a force of seven hundred men, sailing down that matchless harbor and through the Narrows. Of course, Governor Stuyvesant carried everything before him. Fort Cassimar, newly named by the Swedes Fort Trinity, although greatly enlarged and strengthened, yet having only forty-seven men for its garrison, was obliged to surrender. Fort Christina also, with her thirty defenders, was menaced from every side. There was Fort Slangenborg from across the creek, Fort Fligenborg on Timber Island, Fort Myggenborg on the west, Rottonborg in the rear, with supporting companies of soldiers, a mine, and ships of war anchored in near waters. A surrender within twenty-four hours was demanded, on pain of receiving no quarter; and thus without the shedding of a drop of blood, the whole of New Sweden, after seventeen years of independence, passed within the boundaries of New Netherlands. These territories, however, all came into the possession of the English in 1664. In 1673 the Dutch recovered New Sweden, but it was restored the next year, by treaty, to the English government.

Wilmington was started in 1731 by Thomas Willing of Philadelphia. His father-in-law was a Swede, by whom land was assigned to him lying along the Christiana, between the present French and West streets, on which he laid out some streets at right angles with each other, and sold a number of the lots. The place was at first called Willingtown, but afterwards named Wilmington for Lord Wilmington. By 1736 the plan was much extended, the width of the streets enlarged, and thirty-three houses built, with a market-house on Fourth street. Since then Wilmington has grown to its present dimensions. Its location is beautiful and healthful, and in its early history it was noted for intelligence, hospitality, benevolence, good manners, and good morals, giving the city an enviable starting. But much of its molding and forming influence must be accredited to the sturdy and religious character of the first settlers.

The ground occupied by the town was owned by individual Swedes or the old Swedish church trustees, and that spreading for miles around had been in the hands of the Swedes for a hundred years. By them the forests had been leveled, the soil cultivated, hundreds of dwellings built, whilst thousands of Swedish people were still living within a few miles to nourish the new settlement. The original cluster of houses called Chris-

tinaham was ruined by the Dutch, but close by stood, rejuvenated, the Swedes' stone church, of venerable age, which was finished in 1698, and about it is the much older cemetery where some of the oldest families were sleeping. These landmarks perpetuate the memory of the Swedes and link their coming with the present city, but much more strongly is Wilmington indebted to the good character of the original settlers than to their scattered houses and cultivated lands. The Swedes were a simple, pious, honest people, characterized by William Penn in 1683 as "a plain, strong, industrious people." Nor were they at all illiterate or rustic, nor altogether poor, for some brought over handsome furniture, silver plate and jewelry, and rich dresses. Swedish names of distinction still prevail, and the number who might claim Swedish blood is very large.

Delawareans have occasion to cherish the memory of the English nobleman from whom the name of the river, the bay, and the state was received. Had other names prevailed it might have been Chickohockee, or Pontaxat, or Maris-Kitten, or Lenapé-Whittuck, or we might have carried the Dutch name of Zuydt river or Godyn's bay.

Thomas West, the third Lord Delaware, was appointed governor of Virginia for life; and for his honest and diligent devotion to his duties, his watchful care over the colony when necessarily absent, and the exposure if not the sacrifice of his life in seeking their interests, he is to be placed among earth's true heroes. In coming to this country his vessel was driven north by opposing winds, and entered the river called by the natives Chickohockee but which received its present name in his honor.

Under the name of Delaware the colony remained a dependency of Great Britain until 1776, when it became an independent state and the first state of the Union by first signing the federal Constitution, December 7, 1787.

William W. Taylor

THE FIRST IRON WORKS IN AMERICA

Verily there is nothing new under the sun in the laws of nature or of trade. The present large impetus of English capital into this country only marks afresh a movement that has existed since the very beginnings of the western continent. There is something stimulating in the contact of an old race with a new soil. English capital was seeking investment when the Puritan took possession of Massachusetts Bay. In this marvelous age of iron it will be interesting to note a few incidents in the history of the first iron works in America.

Midway between Salem and Boston, the first and second capitals of Massachusetts, there flows a serpentine little stream called the Saugus by the Indians and their English successors. From an elevation it resembles a string of "upper-case" letter S's. Tide-water meets the down-flowing fresh water two miles from the bay between Round Hill on the west and the dark forest on the east. Just where the currents lap each other on the bank of the stream is a long sloping mound like a sea-serpent's back, which to the passer-by seems but a freak of nature. The hand of man, however, wrought that earth-work. At this point was the upper ferry crossed in the early days by Endicott and Winthrop, and all the Puritan worthies in the infancy of New England.

The mound which lies at this point upon the river-bank, and is known to the natives as "the Cinder Banks," is the heaped-up scoria—the refuse, the remainder—the sweepings of an iron foundry which was in full blast before the red man had cast his last lingering look upon his beloved river and upon the blue waters of the Atlantic beyond. The fleecy snows have mantled it, the sun has scorched it for two centuries, and only an occasional curious observer has disturbed its scanty covering of vegetation for some relic of the first manufacturing industry of the continent. A surpassingly beautiful picture rewards the lover of nature who ascends the "pirates' look-out" on the opposite side of the stream. Glancing down the lazy waters, in the foreground lie the Nahants and the Egg rock, like fair nymphs arising from the sea; near at hand are green forests and nestling hamlets; to the right the eye catches the glittering dome of the State House; beyond it the famed Blue Hills of Milton; and far away on the left, almost mingling with the horizon, are the cliffs of Cape Ann.

The existence of iron ore about Lynn had been known from the first

settlement. The presence of the ore and the want of iron tools combined in the year 1642 to send one of the enterprising settlers of Lynn, Captain Robert Bridges, to London with specimens of the ore in the endeavor to enlist English capital. He succeeded in forming a company called the "Company of Undertakers for the Iron Works." The names, residences, and occupation of the undertakers, or, as we should now call them, the stockholders, were as follows:

Lionel Copley, Esquire, of York County, England.
Nicholas Bond, Esquire, of Westminster.
Thomas Pury, Esquire, of Westminster.
John Becx, London, Merchant.
William Beauchamp, London, Merchant.
Thomas Foley, London, Gentleman.
William Greenhill, Stepney, Middlesex County.
Thomas Weld, Minister, Gateshead, Durham County.
John Pococke, Merchant Tailor, London.
William Becke, Merchant Tailor, London.
William Hicocke, London, Citizen.

This company advanced one thousand pounds for commencing the work. John Winthrop, Jr., also engaged in the enterprise, and Mr. Endicott of Salem, in a letter to Governor Winthrop, dated December 1, 1642, says: "I want much to hear from your son's iron and steel." The village at the iron works was called Hammersmith, from some of the principal workmen who came from a place of that name in England. Captain Bridges and the undertakers did more than to establish the first iron works in America: they brought to the infant colony men who at home would have been mere skilled artisans, but here the necessities of a new world brought out dormant genius from the brains of inventors, of whom Joseph Jenks was a type, and who were the forerunners of Morse in the last generation and of Edison in this. The year 1652 was full of momentous events in the mother country. Parliament had triumphed. King Charles had been beheaded, but Cromwell had not yet become lord protector. There was little attention paid to the colonies. In the matter of money they had, however, outgrown wampum, brass farthings, or musket-balls in which exchanges had been made. The Massachusetts colony took upon itself a sovereign prerogative and set up a mint in Boston for coining silver. The precious metal then coined is now famous and rare. The pieces had the word "Massachusetts," with a pine tree, and the letters "N. E. Anno 1652" and "III., VI., or XII.," denoting the

number of pence. The dies for this coinage were made by Joseph Jenks at the Lynn iron works.

These fathers of ours seem to have practiced all the powers of government, not in embryo but in full operation, regardless of the paternal government across the seas, for in 1655 the general court granted to Mr. Joseph Jenks a patent for an improved scythe "for the more speedy cutting of grass, for seven years." This improvement consisted in lengthening the blade, making it thinner, and welding a square bar on the back to strengthen it, as in the scythe of to-day. Before this the old English blade was short and thick like a bush scythe. This invention lightened the labor and cheered the hearts of merry mowers till the mowing-machine of our day superseded the old emblem of the husbandman. The general court had previously granted him patents for improvements in edge-tools and "for a newly invented sawmill that things may be afforded cheaper than formerly, and that for fourteen yeeres without disturbance by any others setting up the like invention so that his study and cost may not be in vayne or lost, so as power is still left to restrayne the exportation of such manufactures, and to moderate the prises thereof if occasion so require."

The grave and reverend householders of Boston did not propose to dine upon roast pig after the manner of Charles Lamb's traveler, nor did they desire to dwell in cold houses with stone walls lest fire should harm them.

They built stout wooden mansions facing due south, and wisely believing that an ounce of prevention was better than a pound of cure the selectmen in 1654 were authorized to contract with Joseph Jenks "for an Engine to carry water in case of fire." This was not so elaborate or powerful as our modern steam-engines, but it marks the thrift and foresight of the authorities. It was the first fire-engine built or used in America, and it made many a large draught upon "Mr. Blackstone's spring" and upon the "Great spring" in Spring Lane.

In any account of our iron works frequent mention must be made of Joseph Jenks. He was a remarkable man. Of him Alonzo Lewis, the historian of Lynn, says: "He deserves to be held in perpetual remembrance in American history, as the first founder who worked in brass and iron on the western continent." When his mission in Lynn was accomplished, he sent his son Joseph to Rhode Island, where he was not only an iron founder but the founder of the very eminent Jenks family. He gave his son and namesake to that state as one of its governors.

It is a curious fact that while our first inventor furnished a governor to Rhode Island, our own first governor and promoter of the iron works gave

the adjoining state of Connecticut a governor also, in the person of his son and namesake. Other colonial dignitaries have their names associated with this enterprise. In 1678 Samuel Appleton became a proprietor. There is a bronze tablet fastened to the perpendicular face of a rocky cliff upon Catamount Hill, which was within the territory of the iron company, which bears this legend:

"Appleton's Pulpit."

In September, 1687, from this rock tradition asserts that, resisting the tyranny of Sir Edmund Andros, Major Samuel Appleton of Ipswich spoke to the people in behalf of those principles which later were embodied in the Declaration of Independence."

Major Samuel Appleton was commander of the Massachusetts forces in the Indian war, and later one of the witchcraft judges. Queer mix-up in his composition there must have been. Above the ferry a dam was built across the river, higher even than the present dam, which flows several hundred acres and furnishes water-power for several woolen mills. It is estimated that the company owned about three thousand acres of iron mill land. The works were in active operation in 1643, and from frequent mention in the colonial records and by the liberal rights, privileges, and exemptions granted them by the general court, seem to have been anxiously nourished as the leading or only manufacturing industry for quite a number of years. Governor Winthrop, under date of August 4, 1649, writes to his son: "The iron work goeth on with more hope. It yields now about seven tons per week, but is most out of that brown earth which lies under the bog mine." In another letter, September 30, he says: "The furnace runs eight tons per week and their bar iron is as good as Spanish." As an example of the prolix phraseology of the colonial days, and as a specimen of the liberality of the general court in favor of a foreign plant, space may be given to the following reply to a petition of the undertakers of the iron works presented October 15, 1645:

"1. It is granted and by this court ordered, that the undertakers, their agents and assigns, are hereby granted the sole privilege and benefit of making iron and managing of all iron mines and works that are now, or shall be discovered and found out, or hereafter shall be in this jurisdiction, for the term of twenty-one years from the former grant: Provided that the said adventurers, their agents or assigns, do within three years from the former date use their best endeavors to their utmost skill to perfect so many of the said works that the inhabitants of this jurisdiction be furnished with bar iron of all sorts for their use, not exceeding twenty pounds per ton. Provided, also, that it shall be in the liberty of any within this jurisdiction to be adventurers with the undertakers, that by the last day of this October they being in their adventures, not less in one man's name than fifty pounds, with allowance to the adventurers for the stock of one thousand pounds, by them already disbursed.

2. The court doth hereby further grant to the said undertakers, their agents and assigns, in all places of waste and lands not appropriated to any town or person, that the said undertakers, their agents and assigns, at all times during the said term of twenty-one years, shall and may freely, and at their own discretion, have and take all manner of wood and timber, to be converted into coals, or any other uses for the service of the undertakers, as also all manner of earth, stones, turf, clay, and other materials for buildings and reparation of their works, forges, mills, or houses built or to be built, or for making or molding any manner of guns, pots, and all other cast-iron ware, and for converting wood into charcoal, and also to get, dig, and carry away of all manner of stone iron ore and wood of all sorts, and any other material or things of use for their works; and it is hereby also granted to the said undertakers, their agents or assigns, that they shall have free liberty to make all convenient ways and passages, as also all manner of dams, water-courses, sluices, ponds for water, in all waste grounds, or other conveyances to, from, and for the service of the said works built or to be built not appropriated to any town or person, during such time as the said works shall continue: Provided, if by any pond, sluice, dam, or any other work (though in land appropriated) they should spoil or any ways prejudice the land appropriated to any town or person, the said undertakers shall make due and just satisfaction.

3. Also the court doth hereby further grant to the said adventurers, their agents or assigns, in all the grounds that are or shall be appropriated, that the said adventurers, their agents or assigns, shall have free liberty at all times during the term to dig, get, carry away all manner of stone or iron ore, and to make and use all convenient ways and sluices, water-courses, pools, dams, ponds for water, and other conveniences, to, from and for the service of the said works through all the said grounds, that are or hereafter shall be appropriated (except houses, orchards, not exceeding three acres, and yards), giving such due and full recompense for the same to the owners thereof, for the time being, as three indifferent men shall adjudge whereof, one to be appointed by the said court at the next general meeting after the undertakers, their agents or assigns, shall make or use any of the said ways or water-courses or other particulars therein mentioned for the services aforesaid, and one other by the owner of the land for the time being, and the third by the undertakers or adventurers.

4. The court hereby do further grant unto the said adventurers, and to their heirs and assigns forever, so much land now or hereafter to be in this jurisdiction as aforesaid, as shall contain in six places three miles square in each place, or so much in quantity as containeth three miles square, not exceeding four miles in length, to be set out in such places and parcels as the said undertakers or their agents shall make choice of, not being already appropriated as aforesaid, upon which said land the said adventurers shall have free liberty, and hereby do undertake that within the said term of (twenty-one) years, to search, set out, and find convenient places, within the said compass of land, for the building and setting up of six forges, or furnaces, and not blomaries only, or so many more as they shall have occasion for, the making of iron as aforesaid, which they shall (the iron stone and other materials appearing proper and fit for the making of iron as aforesaid) build and set up within the term aforesaid, provided that the court may grant a plantation in any place where the court doth think meet, the undertakers or their agents there residing having first notice thereof, and not making choice of the same for part of the land to be set out and granted to them, for the design of planting the said iron works and making iron as aforesaid.

5. And it is further granted and ordered that what quantity of iron of all sorts and qualities the said adventurers, their agents or assigns, shall make more than the inhabitants shall have need or use of for their service to be bought and paid for by the said inhabitants as aforesaid, they shall have free liberty to transport the same by shipping to other ports or places of the world, and to make sale thereof, in what way and place the said adventurers shall please, for their best advantage: Provided they sell it not to any person or state in actual hostility with us.

6. It is further granted and ordered that the said undertakers and agents and servants shall, from the date of their presents, have and enjoy all liberties and immunities whatsoever, present or to come, equal with any in this jurisdiction, according to the laws and orders thereof, for the time being, and according to the rights and privileges of the churches.

7. It is also granted that the undertakers and adventurers, together with their agents, servants, and assigns, shall be and are hereby free from all taxes, assessments, contributions, and other public charges whatsoever for so much of their stock or goods as shall be employed in and about the said iron works, for and during the term of (twenty-one) years yet to come from the date of their presents.

8. It is also hereby further granted and ordered that all such clerks and workmen as miners, founders, finers, hammer-men, and colliers, necessarily employed or to be employed in and about the said works, built or to be built, for any of the services thereof, shall from time to time during the term of (twenty-one) years be and hereby are absolutely freed and discharged of and from all ordinary trainings, watchings, etc., but that every person at all times be furnished with arms, powder, shot, etc., according to order of court.

9. Lastly: It is ordered by the court, that in all places where any iron work is set up, remote from a church or congregation, unto which they cannot conveniently come, that the undertakers shall provide some good means whereby their families may be instructed in the knowledge of God, by such as the court or standing council shall approve of."

It is only fair to say that this spirit of the authorities was not altogether in harmony with the settlers in the neighborhood, who evidently looked upon the scheme as not entirely in the interest of the planters. Hence innumerable lawsuits and vexations. The bog ore was largely taken from the meadows of the farms of Mr. Adam Hawkes, two miles north of the works. Mr. Hawkes furnished the ore, and he was also the persistent plaintiff in many suits against the company for flowing his lands. It is an interesting fact that while the Puritans abandoned all the mother country restrictions concerning the conveyance of land, these fields that became the property of Adam Hawkes, and the site where he built his first house—about 1630—have never been alienated from his family, but are still occupied by his lineal descendants and are yet in the same name. This tenacity of holding is an English trait, but it is rare even in New England to witness a land tenure so long unbroken.

A ledge at Nahant contains iron. Some of this "rock iron" was

smelted at our foundry. These iron works flourished as all enterprises did in England and the colonies so long as the commonwealth and Cromwell lived. Then they went on after a fashion in the hands of private individuals during the reigns of Charles II. and James II., or till the revolution of 1688, when New England commenced a freer life, and the iron works were of no further public concern. The works embraced a blast-furnace or "foundry" and a refining forge. The term "foundry" was then a synonym for furnace, castings being made directly from the furnace. It has been claimed that the many lawsuits in which the company became involved with the land-owners in consequence of flowage had much to do with the discontinuance of the works. A more reasonable assumption is that better iron and more of it was discovered elsewhere, and that the supply in this region was exhausted. The art, however, had gained a foothold in the new world, and the craftsmen with their deft hands and teeming brains were ready for broader scope—for Pittsburg, for Wilmington, and now for Sheffield, Alabama. It seems that the Puritan intellect in the early days was not, as the vulgar suppose, devoted entirely to witchcraft and the blue laws, but then as now was first in the field of invention and material progress.

That we have not lagged behind in these times is illustrated to the wonder of strangers with the lighting of the heavens nightly above this very spot by the brilliant "search light" which Professor Thomson displays from the Thomson-Houston Electric Company's Lynn factory. The inventions of to-day are the germination of good seed planted in the beginning of New England.

Nathan M. Hawkes

LYNN, MASS.

A RELIC OF BRADDOCK'S FIELD

The latest treasure or relic of the historic ground on which General Braddock suffered his disastrous defeat has recently been brought to light in the form of the original deed for a tract of land called "Braddock's Field."

On this famous field where the Father of his Country appeared in battle as an aid-de-camp of that self-confident and arrogant general, there have been relics without number unearthed, and venerable citizens have from time to time gained possession of these as opportunity afforded. Sometimes it would be a savage's tomahawk, then again a Frenchman's rifle or a British saber. All are held in sacred keeping by their possessors, perhaps to the more forcibly impress upon the minds of the rising generation that here the greatest slaughter of the war between the French and British colonists occurred, and General Braddock, that ill-starred British officer, himself was slain—a victim of his own overweening confidence in the invincibility of British regulars. Could Washington come back and view the ground, he would probably be astonished to see acres of manufactories and furnaces where once the stalwart oak sheltered the treacherous savage, and the remainder clear and verdant fields where cattle range in safety and peace.

The deed for this tract of land was executed March 4, 1791, nearly a century ago, and was patented by the commonwealth of Pennsylvania to George Wallace, Esq. The purchase, which comprised three hundred and twenty-eight acres of land, was conveyed to Mr. Wallace by George Thompson for an allowance of less than half a dollar an acre. One hundred years or more ago Mr. Wallace resided where Mr. Allen Kirkpatrick now lives, which place after being vacated by the former was converted into and for many years afterward known as the "Old Female Seminary." It finally came into the possession of Mr. George Bell, the father of Mrs. Allen Kirkpatrick. Mr. Wallace is said to have been an eminent lawyer, and he it was who so hospitably entertained General Lafayette when the illustrious Frenchman in passing this point stopped to luncheon at the old headquarters.

The deed later fell into the hands of Mr. A. F. Martheus of Avalon, Pennsylvania, under just what circumstances he is unable to tell. Mr. Andrew Carnegie, hearing that Mr. Martheus was in possession of it,

opened a correspondence with him, hoping to obtain the relic for his Braddock library. In this he was successful, and some time since it was forwarded to Mr. James Gayley, president of the Library Association, who will have it preserved in a suitable frame. It will then occupy a conspicuous place on the walls of the library building. The quaint old instrument, written on sheepskin parchment, reads as follows :

" Patent.

Braddock's Field.
George Wallace, Esq.,
328 acres Allegheny county.

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania—To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting :

Know that, in consideration of the sum of £48 10s 4d, lawful money, paid by George Wallace, Esq., into the Receiver General's office of this Commonwealth, there is granted by the said Commonwealth unto the said George Wallace a certain tract of land called 'Braddock's Field,' situate on the North side of the River Monongahela, at Braddock's Field in Pitt township, Allegheny county : Beginning at a locust on the bank of the said river, thence by land supposed to be vacant, north 52 degrees, west 222 perches to a white oak, thence by land of Peter Rolleter south five degrees, west 98 perches to a white oak, south 70 degrees, west 129 perches to a walnut tree, south 50 degrees, west 36 perches to a Spanish oak on the bank of said river, and thence up the same, bounding thereon, containing 328 acres, and allowance of 6 per cent. for roads, etc., with appurtenances (which said tract was surveyed in pursuance of a special application, No. 45, entered the first day of April, 1769, by Robert Thompson, who by deed dated 1 December, 1788, conveyed the same to George Thompson, who, by deed dated 1 March instant, conveyed the same to said George Wallace, for whom a warrant of acceptance issued the second day of March, instant). To have and to hold the said tract or parcel of land with the appurtenances, unto the said George Wallace and his heirs, to the use of him, the said George Wallace, excepting and reserving only the fifth part of all gold and silver ore, for the use of this Commonwealth, to be delivered at the pit's mouth, free of all charges. In witness whereof, Thomas Mifflin, Governor of the said Commonwealth, hath hereto set his hand and caused the State seal to be hereto affixed, the fourth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, and of the Commonwealth the fifteenth.

Thomas Mifflin.

A. I. Dallas, Secretary."

The deed is in an excellent state of preservation, being as bright, almost, as if made out but yesterday. It is signed by Thomas Mifflin, governor of Pennsylvania at that time, who lived just across the river from Braddock in what is now known as Mifflin township. A. I. Dallas, who attests it, was Governor Mifflin's secretary, and his descendants now, or at one time did, own considerable real estate in and around Dallas station on

the line of the Pennsylvania railroad, a few miles out from Pittsburg. The deed bears two paragraphs on its back, one which reads as follows:

"Inrolled in the rolls office for the State of Pennsylvania in pat. book No. 18, page 31.
Witness my hand and seal of office, March 5, 1791.

NORTH IRVIN."

The seals, curious contrivances cut from paper in star shape, were put on with ordinary sealing-wax. In a letter in reply to an inquiry as to how this instrument came to stray away from the original owner, and how he became the possessor of the deed, Mr. Martheus writes:

"I am very sorry, but I am unable to give any information in regard to how I came by the 'Braddock's Field' deed. I have had it for many years, and cared but little for it at first, which I think is the reason why I have totally forgotten how it was obtained. But of late years it has wonderfully appreciated in value with me, and I was very much gratified to find that Mr. Carnegie had the same high opinion of its value. It was a great satisfaction to me to place the relic in so suitable a place, through his hands, as the admirable library which he provided for your people, and it will doubtless be an incentive to others who possess mementos of the early times which were so full of stirring events, to deposit them in that institution."

Jenas McDonald

WAYNESBURG, PENNSYLVANIA.

OLIVER POLLOCK

HIS CONNECTION WITH THE CONQUEST OF ILLINOIS, 1778

This paper is suggested by the admirable article from the pen of Hon. E. A. Bryan, president of the Vincennes university, which appeared in the *Magazine of American History* for May, 1889, entitled "Indiana's First Settlement." In that article the scholarly author makes the following statement in relation to the conquest of the Illinois country: "To two men above all others the success of the enterprise was due, George Rogers Clark and François Vigo, and their names deserve to be cherished as long as Americans are freemen."

To the sentiment expressed in the latter part of this sentence readers of American history will heartily subscribe, but to the statement made in the first part of the sentence the writer takes decided exception. No one familiar with the history of Clark's expedition of 1778 would desire to deprive François Vigo of any credit justly due him for his prompt and willing assistance in Clark's hour of necessity. But if Clark must share with any person the distinguished honor of a conquest, the plan of which was entirely the conception of his own brilliant genius, that person should be Oliver Pollock.

To most of the readers of this Magazine the name of Oliver Pollock is probably unknown. In no published history of Clark's successful campaign does it occur. Neither Clark in his *Sketch of the Campaign in the Illinois*, nor Major Bowman in his *Journal of the Capture of St. Vincents*, mentions him; nor had the Hon. Henry Pirtle who annotated and published these accounts even heard of him until after the issue of his work. Burnet, in his *Notes on the Northwest Territory*, eulogizes the generosity of Vigo, but ignores the existence of Pollock; Bryant and Bancroft name him, but not in any connection with Clark's expedition, and the histories of Illinois are equally silent about him.

And yet from the beginning to the end Oliver Pollock was the one individual factor who made the expedition of Clark a possibility and a success, since he almost exclusively furnished the sinews of war.

Like François Vigo, Pollock was of foreign birth, and for twenty-five years a resident of Spanish territory. Like Vigo who furnished Clark with \$12,000 in specie from his private means, he honored from his own

private exchequer nearly every draft issued by Clark, to the extent of \$50,000 in specie within a period of nine months. Like Vigo, he was arrested and imprisoned, but for debts incurred in cashing the drafts of Clark. His personal sacrifices for Virginia and the united colonies, especially in aiding Clark in his campaigns, not only forced him to dispose of his large estate much below its value, but also made him acquainted with the discipline of a Spanish prison and kept him harassed and financially embarrassed for a decade of years.

Patrick Henry, the governor of Virginia, in his private instructions to General Clark, January 2, 1778, closed his letter with these words, "You are to apply to General Hand for powder and lead necessary for this expedition. If he can't supply it, the person who has that which Captain Lynn bro't from Orleans can." This powder with which Clark began his march to the Wabash was supplied by Oliver Pollock, it having been secured by him "out of the king's store" in New Orleans for Virginia. During the same month Governor Henry ordered Pollock to draw bills on France for \$65,000, to aid Clark, which he did on his individual bond. During the same year, 1778, he borrowed on his personal security, from the royal treasury at New Orleans, \$70,000 in specie, which was also expended for the furtherance of Clark's campaign and the defense of the Virginia and Pennsylvania frontiers. And yet this Robert Morris of the West remains almost unknown in history.

In 1778, when Vigo made his timely and generous loan of \$12,000 to Clark, he received in return the latter's drafts on Pollock for the entire amount. There was then no trader or merchant from St. Louis to New Orleans who was not familiar with the financial and mercantile reputation of Oliver Pollock. It was confidence in the integrity of the American merchant that made Vigo so readily accept Clark's bills of exchange. Pollock paid all these drafts, excepting the one for \$8,616. This bill Vigo testified that he did not present to Pollock until 1779, and at a time when the latter was "out of funds." In Report 216, 3d U. S. Congress, 1st Sess. pp. 1-62, 1834, will be found in full Colonel Vigo's petition to congress for the payment of these drafts. The report contains also General Clark's accounts with Virginia in behalf of the said state and Illinois department, from which it appears that from March, 1778, to October, 1781, he had received and expended \$2,201,392.83½ currency. Of this amount he had drawn from Pollock during the time he was actually engaged in the Illinois conquest, from March 30, 1778, to November 19, 1779, when at Louisville, Kentucky, he wrote his *Sketch of the Campaign*, the sum of \$50,804.76 in specie; and from the treasurer of Virginia \$54,772.00—whether in specie

or not is not stated—a total of \$105,576.76. If these drafts were all for specie, as Clark himself testifies of the \$50,000 drawn on Pollock, he expended in the actual Illinois campaign \$108,612.80. The same report (No. 216) also contains Pollock's account with the state of Virginia, which shows that his advances of money from September, 1776, to August, 1781, mainly for Clark's expedition, amounted to \$91,497.00 in specie, a sum in comparison with which Colonel Vigo's \$12,000 sinks into insignificance.

It was decided in 1790 by General Knox, then secretary of war, that the expenses incurred by Virginia in acquiring and *maintaining* the Illinois territory, covering a period of *three years* from 1778 to 1781, amounted to \$500,000.* This sum was credited to the state of Virginia by the United States in the general adjustment of accounts, as the equivalent of \$2,201,000 currency of 1781.

As to the bearing of Pollock's liberal advances of money on the successful issue of Clark's campaign, the following testimony from General Clark himself, and from two of the three members of the board of commissioners appointed by the United States for "adjusting the expenses of the Illinois country," are conclusive. One of the three commissioners, Colonel David Henley, a distinguished officer of the Revolution, wrote to Pollock under date of April 22, 1788: "It appears to me, from the knowledge I have of the Illinois accounts and papers as laid before the board and commissioners for a settlement, that your exertions in behalf of General Clark and the troops under his command were the means of enabling him to hold the country and support his army."

Colonel William Heth, another of the commissioners, and also eminent as a revolutionary officer, wrote him: "There is no circumstance of which I am more convinced than that the conquest of the Illinois country could not have been maintained by Virginia, and consequently that it would not now form a part of the United States, if it had not been for your assistance and very liberal advances; except, indeed, that your private fortunes were injured thereby, and that your character has been lightly spoken of by those who are ever more ready to join in a popular clamor against a public servant, than to examine minutely into his transactions."

The aspersions upon Pollock's character were from the charge made by some member of the congress that he (Pollock) had claimed reimbursement of the sums expended for Clark *in specie*, when the original payment had been made in *paper money*. Whereupon he appealed to General Clark himself for corroboration of his claim, with the following result: "These are to certify to all whom it may concern, that all the bills I

* Rep. Secretary of War, June 21, 1790.

drew, when I commanded the Virginia troops in the Illinois conquest, upon Mr. Oliver Pollock, agent for the United States at New Orleans, were considered by me to be for *specie*, as the respective bills expressed in dollars; and that the service Mr. Pollock rendered upon all occasions in paying these bills I considered at the same time, and now, to be one of the happy circumstances that enabled me to keep possession of that country. Given under my hand this day, at New York, the 2d July, 1785.

GEORGE R. CLARK."

Limited space will not permit the introduction of still more evidence to prove the claim advanced above, that, next to General Clark himself, the honor of the Illinois conquest is due to Oliver Pollock. The question will naturally arise, Who was Oliver Pollock?

About the year 1760 Jaret Pollock emigrated from near Coleraine, Ireland, to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, accompanied by his sons James and Oliver, and probably John. Oliver Pollock, born *circa* 1737, removed in 1762 or 1763 to Havana, Cuba, and engaged in mercantile pursuits in connection with an eminent business house in that city. He soon mastered the Spanish language, married an Irish lady of Havana, and thus probably identified himself with the Roman church. Through the influence of one of the priests, Father Butler, president of the Jesuit college, he won the friendship of O'Reilly, governor-general of Cuba. When France conceded Louisiana to Spain in 1762, Pollock opened commercial relations with New Orleans, and removed there in 1767. He soon established a high reputation in commercial circles, extending his trade to England, Spain, France, and the Atlantic coast of America. In 1769, when O'Reilly became governor of Louisiana, his arrival with three thousand troops at New Orleans threatened that little town with famine, so that flour advanced to thirty dollars a barrel. On the day when the last barrel was sold at that price, Pollock most opportunely arrived at New Orleans with his vessel laden with bread-stuff. As soon as he learned of the suffering of the famished people, he promptly placed his entire cargo of flour at the governor's disposal, bidding him to fix his own value upon it, which offer was as promptly and generously refused. Pollock, in his narrative of the incident, states, "I then said that as the king had three thousand troops there, and the inhabitants were in distress for flour, I did not mean to take advantage of that distress, and I offered my flour at fifteen dollars or thereabouts per barrel, which he readily agreed to, and observed that he would make a note of it to the king his master, and that I should have a free trade there as long as I lived; and I did enjoy

that privilege so long as I stayed in the country." Thus he laid the foundation of his large fortune.

Pollock's relations to the various governors of Louisiana were those of personal friendship. His intimacy with them, his energy, courage, business sagacity, and integrity gave him a widely extended influence. His attachment to the united colonies when the war for the independence began was sincere and enthusiastic, and he rendered them many services secretly and effectively. An incident which shows the estimation in which he was held is worthy of note. When John Bernard de Galvez succeeded Louis Unzaga, as royal governor of Louisiana in 1777, the latter introduced Pollock to the former as a personal friend. I give it as Pollock narrated it. "After he had introduced me and got into his carriage at Don Galvez's door, he suddenly came out again and observed to me that he had forgotten the principal part of his business, and that I must go in with him to Don Galvez again, upon which he observed to Don Galvez that as he (Galvez) was lately from the court of Spain he must know the intentions of the court—whether they were going to take part with Great Britain, or with France and the American rebels; observing at the same time that if the court of Spain was going to take part with Great Britain, Oliver Pollock should not remain in the country twenty-four hours; but if they were going to take part with France, Oliver Pollock was the only man in the colony he could confide in, meaning as an English merchant."

Pollock's reputation as a financier and zealous patriot had become so well known in Philadelphia that on the 12th of June, 1777, the secret committee—Franklin, Morris, and Lee—appointed him commercial agent of the United States at New Orleans, directing him to ship at once to Philadelphia \$50,000 worth of goods, blankets, etc., for the army. Later in the year the governor of Virginia also appointed him the special agent of that colony. He held this responsible position with fidelity until 1783, having during those years advanced to the United States and Virginia on the basis of his own credit over \$300,000 in specie.

It is well known that the credit of the united colonies was so impaired during the Revolutionary war that their paper money was worthless, and specie was beyond their reach. The scarcity of the latter extended even to Louisiana. The colonies were unable to fulfill their pledges. Naturally enough their failure embarrassed Pollock. In reply to his appeal for remittances, the secret committee wrote him, July 19, 1779, recognizing his claims, his sacrifices, and his faithfulness to duty, but lamenting their inability to make good any promises. In the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* occurs a letter from Pollock of May 4, 1780, to John Todd, county

lieutenant of Illinois, in which he says: "By this I have received a bill on France for £65,814⁵/₈ for my advance made to Virginia in 1778, but I am unable to negotiate it at New Orleans on account of the great scarcity of specie, which will continue until a supply can be gotten from Havana. This gives me great concern, because it prevents my using the bills of General Clarke and other officers." In January, 1782, he appealed through his attorney, Daniel Clark, to Governor Harrison of Virginia, for payment of his claim for \$139,739.1¹/₂, money advanced to the western troops in Illinois. He stated that he was then in debt for upward of \$80,000 which he had borrowed for Virginia. In May, 1782, he again appealed to Governor Nelson of Virginia, stating that he had been obliged to sell his landed estate, slaves, dwelling-house, and stores, to meet bills drawn by order of the state of Virginia. His appeals met with no substantial response. Virginia was really in no condition to liquidate her indebtedness.

In 1783 Pollock was appointed United States agent at Havana, whither also his friend Governor Galvez had been transferred. He left New Orleans, however, indebted to the royal treasury \$151,696 for moneys advanced to the United States colonies, for which no reimbursement had yet been received from the secret committee. In May, 1784, the Virginia bills on France, which he had paid with his own means, were sent to Havana for collection. Not having the money to take them up, Pollock was arrested for the debt and kept in close custody for eighteen months until the arrival of Governor Galvez, through whose influence he was released on executing a bond to pay the Spanish minister, on his arrival in Philadelphia, the sum of \$151,696. In December, 1785, congress awarded him \$90,000, but there was no money in the treasury and it was not paid until 1791.

Meanwhile he was not idle. When he left New Orleans, in 1783, he left a friend, "Mr. Patterson, as a hostage for his debts contracted to Spanish officers and subjects on account of the United States and the state of Virginia, and particularly in serving to secure the conquest of the Illinois country." Failing to secure the money awarded him by congress, he resolved to return to New Orleans and relieve his hostage. He fitted out a vessel in Philadelphia, loaded it with flour, sailed to Martinique, disposed of his cargo, laid in another, sailed to New Orleans, and again engaged in mercantile pursuits with such diligence and good fortune that in 1790 he was enabled to pay all his debts and to return to Philadelphia a free man,

He bore with him the most flattering testimonials from Estevan Miro, then governor of Louisiana. One of these, addressed to the governor of Virginia, states the fact that "Mr. Pollock, in the execution of his orders as agent of the United States and the state of Virginia, had contracted

very considerable debts in New Orleans which he was unable wholly to discharge although he disposed of all his estate, real and personal, in this country, at a great disadvantage, for the purpose of fulfilling his engagements with his creditors in this province. Mr. Pollock has, since his arrival here, very honorably and to the entire satisfaction of his creditors in this province, discharged all his remaining debts to a considerable amount, which he owed on account of the United States and the state of Virginia. The just integrity evinced by this gentleman in the faithful discharge of his engagements entered into for the service of his country strongly interests me in his favor, and induces me to pray you will have the goodness to take him under your excellency's protection, and that you will be pleased to give him your aid in obtaining as speedy a reimbursement as may be for the moneys now due to him from the United States and the state of Virginia, which I shall esteem a personal favor conferred upon myself."

In 1792 Pollock returned to Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, called "Silver Springs," and bought a large estate near Carlisle. He was several times a candidate for congress. He was an active member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, in Philadelphia, and an original member of the Hibernian society. He died at Pinckneyville, Mississippi, December 17, 1823, at the home of his son-in-law, D. Samuel Robinson, and at a great age.

The state of Virginia eventually returned to Pollock every cent that he had advanced in response to her demands; but as that eminent Virginian, William Wirt Henry, has justly said, "She owes him a debt of gratitude that has remained too long unpaid." The United States still owes him a pecuniary debt as justly due as that which François Vigo claimed, and based on evidence even more incontrovertible. Surely when we consider the immense value to the United States of that vast territory which George Rogers Clark, with Virginia's troops and Oliver Pollock's money, wrested from the possession of Great Britain, covering the states of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Missouri, how shall we estimate the part which Pollock played in that great drama? If Colonel "Vigo's name is enrolled with DeKalb and Steuben and Lafayette" because he supplied Clark with \$12,000 in specie, it is not too much to say that Pollock's name should be enrolled with Morris and others whose aid in securing the independence of the colonies was as essential to success as was the military genius of Washington and Greene.



WILKESBARRE, PENNSYLVANIA.

THRILLING STORY OF A BRITISH SURGEON'S EXPERIENCE IN THE REVOLUTION

[From Hugh Gaines' *New York Gazette* of January 10, 1777. A copy of this newspaper was recently found as the lining to a compartment where valuable documents have been lying folded for considerably more than a century.]

"Doctor Smith, late of Maryland, who has been a Prisoner among the Rebels ever since Nov. 1775, having lately escaped from them, has favored us with the following Narrative or Journal, which is so well authenticated, that it may be firmly relied on as Truth."

NARRATIVE OR JOURNAL

Of Dr. John F. D. Smith, Captain and Surgeon in the Queen's Royal Rangers, who was taken Prisoner by the Rebels in Nov. 1775, and lately escaped from them, and arrived here in the *Daphne*.

As the Public, and especially many Persons in a high Station can have but little Idea of the Sufferings of those unhappy People who have had the misfortune to fall into the Hands of the Rebels, especially if they have ever been active against them, I think it a Duty incumbent on me to publish the following plain Narrative of facts, every Tittle of which can be well attested. At the same Time disclaiming every intention of rendering the Condition of these deluded and mistaken Men, who are Prisoners, any worse. It would be unworthy of the British Arms to retaliate Cruelty, and it is far from my Disposition to wish it, altho' no Person can be more principled against the Rebels than I have been since the Beginning of the Rebellion, and I have suffered in Property and in Person as much as any one whose Life has been spared, having had my whole Property sold and confiscated, and being often reduced to the Brink of the Grave. Yet to show, that they complain of our Treatment of their Prisoners with a very bad Grace, it is almost necessary to make this Public.

On the Night of the 19th Nov. 1775, Col. Connolly, Lieutenant Cameron, and myself, were made Prisoners in Frederick County, Maryland, over the Blue Ridge of Mountains, by 36 Riflemen, who rushed suddenly into our Room, and with cock'd Rifles presented at us in Bed, obliged us to surrender. They, without the least Provocation, abused us with every opprobrious Epithet Language is capable of. We were then carried to a Committee in Hagar's Town, and examined separately, after being searched for Papers. This Committee was ignorant, rude and abusive, and sent us under a strong Guard to Frederick Town for farther Examination.

They were continually threatening our Lives, and as we went along the Guard in the Rear, every now and then would fire off a Rifle directed very near us, as I could hear the Ball pass within a few Feet of us every Time. At Frederick Town I was told, that I need not expect to get clear, for I was a noted Tory, and they had long wished to get me in their Power. Here we were stripp'd and searched, and examined again separately before the Committee, and one of the most infamous wicked Rebels, a Samuel Chace, a Lawyer Member of the Congress, presided. By some Neglect of Col. Connolly's Servant, an old torn Piece of Paper was found in his Portmanteau, which discovered Part of our Design, and Col. Connolly, to prevent our falling immediate Sacrifices to a phrantic Mob, acknowledged our Commissions. We were then robb'd of our Money, by Samuel Chace and the Committee, who left us only a Guinea each, and were put under a strong Guard, in a close Room 3 Stories high, the Windows nailed down, and no Person allowed to speak to us, and deny'd the Use of Pen, Ink, and Paper. Thus were we kept, in continual Danger of being murdered every Night, until December 30th, 1775, when the Congress sent for us to Philadelphia. It had been ordered, that if we should be taken on our Way, we should attempt, either by escape or otherwise, to inform the Garrison of Detroit of an Expedition the Rebels intended against them from Pittsburg, and also to bring the Garrison of Fort Gage on Mississippi, Artillery, Stores, &c. down the River, and by Transports, round to join the 14th at Norfolk. For this Purpose on the 30th December at Night, 1775, I watched the Moment the two Centinels fell asleep on their Posts at our Door, and unscrewing the Lock, made my Escape, with Letters, and every necessary Order, but was obliged to leave all my Cloaths. There was a deep encrusted Snow, and most dreadful Roads, so that my Journey was beyond Expression fatiguing, especially as I left my Horse, and went on Foot, to prevent any Suspicion of my Rout, as no one could imagine, that a Journey over the Alegany Mountains to Mississippi, and Detroit, would be attempted at that Season of the Year by any Person alone and on Foot. To pass along with more Privacy, I endeavoured to go up the other Side of Potomack River, but, in attempting to cross on the Ice, broke in, and almost got lost ; it was snowing and freezing at the same Time, and I had 7 Miles over the Mountains to go, before I came to a House to warm myself. At last, when I reach'd it, there was no Fire, and I could not stay, so I travelled in that wet and frozen Condition all Day, and at Night lay before the Fire, at the House of a poor ignorant Dutchman.

On the 1st January, 1776, I set out and reached the Mouth of Connicochege at Sunrise. It was frozen half over, I broke the Ice, strip'd and waded it thro', up to my Breast, and hearing of a Pursuit struck off the Road into the North Mountain, travelled all Day thro' fatiguing encrusted Snow, and stay'd during the Night (for I slept not) under a Rock in the Mountain.

Jan. 2d, travelled all Day in the Mountain, and at Night scraped away the snow by the Side of a Tree, made a Fire and slept a little. On the 3d January,

directed my Course towards the Road again, being then behind the Pursuit, and stay'd all Night at a miserable House by the Fire. I passed by the Name of Brescoe. Here I heard a Thousand Falsehoods told about me, and was obliged to join in Abuse against myself ; they all said, that we ought immediately to have been put to Death when taken.

On the 4th Jan. I had three violent Falls on the ice, by which I received a bad Strain in one Anckle, and a deep Wound in my opposite Foot ; this rendered travelling excessively painful. However with me there was no alternative but Death to stop, or Life to proceed ; and in this distressing Manner I continued to push on until the 12th January when after wading Numbers of Creeks and Rivers, and getting over the Alegany Mountains, I was retaken on Yohiogeny, close by the Ohio, by a Party of nine Ruffians returning from Pittsburg in pursuit of me. They set me on a Pack Horse, on a wooden Pack Saddle, tied my Arms behind me, and my Legs under the Horse's Belly, took off the Bridle, and put a great Bell on the Horse, and in that Manner they drove the Horse and me before them over slippery Ways covered with ice, and over all the dreadful Precipices of the Alegany and Blue Mountains, for the first Day and Night, and for the next three Days ; every Night lying on the bare Ground. Travelling in this violent rapid Manner, as I am informed since, preserved my Life, as a Captain and thirty Men from near Pittsburg, pursued us under Oath to kill me when they heard I was retaken, and after riding after us a Day and a Half, despairing to overtake us, they returned. During all this Time I tasted nothing but Water, and had but one Meal of indifferent Food, which probably in some Degree contributed also to save my Life, by abating the Inflammation of the Wound in my Foot, and the Strain in my Anckle, both of which were prodigiously swelled, and so violently painful, that for my Life I could not walk a hundred Yards, and intirely deprived me of Sleep. I was then delivered up again to the Committee of Hagar's Town, who made use of every Artifice of Promises and Threats to corrupt my Principles, and when all would not avail, ordered me to be carried to the Congress to Philadelphia in Irons. A fresh Guard with a Major, a Captain, two Lieutenants, &c. then set off with me tied as before, and my Horse tied also with two Ropes, and led by two of the Guard, accompanied with Drum and Fife, beating the Rogue's March, which they seemed particularly fond of. Fifteen Miles from Frederick Town, a Captain and fifty Rebels came to take me from my Guard, to carry me back to Frederick Town, to two Hundred more who had assembled, and were waiting there to murder me at once, in order as they said to save the Country Expense. It required no small Address to persuade this Rabble out of their Intentions, as they were sent by the enemy on Purpose, but at last they suffered me to proceed. They carried me thro' Crissop's Town, Hancock's Town, Hagar's Town, ——— Town, Frederick Town, Tawney Town, ———tle Town, M'Allastar's Town, York, and Lancaster ; in each of the last Places I was lodged in Goal ; and at last I arrived at Philadelphia, dragg'd all this Way, being several hundred miles, like a Criminal,

going to Execution. The Congress hastened to express their Approbation of the Cruelty and Zeal of those who retook me, gave several of them a Commission, and Fifteen Pounds to bear each of their Expences, and to the Principal, Seventy-five Dollars extraordinary Pay, and a Captain's Commission of Riflemen, as a Reward. By the Congress I was sent to the Council of Safety (properly of Destruction) and by them to the Common Goal, where a very large Pair of Irons were brought for me, but a Gentleman present went out and got an Order against it. I was then thrown into a Room in the criminal Appartment, which was constantly locked, no Person, even in the Goal, allowed to speak to me, in an uncarpeted Room, without Bed, Blanket, Fire, Chair or Table, oblig'd to lye on the bare Floor, with a Log of Wood under my head, in the Middle of a severe Winter, and sometimes three Days without a Drop of Water or any Kind of drink. In this Condition I remained for three Weeks, and without changing my Shirt, or having my Cloathes cleaned, in thirty-three Days ; also very sick, and still lame. To think on all I suffered, one would not imagine that human Nature could have endured it and live ; but a Man can at sometimes undergo much more, than would at other times destroy him.

Imagining that they intended in this manner to take away my Life, I wrote with my Pencil on a Card (nothing else being allowed me) desiring they would order me to immediate Execution, and not destroy me by inches. They then had me brought before the Council, who behaved very politely to me, making their apologies for what was past, and promising relief in future, but declared their Astonishment at my desperate Attempt, as they call'd it, at reaching Detroit or Illinois, alone and on Foot, at that Season of the Year, thro' a hostile Country, and without Money, (as I had only the Guinea the Committee had left me). But altho' they promised to render my Confinement more supportable, yet I was sent back to Goal, almost in the same situation as before. I take this Opportunity to acknowledge many Obligations to Captain Campbell, of the Royal Emigrants, who was at that Time also a close Prisoner, but did me every Service in his Power, that my secluded Situation would admit of. Captain Campbell about this Time was so ill that he was in great Danger of Death, having been in Goal four Months, and at last only to save his Life, they admitted him to parole. I was then removed into his Room in the Goal with Colonel Kirkland ; and Major-Gen'l. Prescott was put into the Room in the infernal Appartment I was taken out of, where he was kept until the Dampness of the air and the Unwholesomeness of the Place, caused his Wounds to break out afresh ; then he was removed. After some Days the Council Brought me a Paper containing a dirty & scandalous Parole, which he said, was sent for me to sign, as they wanted to atone now for all former ill Usage. One Mr. Nixon had interested himself to procure it, but as Col. Connolly and Lieut. Cameron were not offered their Paroles also, I refused to sign it, and I was then put into the Room along (with) them. About two Days after, Col. Connolly got the Liberty of the Goal at large and another Room ; but they nailed down the Windows on Lieut. Cameron and me and chained the Door so as not to admit one

Breath of fresh Air to us, debarred the Use of Pen and Ink ; no Person whatever allowed to see or speak to us, and totally precluded from the whole World as effectually as if we had been in our Graves, and in this Manner were we kept for Months, until our Lives were despaired of. Mr. Wilcot, and a Thomas M'Kean of Newcastle, came to us to see our Situation and State of Health.

Mr. Wilcot talked like a moderate Man, but the violent, raging, Rebel M'Kean, introduced himself by abusing, in the grossest terms, the King, Parliament and Ministry ; the whole Army, and Navy; and particularly Lord Dunmore and General Prescott. He told us, for our Comfort, that we should be held for Retaliation, that if Allen, or ———, or any of their Leaders were executed, we should share the same Fate ; said we should think ourselves very happy not to be slaves, as their Prisoners were always kept slaves by the British. In Order to preserve us for that Purpose, he ordered our Windows not to be opened ; after some Time an Order came from the Congress permitting us to walk two hours every Day, with two Centinels, in the nasty, suffocating Yard of the Goal. This was allowed us only for a few Days. At this Time the Goaler charged us four pounds a Week each, for our diet only, tho' very indifferent, and Twenty Shillings a Week Lodging and Candle. The Congress allowed us only two Dollars weekly each, so that this Villain, the Goaler, extorted every penny of Money from us. . . .

The Cruelties practiced there are almost incredible, and at least equal to the famous Inquisition Prison. The Goal was guarded constantly by one Centinel on each side with two in the Front, two in the Rear, three in the Passage below, and three more in the Passage above, and the Guard within the Prison. The Restrictions on us were so severe, that we were not allowed to ———ny in different Rooms. Sept. 20th, Jewell accused me of speaking to Col. Connolly, and ordered a Serjeant and nine Men to thrust me into a nasty Guard Room, then locked me in a cold empty Room, where I was forced to lie on the bare Floor, and that gave me a violent Cholic. I was extremely ill, without any Care, or Notice taken of me, and lay in that sick helpless Condition, lock'd into a Room by myself, without the least Comfort whatsoever. Soon after that, I was seized with a Disentery, which continued on me for seven Weeks, and reduced me to the Point of Death, yet still I was lock'd up without any Care, Attendance, or Notice. Dr. Benjamin Rush, one of the Congress, a man eminent in Physick, but as eminent in Rebellion, and still more in Deceit, after amusing me with Hopes of a Parole, Excuses, and Professions of very great regard, and Commiseration, one Day informed me, that many Members of the Congress, said they personally knew me to be so determinedly hostile to the American States, and that I had always used such Interest and Influence against them, that I need not expect any Kind of Indulgence whatsoever, not even to save my life."

(Contributed by)

ADRIAN VAN SINDERIN

COTTON EXCHANGE, NEW YORK CITY.

MINOR TOPICS

LAND OF MY BIRTH

There's not a rock, nor shaded rill,
A beetling craig, nor wooded hill,
 I could forget ;
Land of my birth ! where'er I go,
Back to thy realms my fancies flow,
The dearest thoughts of thee I know,
 And cherish yet.

The breezy lakes and mountain streams,
I hear them even in my dreams
 Ripple and roar—
And stretching to the far-off seas,
The billowy plains and forest trees,
Broad valleys yielding golden sheaves
 And precious ore.

America ! grand is thy youth,
No priestly craft could crush the truth
 Which gave thee birth ;
Long in the throes of church and state,
Of clashing creeds and princely hate,
Our sires devoutly met their fate,
 And proved their worth.

Out of the stormy Ocean's wrath,
Out of a wild and savage path,
 And years of wo—
Behold a country far and wide,
A new-born nation in its pride,
Where untold millions may reside
 And freedom know.

In all this wondrous growth behold
The will of God in lines of gold,
 Which radiant shine !

Gleaming from every Christian home,
 From sacred spire and college dome,
 That glorious Truth we claim our own
 By love divine.

Triumphantly that Truth shall reign
 To leaven all this fair domain,
 And spread abroad !
 The strife of nations then shall cease,
 And man's best aims of life increase
 A grand millennium of peace
 To welcome God.

W. I. CRANDALL

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

A DECLARATION

ADDRESSED IN THE NAME OF THE KING OF FRANCE TO ALL THE ANCIENT
 FRENCH IN NORTH AMERICA

[*Editor of Magazine of American History*: My brother, Rev. Dr. T. Stafford Drowne, has the original document with the above title, which was printed in French on board the *Languedoc*, for the Count d'Estaing, October 28, 1778. It was translated from the French, and published in the *Massachusetts Spy* at Worcester, Massachusetts, December 10, 1778, a copy of which is now in my possession, and I take pleasure in presenting it to your readers. HENRY T. DROWNE.]

The undersigned authorised by His Majesty, and thence cloathed with the noblest of titles, with that which effaces all others; charged in the name of his Father of his Country, and the beneficent protector of his subjects, to offer a support to those who were born to enjoy the blessings of his government—

To all his Countrymen in North-America.

You were born French; you could never cease to be French. The late war, which was not declared but by the captivity of nearly all our seamen, and the principal advantages of which our common enemies entirely owed to the courage, the talents, and the numbers of the brave Americans, who are now fighting against them, has wrested from you, that which is most dear to all men, even the name of your country. To compel you to bear the arms of Parricides against it, must be the completion of misfortunes: With this you are now threatened: A new war may justly make you dread being obliged to submit to this most intolerable law of slavery. It has commenced like the last, by depredations upon the most valuable part of our trade. Too long already have a great number of unfortunate French-

men, been confined in American prisons. You hear their groans. The present war was declared by a message in March last from the King of Great Britain to both houses of Parliament; a most authentic act of the British sovereignty, announcing to all orders of the State, that to trade [with America] though without excluding others from the same right, was to offend; that frankly to avow such intention was to defy this sovereignty; that she would revenge it and defer this only to a more advantageous opportunity, when she might do it with more appearance of legality than in the last war:—For she declared that she had the right, the will, and the ability to revenge; and accordingly she demanded of parliament the supplies.

The calamities of a war thus proclaimed have been restrained and retarded as much as was possible, by a Monarch whose pacific and disinterested views now reclaim the marks of your former attachment, only for your own happiness: Constrained to repel force by force, and multiplied hostilities by reprisals, which he has at last authorised, if necessity should carry his arms, or those of his allies into a country always dear to him, you have not to fear either burnings or devastations: And if gratitude, if the view of a flag always revered by those who have followed it, should recal to the banners of France, or of the United States, the Indians, who loved us, and have been loaded with presents by him, whom they also call their *Father*; never, no never shall they employ against you their too cruel methods of war. These they must renounce, or they will cease to be our friends.

It is not by menaces that we shall endeavour to avoid combating with our countrymen, nor shall we weaken this declaration by invectives against a great and brave nation, which we know how to respect, and hope to vanquish.

As a French gentleman, I need not to mention to those among you who were born such as well as myself, that there is but one august house in the universe, under which the French can be happy, and serve with pleasure; since its head, and those who are most nearly allied to him by blood, have been at all times, through a long line of monarchs, and are at this day more than ever delighted with bearing that very title which Henry IV regarded as the first of his own. I shall not excite your regrets for those qualifications, those marks of distinction, those decorations, which, in our matter of thinking, are precious treasures; but from which, by our common misfortunes, the American French, who have known so well how to deserve them are now precluded. These, I am bold to hope and to promise, their zeal will very soon procure to be diffused among them. They will merit them when they *dare to become the friends of our allies*.

I shall not ask the military companions of the Marquis of Levi; those who shared his glory, who admired his talents and genius for war, who loved his cordiality and frankness, the principal characteristics of our nobility, whether there be other names in other nations, among which they would be better pleased to place their own.

Can the Canadians, who saw the brave Montcalm fall in their defence, can they

become the enemies of his nephews? Can they fight against their former leaders, and arm themselves against their kinsmen? At the bare mention of their names the weapons would fall out of their hands.

I shall not observe to the ministers of the altars, that their evangelic efforts will require the special protection of Providence, to prevent faith being diminished by example, by worldly interest, and by sovereigns whom force has imposed upon them, and whose political indulgence will be lessened proportionably as those sovereigns shall have less to fear. I shall not observe, that it is necessary for religion that those who preach it should form a body in the state; and that in Canada no other body would be more considered, or have more power to do good than that of the priests, taking a part in the government; since their respective conduct has merited the confidence of the people.

I shall not represent to that people, nor to all my countrymen in general, that a vast monarchy, having the same religion, the same manners, the same language, where they find kinsmen, old friends, and brethren, must be an inexhaustible source of commerce and wealth, more easily acquired and better secured, by their union with powerful neighbours, than with strangers of another hemisphere, among whom everything is different, and who, jealous and despotic sovereigns, would sooner or later treat them as a conquered people, and doubtless much worse than their late countrymen the Americans, who made them victorious. I shall not urge to a whole people that to JOIN with the United States is to secure their own happiness; since a whole people, when they acquire the right of thinking and acting for themselves, must know their own interest: But I will declare, and I now formally order in the name of His Majesty, who has authorized and commanded me to do it, that all his former subjects in North America, who shall no more acknowledge the supremacy of Great Britain, may depend upon his protection and support.

Done on board his Majesty's ship, the Languedoc, in the harbour of Boston, the twenty eighth day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy eight.
ESTAING.

BIGREL DE GRANDOLOS, *Secretary appointed by the King, to the Squadron commanded by the Count D'Estaing.* Printed on board the Languedoc, by P. P. Demauge, printer to the King and the Squadron.

THE EARLIEST NEWSPAPERS OF NORTH CAROLINA

In a discourse before the North Carolina Historical Society at its September meeting, Dr. Stephen B. Weeks made some very interesting statements in relation to early printing and the pioneer newspapers of North Carolina. The following is a brief synopsis of his address: "The first printing-press in America was carried to Mexico by the Spanish viceroy, Mendoza, in 1536. The first in the United

States was set up in connection with the founding of Harvard college. James Davis brought the first press to the province of North Carolina in 1749. Two years later he printed *Swann's Revisal*, or as it is familiarly called, *The Yellow Jacket*. Davis issued in December, 1755, the first number of the *North Carolina Gazette*, at New Berne. It was continued six years, and revived in 1764 under the name of *North Carolina Magazine and Universal Intelligencer*. This continued a little over a year. In 1768 it was revived again under its old name of *North Carolina Gazette*.

In September, 1764, Andrew Stewart began to print *The Cape Fear Gazette and Wilmington Advertiser*. Stewart was patronized by the best people of Wilmington, but he fell into discredit and had to suspend for lack of support. His outfit was purchased by Adam Boyd, who began the *Cape Fear Mercury* in 1769. It was in this paper that Governor Martin saw, June 20, 1775, the 'Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.' There were four presses in operation at various times during the Revolution—one in New Berne, one in Halifax, one in the army of Cornwallis, and another in the army of General Greene. The first paper printed after the close of the war was the *North Carolina Gazette or Impartial Intelligencer and General Weekly Advertiser*, in New Berne.

From 1785 the number of presses and papers increased rapidly. One of the most active printers of that day was Abraham Hodge; he was public printer for fifteen years. He founded *The State Gazette* of North Carolina, in Edenton, in 1786, the *North Carolina Journal* in Halifax, in 1793, and the *Fayetteville Minerva* early in 1796. He was one of the earliest donors to the library of the university of North Carolina. But the printer who did most, perhaps, for the upbuilding and intellectual advancement of North Carolina, was Joseph Gales, Sr. He issued the first number of the *Raleigh Register* on October 22, 1799. During the eighteenth century, newspapers were published at one time or another in New Berne, Wilmington, Raleigh, Edenton, Halifax, Hillsboro, Fayetteville, Salisbury, and perhaps Lincolnton. There were two paper manufactories in the state, one established near Hillsboro, in 1778, the other in Salem in 1789."

NOTES

PROVIDENCE GINGERBREAD—A bet was made in Providence, on the late gubernatorial election, of a cake of gingerbread, to be of as large dimensions as the winner should direct. Accordingly, a cake was baked by Mr. William Barstow, under direction, of the following dimensions: It was ten feet long, two feet two inches wide, two inches thick, and contained forty-three feet four inches board measure. It was exhibited for distribution, handsomely figured, and dressed out with box. In eating the cake all parties united; the recipients hoping that it was a foretaste of the racy, soft, and refreshing administration of the successful candidate.—*Boston Centinel*, April, 1821.

PETERSFIELD

CHARLES DICKENS ON PRESCOTT'S WORK—In one of Dickens's letters to Professor Felton, which appears in the delightful edition of Dickens's letters recently issued by Charles Scribner's Sons, appears the following paragraph: "I wrote to Prescott about his book, with which I was perfectly charmed. I think his descriptions masterly, his style brilliant, his purpose manly and gallant always. The introductory account of Aztec civilization impressed me exactly as it impressed you. From beginning to end the whole history is enchanting and full of genius. I only wonder that having such an opportunity of illustrating the doctrine of visible judgments, he never remarks when Cortes and his men tumble the idols down the temple steps and call upon the peo-

ple to take notice that their gods are powerless to help themselves, that possibly if some intelligent native had tumbled down the image of the Virgin or patron saint after them nothing very remarkable might have ensued in consequence."

VALUABLE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS—Secretary Thwaites, of the Wisconsin Historical Society, has for three years past been engaged in picking up for the society's archives all old manuscripts which in any way throw light upon the early history of the state. Letter-books, diaries, old letters, memoranda, fur-trade account-books, etc., have already been gathered in by the thousands, and the work still goes on. His collection from the descendants of the old fur-traders is now very nearly as complete as he can hope to make it, the collection already made amounting to somewhat over 20,000 documents, which were not long ago bound up, in classified chronological order, into over one hundred stout folio volumes which reveal the inner history of Wisconsin from about 1760 until 1835. From these volumes can be obtained many curious details of early life in Wisconsin, and indeed many a pioneer romance. The secretary recently returned from a trip to Green Bay, Fort Howard and Kaukauna, where he made some new finds of great interest and was put on the track of a few more batches of old papers, which are probably about the last now in existence. Efforts are being made to secure early documents from

Milwaukee, Prairie du Chien, and the lead region, with most encouraging prospects. The papers of Colonel George Boyd, the early Indian agent at Mackinaw and Green Bay, have already been obtained, also two large letter-books and a number of other important papers relative to the affairs of the La Pointe Indian agency, 1835-42, when the late Rev. Alfred Brunson was agent. There is now no state historical society in the Union, except that of Massachusetts, which has so large and fine a collection of original historical documents illus-

trative of the career of its own commonwealth as is already in possession of the Wisconsin society. The fathers builded better than they knew, when they placed the historical society under the public wing and made it a trustee of the state, while yet preserving its individual character and allowing the energy and enthusiasm of its managers full and independent scope. The institution is keeping full pace with the growth of the commonwealth. — *The State Journal*, Sept. 11, 1889.

QUERIES

WASHINGTON'S WOOING OF MARY PHILPSE—A paper on the Philpse patent in the August number [xii. 109] mentions the baseless tradition of Washington's having been refused by Mary Philpse. Will not some of your readers give the origin of the story, when it first appeared in print, and if possible the guilty author's name.

CENTENNIAL

JOHN NEWGATE OR NEWDIGATE—born in 1580 in Southwark, near London Bridge, was in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1634. He came to this country with his third wife Ann, and their children. This wife had been previously married—first to — Hunt, secondly to — Draper. Their daughter Hannah married Mr. Simon Lynde, a wealthy merchant of Boston, son of Enoch Lynde, a shipping merchant of London (of the Dutch Van der Linden family), whose wife was Elizabeth, great-great-granddaughter of Sir John Digby of Eye Kettleby and

Lincolnshire. John Newgate was a son of Philip Newgate of Horningsheath, county Suffolk. In an early will, dated 1635, John Newgate gives a legacy to his wife's sister, who had married William Newgate, his uncle's son, living in London. Who was Ann, his wife?

In a pedigree of the Lynde family, prepared by Chief Justice Benjamin Lynde, 2d, grandson of Simon and Hannah (Newgate) Lynde, copied from an earlier paper, in mentioning his grandfather, John Newgate, he adds, "See arms in margin." What arms did John Newgate or Newdigate bear? Did he descend from the same ancestry as the Newdigates of county Surrey and Warwickshire, or any of the heraldic families of that name now existing in England?

Nathaniel, son of John and Ann Newgate, born in England in 1627, married in England Isabella, daughter of Sir John Lewis. Nathaniel Newgate in his will, dated September 8, 1668, calls himself "Newdigate, alias Newgate, of London,

merchant." He makes his "brother, Sir John Lewis of Ledston, in the countie of York," one of the overseers of his will. What is known of Sir John Lewis and his son, Sir John Lewis of Ledston, York? Are there any descendants of this Newdigate or Newgate family still living in England? Will descendants of John Newgate or Newdigate and of Simon Lynde kindly write to Mr. and Mrs. Edward E. Salisbury, New Haven, Connecticut, giving all the information in their possession about their ancestors and their families? The facts are desired for a large and important genealogical work now approaching completion.

It is desired also to hear from all descendants of Deputy Governor Francis Willoughby of Massachusetts, and descendants of Hon. Daniel Clarke of Windsor, Connecticut?

PRINCESS ELIZABETH'S MAIDS OF HONOR—What maids of honor shared the captivity of the Princess Elizabeth, afterward queen?

E. McC. S.

PURITAN CHARACTER—The two entries following are found in the records of the town of Glastonbury, Connecticut, under the dates given. "1792. June 27. Mr. Brown Ordained: day fine; concourse large; ball in the evening; concourse large. 1796. Aug. 30. Mr. Lockwood Installed. Audience large; the overseers of the day exhibited, with propriety, a Ball in the evening, 54 lads, 34 lasses."

Were the ordinations and installations of ministers customarily celebrated, in the régime of Puritanism, with "balls in the evening"? If so, how is such custom reconcilable with the common theory of the Puritan character? Were the religionists of "the Standing Order" in those days quite as gloomy and severe as they are commonly supposed to have been? Did they put quite so stern a proscription upon dancing and kindred social enjoyments? Or, are these Glastonbury doings entirely exceptional? And if so, how did the Glastonbury folk come by their peculiar theories and ways?

Q. M.

REPLIES

'THE BOOK OF THE UNITED STATES' [xxii. 348]—There can be no doubt that the author which Mr. Hill inquires about was William Joseph Snelling, son of Colonel Josiah Snelling, commander of Fort Snelling, Minnesota, from 1822 to 1827. William J. Snelling lived there during that same period, and subsequently went to Boston, where he wrote a great many articles in the *North American*.

Indians, based on his life in their midst for several years.

J. F. WILLIAMS

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA.

HENRY LAURENS' LETTER [xxii. 256]—The letter of Laurens can be found in Vol II. *Correspondence of the American Revolution*. edited by Jared Sparks

MINN.

SOCIETIES

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The first meeting of the North Carolina Historical Society for the season of 1889-90 was called to order on the 19th of September, at 7.30 P.M. Dr. Stephen B. Weeks read a very able paper on "Books, Newspapers, and Printing in North Carolina during the Eighteenth Century," of which a brief synopsis is given on another page. Dr. Weeks has made, as far as practicable, a list of all the books and pamphlets issued in the state during that time. He has secured thus far forty-eight titles—one political pamphlet, one book of sermons, one on geography, two on military tactics, and the remaining forty-three on the laws and constitutional conventions of the state, including six revisions of the laws, and the legislative proceedings for twenty-three years, 1777 to 1800.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—This young and enterprising society, located at Los Angeles, is already doing valuable work in the way of collecting and preserving local history. The president is E. W. Jones, and the secretary B. A. Stephens. At one of its recent meetings Father J. Adam read an interesting report of his travels in Italy and Egypt during the winter of 1887-88, which was highly appreciated by the large audience present.

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its first meeting for the season on the evening of October 2, President John A. King in the chair. After the regular business was transacted the presi-

dent addressed the society in a few well-chosen remarks touching upon some of the most notable events of the summer while the members were widely separated, and welcoming all back to their accustomed places, after which he introduced the orator of the evening, Professor Johnson, who read a paper on "The Knowlton Rangers and the Battle of Harlem Heights."

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its quarterly meeting on the evening of October 1, at its cabinet in Providence, Vice-President G. M. Carpenter presiding. Nine new members were elected. After some discussion about the publication of the city records, in which Mr. William E. Foster, Mr. Southwick, Judge Carpenter, and President Andrews of Brown University, took part, the paper of the evening was read by Dr. James O. Whitney of Pawtucket, on "The Location of Pierce's Fight."

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The first meeting of the season was held on Monday evening, September 30, in the rooms of the society. Vice-President Seymour called the meeting to order, and, on motion of Hon. C. W. Hutchinson, was elected to preside. Reports were read by Secretary Rees G. Williams, and by Secretary General Darling, and Dr. M. M. Baggs. General Darling reported very gratifying progress in the valuable lecture course for the coming winter, and other important business occupied the evening.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

The documents in the French archives relating to American affairs during the Revolutionary period contain information of the first importance to the historical scholar. Mr. Bancroft says in a footnote to one of his volumes: "The dispatches of the French envoys at Philadelphia to their government contain the most complete reports which exist of the discussions in Congress from 1778 to the adoption of the Constitution in 1788. Congress sat, it is true, with closed doors, but the French ministers knew how to obtain information on every proceeding that interested their country." Mr. Bancroft, however, did not find it practicable to make an exhaustive use of this valuable material; and the emissaries of the French statesmen who came to America before the regular envoys, sent home reports and personal sketches of still more dramatic interest, which until recently have occupied deep burial places in the French archives. Extracts from these documents, translated and edited by Mr. Durand, give many picturesque views of America and the Americans through French eyes. A French officer who returned to France in 1779 reports: "Let the political antipathies of individuals and the squabbles between state and state be what they may, General Washington is the Atlas of America and the god of the army. His authority is mild and paternal. He is probably the only man who could have effected a revolution. This great man has only one defect, very creditable to him—too much integrity for a party leader."

Vergennes, from the first, was anxious to prevent any offer to the colonies of independence from England. As early as 1775 he submitted a memorial to Louis XVI., which embodied his reasons why the Americans should receive aid from France. From this Mr. Durand has made copious extracts. Vergennes writes: "The inveterate enmity of that power (England) to us, makes it our duty to lose no opportunity for weakening it. The independence of the insurgent colonies must therefore be encouraged! . . . England is the natural enemy of France, and a greedy, ambitious, unjust, and treacherous enemy; the persistent and favorite policy of this power is, if not the destruction of France, at least its abasement and ruin. Such has long been the real motive of the wars it has waged against us; all other considerations yield to this reason of state, and all ways are considered just, proper, and even necessary, provided the end is attained."

It was the astute Beaumarchais who suggested the plan for aiding the Americans *secretly*, so that France should not compromise herself either with the colonies or the court of England, while she would be ready to strike an effective blow when the right time should come. In 1776 Beaumarchais established his famous house of Roderigue Hortalez & Co., with the full knowledge and approbation of Vergennes, who in the name of the government, secretly favored its operations. He rented an immense building, filled it with clerks, and displayed the name of this pseudo firm. Mr. Durand explains, "France and England were still at peace, and on no account would it answer to let Lord Stormont, then English ambassador at Paris, and extremely vigilant, know of the govern-

ment sanction of this scheme, nor at the same time would it answer to let the American agents know of it, although for their benefit, for a disclosure to them would make them co-directors in its management."

Gérard de Rayneval, who sojourned a year within sixty paces of the State House in Philadelphia, wrote to Vergennes in 1778, describing the American congress from various points of view. Among Mr. Durand's extracts is the following: "The pay of its members is not in accordance with the dignity of the post. Some states give their representatives very little, and always energetically dispute their accounts. No one member lives becomingly, and none can give a dinner, except at a tavern. One result of this poor pay is, whenever a member finds that his business suffers, he leaves, and his state has no representative."

There is no more interesting study than the progress and development of the art of writing. The plant called *papyrus*, which formerly grew in great quantities on the banks of the Nile, gave to us the name paper. The Chinese made their paper with silk long before parchment and paper came into use among the Romans. The ancients rolled their parchment instead of folding, and the Latin name they gave these rolls has passed into our language for *volume*. These rolls were placed erect on the shelves of their libraries, titled on the outside in red letters, or rubrics, and they looked like a number of small standing pillars. Sometimes they inlaid their covers with precious stones. A princess donated a volume to a monastery, the outside studded with heads, wrought in fine cameos. The favorite works of the Persians were written on fine silky paper, the ground of which was often powdered with gold or silver dust, the leaves illuminated, and the whole book perfumed with the essence of roses or sandal wood.

On a Sunday not long since Dr. Lyman Abbott of Plymouth Church, in the following vein of rich humor said: "'I can enter the bowels of the earth,' says Science, 'and gather up and utilize the vast resources for man's comfort that have lain dormant and undiscovered since the world began.' We thank thee for that, Science. 'I can bridle the electricity that flashes through the skies, and make it minister to the uses of civilization.' We thank thee for that, Science. 'I can run railroad trains from Maine to California at the rate of fifty miles an hour.' We thank thee for that, Science. 'I can explore the heavens and calculate the movements of the celestial bodies to a nicety.' We thank thee for that, Science. 'I can reach under the ocean from continent to continent, and annihilate time and space.' We thank thee for it, Science. 'I can collect and distribute the news of the world in a single night, and at your breakfast table you can read it in your newspaper.' But can you make the papers tell the truth, Science? 'No,' says Science, sorrowfully, 'no power on earth, visible or invisible, can make the papers tell the truth.'"

The current year is one rich with promise in America for the cause of education. Never before in the history of the country has there been such a generous increase of pupils at the opening of the schools, colleges, and various institutions of learning and culture, as the present autumn. And with this notable prosperity in numbers it is gratifying to note the enlarged opportunities afforded all students.

BOOK NOTICES

HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC STATES OF NORTH AMERICA. By HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT. Vol. xxi. UTAH, 1540-1886. 8vo, pp. 808. The History Company, San Francisco, 1889.

The twenty-first volume of this great historical work, now before us, is one of the most interesting parts yet issued. Its subject is Utah, which had very little civilized history prior to its invasion by the Mormons. Mr. Bancroft furnishes an elaborate account of its first settlement by white people, and in presenting the early history of the Mormon church he soberly recites the varied experiences, common and miraculous, which serve to illustrate the Mormon faith. He gives also anti-Mormon arguments and counter statements, thus enabling the reader to carry along both sides at once, instead of having to consider first all that is said on one side, and then all that is to be said on the other. But he does not esteem it his duty to discuss the truth or falsity of the Mormon religion; this he leaves to others. He has no case of his own to make out, therefore he proceeds to chronicle facts as he finds them. He says in his preface: "Of course, by any religious sect dealing largely in the supernatural, fancying itself under the direct guidance of God, its daily doings a standing miracle, commingling in all the ordinary affairs of life prophecies, special interpositions, and revelations, with agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, we must expect to find much written which none but that sect can accept as true." He further says in regard to opposing evidence, that "almost every book that has been put forth respecting the people of Utah by one not a Mormon is full of calumny, each author apparently endeavoring to surpass his predecessor in the libertinism of abuse. Most of these are written in the sensational style, and for the purpose of deriving profit by pandering to a vitiated public taste, and are wholly unreliable as to facts;" and, again, that "there is much in government reports and in the writing of the later residents in Utah, dictated by an honest patriotism, and to which the historian should give careful attention." Mr. Bancroft draws a very delicate line between these two classes, and in the spirit of equity presents both sides, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions. The first and second chapters treat of the "Discoveries of the Spaniards," and the "Advent of Trappers and Travelers;" then the "Story of Mormonism" begins, showing a new series of social phenomena outside the beaten track of conquest for gold or glory. The seventh chapter, describing Brigham Young as the successor of

Joseph, is one of peculiar interest. Sidney Rigdon desired Joseph's mantle, and had many visions and revelations on the subject. "On various occasions he told how the Lord had through him counseled the people to appoint him as their guardian." He pressed his claims with great vigor, even assuming the sacred office, prophesying and ordaining. One sabbath he met his principal supporters in a grove near the temple, and addressed them for nearly two hours on the subject, without making any perceptible impression. "The Lord has not chosen him," said one to another. The meeting adjourned until two o'clock in the afternoon, and then Brigham Young's penetrating voice was heard, and his magnetic words carried the vote and he became president and supreme ruler of the church. The "Expulsion from Nauvoo" is another chapter overflowing with accounts of novel and exciting events. Mr. Bancroft says: "There is no parallel in the world's history to this migration from Nauvoo: the exodus from Egypt was from a heathen land, a land of idolaters, to a fertile region designated by the Lord for his chosen people—the land of Canaan. Before the Mormons was the ice-bound river, and beyond that the wilderness." We are tempted to quote further, but our limited space forbids; the book is so full, and the theme such a marvelous compound of the elements of novelty, that the reading public will not fail to give it respectful and deserved attention. Mr. Bancroft with much skill places on record, makes accessible to every one, trustworthy information concerning the phenomena of Mormonism, and the conditions and behavior of its devotees. No historic writer has ever before touched this feature of American history with so firm a grasp, or with more apparent endeavor to conscientiously picture the exact truth.

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF TOLEDO, and Lucas County, Ohio. Illustrated. CLARK WAGGONER, editor. 8vo, pp. 956. Toledo, Ohio. 1888.

This monster volume is divided into fourteen parts, and contains nearly seventy chapters. It opens with an outline history of the state of Ohio, furnishing many useful statistics, as, for instance, a table of Ohio's eighty-eight counties with the population of each in 1880; and another table naming some forty-six Ohio cities, each of which had at the same date over four thousand inhabitants. The early history of Lucas county, but more particularly of the Toledo region or Maumee valley, occupies several chapters, and is the most interesting part of the

work. This section of country is historic, having been associated with many bloody scenes of both savage and civilized warfare, and suffered more severely, perhaps, than any other one locality from the effects of the war of 1812. Through this valley Governor Hull and his troops toiled on their way to Detroit, cutting a road or pathway as they went. Causeways of logs had to be constructed across morasses, and bridges thrown across large streams. Block-houses for the protection of the sick and of provision-trains were also indispensable; and hostile Indians were meanwhile skulking behind the bushes and trees, watching every movement with malicious vigilance. "The march," says Mr. Waggoner, "occupied the entire month, and was attended by a degree of toil and privation rarely experienced by military commands." Fort Meigs, a noted military fortification on the Maumee river, about ten miles above the present city of Toledo, built by General Harrison and named for the governor of Ohio, is described in this volume and illustrated. It was constructed in the winter of 1812-13, and sustained a siege from the British and Indians in the spring of 1813. Five days of cannonading proved ineffective. Finally the garrison, together with a reinforcement from Kentucky, made a gallant *sortie*, driving their enemy in every direction, and compelling them to raise the siege. On the other side of the Maumee river, two miles nearer Toledo, is the site of old Fort Miami, originally a French stockade among the Indians. The British built a new fort near its ruins in the time of their great necessity.

The beginnings of Toledo are recited in detail. The first plan of a town on this uninviting site—called Port Lawrence—dates about 1817. The author says: "The record of Port Lawrence for the first ten years of its questionable existence (1817-1827), the attempt to establish a town where Toledo now stands, was so uncertain of results, that the few persons interested in the venture were more concerned in the question of life and death, than in any rivalry with competing localities." One chapter is devoted to "Railways," giving a general history of the early railroads of the country, as well as of those touching the interests and progress of Toledo. There is a chapter also devoted to "Canals," which formed such unique water highways through the western states for many decades. The history of the "Bench and Bar" is a contribution by Judge John H. Doyle of Toledo, and is a most valuable feature of the work. Religious, charitable, literary and social, as well as industrial and mercantile affairs are treated by chapters, and the volume is varied with a series of biographical notices of Toledo's prominent men. An admirable portrait of the late Chief Justice Waite, who was for nearly forty years a resident of the valley—in Maumee

city and Toledo—occupies the post of honor as frontispiece to the volume. Other portraits of note in steel, among the one hundred and thirty or more which grace the work, are those of Hon. Samuel M. Young, who was Chief Justice Waite's partner for a long series of years; John C. Lee, ex-lieutenant-governor of the state; Denison Billings Smith, J. Austin Scott, Abner L. Backus, Richard Mott, Horace S. Walbridge, Daniel F. Cook, and the author of the work, Clark Waggoner. The volume is too large to handle with comfort, but it is filled with useful information on a great variety of subjects, and should be treasured in the libraries of the country as an important contribution to our national history.

JONATHAN EDWARDS. [American Religious Leaders.] By PROFESSOR ALEXANDER V. G. ALLEN, D.D. 16mo, pp. 401. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. 1889.

This is the first issue in the new series of books projected by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., which is to include biographies of eminent men who represent the theology and methods of the various religious denominations of America, and to indicate the various types of theology which have shaped or been shaped by the various churches. No more interesting study could have been chosen for the initial volume than the life and character of Jonathan Edwards. Professor Allen recites the events of his childhood and early life, and pictures his rare intellectual precocity when not more than twelve years old, at which time he wrote a letter in a bantering style, refuting the idea of the materiality of the soul. He was not quite thirteen when he entered Yale College, then in an inchoate condition and not yet fixed in a permanent home, and graduated before his seventeenth birthday, taking the highest honors the institution could offer. At the age of twenty-four he was ordained as a preacher at Northampton, as the colleague to his grandfather, the Rev. Solomon Stoddard, then in his eighty-fourth year. A few months later he married the beautiful Sarah Pierrepont, then but little more than sixteen, whose name, as her husband's reputation grew throughout the colony, became everywhere associated with his, as of a person to be known and revered on her own account. In writing of Edwards as a reformer, the author describes the condition of the churches in New England at that time. It was a period of decline and of deterioration, of many attempts at reform which only ended in failure. It was necessary to reaffirm the principle of Puritanism in such an emphatic way as to reach, if possible, the reason and conscience, and it was also necessary to re-

adjust the relations of state and church which had become involved in so much confusion. Professor Allen says: "Edwards made no distinction between a scientific and a practical theology. His sermons were heavily freighted with the results of his speculative thought," but that "a certain mental sanity kept him from pushing his principles to any absurd or fantastic conclusion." The aim of the work is a critical one, with the inquiry always in view as to what Edwards thought and how he came to think as he did. The able critic, however, is sympathetic to a certain extent with his subject, although he apparently believes that it is only by exposing what was false or distorted in Edwards' theology that the real man stands forth in the grandeur of his proportions. A bibliography of Edwards' works, and a good index, add greatly to the value of the volume.

THE CLASS OF 1855 OF YALE COLLEGE.

Report and Historical Record. Square 8vo, pp. 202. Printed by order of the class. Class Committee on Publication, L. A. Bradley, L. D. Brewster, Edwin Corning, John C. Parsons, Lewis E. Stanton, Henry N. Cobb. 1889.

This volume embraces biographical notices of nearly all the members of the Yale class of 1855, with some half a dozen pages devoted to accounts of its various meetings. The secretary explains in the preface why its issue has been so long delayed. It was hoped to hear from each member of the class. Circulars were sent out inviting communications, and requesting them promptly. He says: "The design and endeavor have been to let each member of the class speak for himself, so far as possible. The unequal amount of space accorded to different individuals is entirely due to the very unequal length and fulness, or to the entire absence, of the replies. Where new material was wanting we resolved to fall back upon the previous records." The opening sketch is that of William De Witt Alexander, a clergyman's son, born at Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, in 1833, who became in 1864 president of the Oahu college, and subsequently surveyor-general of the Hawaiian kingdom. Several of the members of the class became clergymen; Rev. William Howell Taylor of Southport, Connecticut, Rev. John Edwards Todd of New Haven (son of Rev. Dr. John Todd of Pittsfield, Massachusetts), Rev. Alfred Tilton Waterman of Bancroft, Michigan, and Rev. Charles Mellen Tyler of Ithaca, New York, being among the number. Others are to be found among the lawyers, doctors, publishers, and merchants of the country. It is interesting to follow them in their separate careers after leaving Yale, however briefly, and

note how widely they are separated. George Alvah Kittredge is a prosperous merchant in Bombay, and was the first to introduce horse railroads into India. There is one edition of this book illustrated with photographs for the use of the class and friends, and two other editions, bound and unbound, without the photographs, for more general circulation.

MONOPOLIES AND THE PEOPLE. By

CHARLES WHITING BAKER, C. E. 12mo, pp. 263. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York and London. 1889.

The author of this work reveals a practical acquaintance with the monopolies of industry, and in discussing their cause, growth, future prospects, evils, and remedies, he answers many questions which the thinking men of to-day are propounding. He opens the volume with an essay on the subject of trusts, and ably shows that this problem has a close connection with others which have long puzzled workers for the public good. The second chapter is entitled "Trusts and Monopolies in Manufacturing Industries." Then come "Monopolies of Mineral Wealth, Monopolies of Transportation, Monopolies in Trade, Municipal Monopolies, Government Monopolies," and the "Theories of Universal Competition." There is no more valuable chapter, however, than that entitled "Monopolies in the Labor Market." The chief end and aim of the trade unions is distinctly pointed out, which is well worth careful examination. For the evils of monopoly the author says: "The ultimate remedy lies with the people. When they will choose the men of greatest wisdom and honor to control their affairs, when each man will exercise the same care in choosing men to care for the public business that he does in caring for his own private interests, then we can safely trust far greater responsibilities to our government than is now prudent. The only remedy for monopoly is control; the only power that can control is government; and to have a government fit to assume these momentous duties, all good men and true must join hands to put only men of wisdom and honor in places of public trust."

A COLLECTION OF LETTERS OF DICKENS. 1833-1870. 12mo, pp. 252. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

This charming little volume embraces selections from the three volumes of Dickens' letters, edited by his sister-in-law and his eldest daughter, published nine or ten years ago. Everything characteristic of Dickens has been preserved—passages relating to his domestic relations.

his love for his children, his religious views, his opinion on politics and public questions, his personal adventures, and the references of importance to his books or the characters they contain. Parts of letters have been chosen in numerous instances for this smaller work, while of course many entire letters have been omitted; but neither the color, humor, nor personal accent of the original publication has suffered, and the American allusions have been nearly all retained.

Mr. Dickens writes, for instance, from Baltimore, in March, 1842: "It was so hot in Richmond that we could scarcely breathe, and the peach and other fruit trees were in full blossom; it was so cold at Washington next day that we were shivering. But even in the same town you might often wear nothing but a shirt and trousers in the morning, and two greatcoats at night, the thermometer very frequently taking a little trip of thirty degrees between sunrise and sunset." On another occasion, in London, he tells Miss Hogarth: "I have at this moment got Pickwick and his friends on the Rochester coach, and they are going on swimmingly, in company with a very different character from any I have yet described, who I flatter myself will make a decided hit. I want to get them from the ball to the inn before I go to bed; and I think that will take me until one or two o'clock at the earliest." The book is of such a convenient size that it would seem as if every reader on the continent would like to have it within reach—on his table or on a shelf near at hand.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF
ELIZABETH DRINKER, from 1759 to
1807 A.D. Edited by HENRY D. BIDDLE.
8vo, pp. 423. Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott Company. 1889. Price \$2.

The author of this journal was the daughter of William Sandwith, a native of the county of Wexford, Ireland, who some seventy or eighty years ago was a merchant and ship-owner in Philadelphia. She was married to Henry Drink-

er in 1761, and died in 1807. She was a conscientious member of the Society of Friends, as was also her husband. Her diary, extracts from which form this volume, touches upon many points of interest during the Revolution and the yellow fever period. Under date of November 5, 1777, she writes: "A soldier came to demand blankets, which I did not in anywise agree to. Notwithstanding my refusal he went upstairs and took one, and with seeming good nature begged I would excuse his borrowing it, as it was by G. Howe's orders." November 21 she writes: "I was awakened this morning before five o'clock by ye loud firing of cannon—my head aching very badly. All our family were up but little Molly, and a fire was made in ye parlor more than an hour before day. All our neighbors were also up, and I believe most in town. Ye Americans had set their whole fleet on fire, except one small vessel, and several of the gondelows which passed by the city in the night. . . . Billy counted eight different vessels on fire at once, in sight." . . . December 6 she writes: "Our neighbor Stiles sent over this morning to borrow our good horse Tomson, but as he was not shod we denied him; she sent again and we lent him to her to go to Frankford—her boy Sam with her. She returned in the evening on foot, having lost her chaise and our horse; they were taken from her by ye English light-horse just as she was getting in ye chaise at their place. They have been plundered at their country house lately of all ye valuable furniture, provisions, coach, chariot, horses, eight or ten negroes, &c. &c. to a great amount."

Such a journal as the one before us is always more or less valuable to the historical student, as in it events and dates are chronologically and truthfully chronicled, proving most helpful on occasions in settling controverted statements. A considerable portion of this diary relates strictly to private affairs; but it contains enough of public concern to warrant its issue, and give it a place among books that have a wider sphere of influence than that within the circle of the author's descendants.

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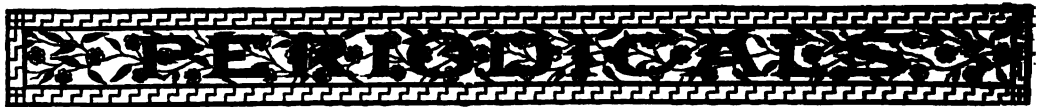
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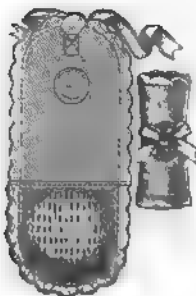
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number. During the year there will be printed other serials and a number of short stories by such well-known writers as H. S. Edwards, Sarah Orne Jewett, Richard M. Johnston, Octave Thanet, H. H. Boyesen, Arlo Bates, and others. The first of the "Present-Day Papers" was printed in the November CENTURY. These are a series of discussions of timely social questions by prominent men who have associated for this purpose, among them Bishop Potter and the Hon. Seth Low, the new President of Columbia College. The December number contains the beginning of the series by Prof. Fisher of Yale, on "The Nature and Method of Revelation"; a number of hitherto unpublished letters of the Duke of Wellington; a history and description of the New Croton Aqueduct at New York; "The Paris Panorama of the Nineteenth Century," one of the features of the Paris Exposition, described by Alfred Stevens and Henri Gervex who conceived the project and under whose supervision it was executed. The number contains also poems by Edmund C. Stedman, Margaret Crosby, Frank Dempster Sherman, and others; short stories, etc. During the year there will be published popular science papers by Prof. Holden, describing the latest discoveries in astronomy at the Lick Observatory, and illustrated articles on "Prehistoric America," by Prof. Putnam of Harvard. A number of papers on Art will also be printed. In January THE CENTURY will contain an important illustrated paper by Miss Amelia B. Edwards, giving a full account of the recent astonishing discoveries at Bubastis, Egypt."

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Wm W Brounham

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THE EARLY CAREER OF LORD BROUGHAM

SOME OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES

AT the time of the birth of the first Lord Brougham and Vaux, September 19, 1778, the city of New York was virtually a garrison town, and predatory expeditions were being sent into the country in various directions by its British commander, distressing and exasperating the inhabitants, and widening the chasm between England and America.

Before the precocious lad was ten years old the Revolutionary War had deprived England of her American colonies, and a new and wonderfully interesting nation, fully equipped with a government of its own, had taken its place triumphantly in the annals of the world. Henry Brougham was captivated with the story of Washington's successes, and final elevation to the Presidency of the United States, which was the absorbing topic of the years 1789 and 1790 in all circles of every European country. His school life was varied with much informing reading of a general character, and he thus unconsciously prepared himself for his dazzling career as a man of affairs. In August, 1791, before he was thirteen, he passed with credit the examination necessary for his admission to college, and was dubbed "prodigy"—a questionable, if not dangerous, compliment. At fourteen he entered the University of Edinburgh, and in addition to the study of Greek, under Professor Dalzell, he undertook the natural sciences, under Professor Playfair, devoting his best energies, as far as he was permitted, to mathematics. He hit upon the binomial theorem before he had been taught it, and was soon familiar with the *Principia* of Newton. His memory was naturally good, and with training its strength became so marvelous that he was able, it is said, to carry through life whatever he learned in his school days. With all his fondness for severe studies, however, he was ready at any moment to take active part in the wildest frolics, and was often the ringleader in practical jokes, wrenching knockers, braving the watch, and other pranks which indicate the restless energy of a developing youth. During the first year in the university he founded

a debating society, which grew in interest until it was merged into the "Speculative Society." Here many clever young men tried their powers in disputation, with beneficial results—men who were subsequently in Parliament or on the bench—but in the astonishing flow of language, readiness in retort, grace of elocution, and gifts of withering sarcasm and ridicule, Brougham surpassed them all. The brightest period in the history of this society was during the political storm that crossed it in 1799. Lord Cockburn writes: "Jeffrey took part in every discussion. I doubt if he was ever once silent throughout a whole meeting. It is easy to suppose what it was to Jeffrey when he had to struggle in debate with Lansdowne, Brougham, Kinnaid, and Horner, who, with other worthy competitors, were all in the society at the same time. It has scarcely ever fallen to my lot to hear three better speeches than three I heard in that place—one on 'National Character,' by Jeffrey, one on the 'Immortality of the Soul,' by Horner, and one on the 'Power of Russia,' by Brougham."

Of the remarkable powers possessed by Brougham, oratory was unquestionably the foremost. He himself made this discovery at an age when the average youth is indifferent to his own talents, or but slightly acquainted with them, and he resolutely determined to cultivate the art of public speaking. He subjected his fine musical voice, which was of great compass and strength, to a course of severe training, and his gestures and attitudes were likewise studied with the persistence of an actor. He made himself perfectly conversant with the great masterpieces of ancient eloquence, committing them in numerous instances to memory. His opponents pronounced his oratory artificial; but no other Englishman of his time could, even with artificial oratory, so completely fascinate an audience. His boundless command of language, his audacity in the use of argument, seasoned with a resistless torrent of invective, the exquisite intonations of his voice, and his matchless animation, distinguished him throughout his long career, and particularly in later years, when he was playing a conspicuous part in public affairs, as scholar, scientist, advocate, statesman, and Lord High Chancellor of the realm. He was given to long and intricate sentences, and his hands, in moments of excitement, seemed to interpret them as they rose in accumulated involutions, while his tall, angular figure, swaying and jerking, added immensely to the magnetic effect when his words finally came to a pause, like a retreating army in good order. It was because of his high-sounding declamation that Sydney Smith nicknamed him the "Drum Major." It is said that when he concluded the elaborate peroration of his speech at the queen's trial, he suddenly assumed

the majestic bearing with which a minister of the Scottish church invokes the blessing of God in dismissing his congregation.

Brougham had only just reached his majority when Washington died, and was but twenty-four years of age when he became one of the founders of the *Edinburgh Review*. Lord Jeffrey was twenty-nine, with literary tastes that had hitherto interfered sadly with his progress in the profession



REV. SYDNEY SMITH.

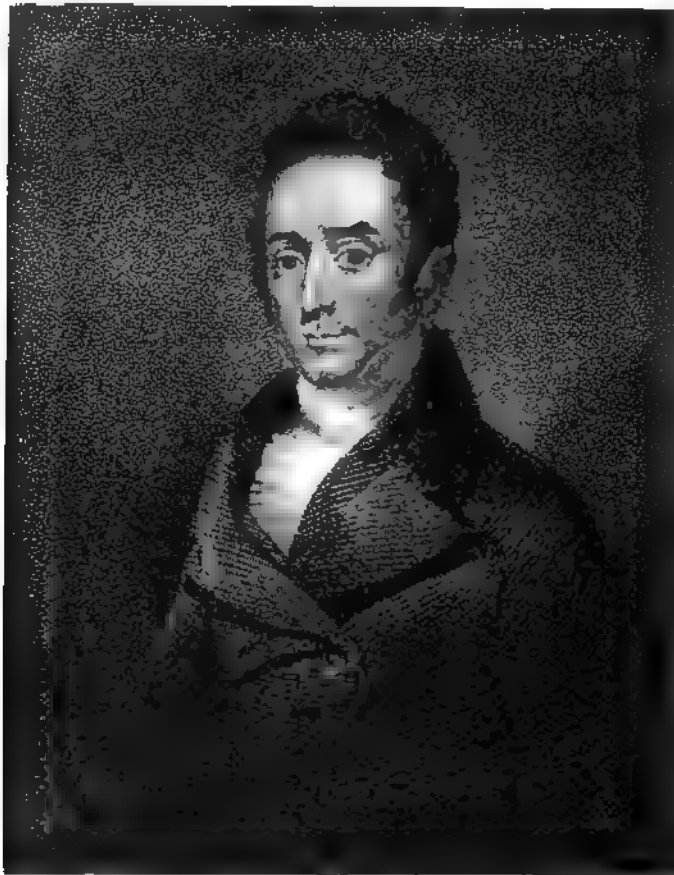
of an advocate. Rev. Sydney Smith, one of the wittiest talkers and political writers of his generation, was the oldest of the three, and yet only thirty-one when the *Review* was projected. Francis Horner, whose contributions added a great deal of sober intellectual strength to the opening number of the new periodical, and commanded marked public attention, was born the same year as Brougham—thus only twenty-four at

the time. It was veritably a group of young men who tried the novel experiment of establishing a critical journal, the success of which is well known to the world.

Lord Brougham says, in his autobiography: "I shall never forget Buccleuch Place, for it was there, one stormy night in March, 1802, that Sydney Smith first announced to me his idea of establishing a critical periodical or review of works of literature and science. I believe he had already mentioned this to Jeffrey and Horner; but that night the project was for the first time seriously discussed by Smith, Jeffrey, and me. I at first entered warmly into Smith's scheme. Jeffrey, by nature always rather timid, was full of doubts and fears. It required all Smith's overpowering vivacity to argue and laugh Jeffrey out of his difficulties. There would be, he (Smith) said, no lack of contributors. There was himself, ready to write any number of articles, and to edit the whole; there was Jeffrey, *facile princeps* in all kinds of literature; there was myself, full of mathematics, and everything relating to the colonies; there was Horner for political economy, Murray for general subjects; besides, might we not, from our great and never-to-be-doubted success, fairly hope to receive help from such leviathans as Playfair, Dugald Stewart, Robison, Thomas Brown, Thomson, and others? All this was irresistible, and Jeffrey could not deny that he had already been the author of many important papers in existing periodicals. The *Review* was thus fairly begun. Yet Jeffrey's inconceivable timidity not only retarded the publication of the first number (which, although projected in March, was not published till October), but he kept prophecying failure in the most disheartening way, and seemed only anxious to be freed from the engagement he and the rest of us had entered into with Constable, to guarantee him four numbers as an experiment. Various other minor obstacles (such as Horner's absence in London and Allen's in Paris) arose, which for a time almost threatened the abandonment of the undertaking; but at length a sufficient number of articles were prepared, to be revised by Smith, and the first number came out early in October. . . . Its success was so great that Jeffrey was utterly dumbfounded, for he had predicted for our journal the fate of the original *Edinburgh Review*, which, born in 1755, died in 1756, having produced two numbers! The truth is, the most sanguine amongst us, even Smith himself, could not have foreseen the greatness of the first triumph any more than we could have imagined the long and successful career the *Review* was to run, or the vast reforms and improvements in all our institutions, social as well as political, it was destined to effect."

The accounts of Lord Jeffrey and Sydney Smith differ somewhat from

the above, but coincide in the essential points. Lord Jeffrey always acknowledged that Sydney Smith was the first to suggest the bold idea of the *Edinburgh Review*; and they all agreed that it was a tempestuous evening when the original discussion took place, and they had no little merriment over the greater storm they were brewing. After the work began in earnest



FRANCIS JEFFREY.

the literary conspirators believed it necessary to conceal their identity, hence they secured a modest place of meeting, to which they repaired singly and by back approaches, or by different lanes. One evening, when a messenger from the printer, with a sealed package of proof, knocked at the door of a small lodging-house, the landlady asked him if he could tell her any-

thing about the lodgers she had got. Her reason for asking, she explained, was, that "they were all decent, well-behaved, sober men; but, although they didn't sleep there, they 'keepit awfu' unseasonable hours'!"

The bright, energetic, decisive little Jeffrey was precisely the right man for the editor's chair. He possessed great breadth of knowledge, unlimited tact, and, although inclined to fits of depression, had an instinctive perception of character which enabled him to handle with ease all sorts of contributors, from the irascible and erratic Brougham to the austere and uncompromising Carlyle. He soon acquired a calm confidence in his own literary and social judgments, which shielded him from many an anxious hour; also the happy art in his own personal writings of brevity without being obscure. He liked explicit statements, and was inclined to resentment when called upon to deal with vague aspirations; with poetry in any form he had no sympathy. Few men knew better than he how to present the pith of an elaborate or bulky book within the narrow limits prescribed by the patience of an indolent reader. During the first seven of the twenty-seven years of his editorship he contributed, on an average, three or four articles to each number of the *Review*, and proved himself an adroit and polished author as well as one of the most able and fearless of critics.

It should be remembered that at the beginning of this century it was generally considered derogatory to a gentleman to write for the press—at least, where payment was expected. Thus, when Jeffrey was offered a salary, he felt that he accepted it at the risk of "general degradation." A few men of genius had long recognized the influence and value of journalism, and bent their energies to its service in defiance of the public opinion of their times. But writers for the press were in a sense despised, had no acknowledged position in society, and their social claims were contemptuously rejected. More than a quarter of a century after the establishment of the *Edinburgh Review* a Lord Chancellor gave offense to his friends by asking the editor of the *Times* to dinner. The complete change that has since taken place in public sentiment can thus be observed, even in Old England, for now the highest personage may offer hospitality to a journalist without involving hostile criticism. Much credit is due to Jeffrey and his associates for this alteration in the condition of things.

The effect of a new journal, so full of public life, suddenly springing into existence in a remote part of the kingdom was electrical. Its spirit, its movements, its strength, and its independence were watched with excited surprise. The writings of Sydney Smith were weighted with wisdom and winged with wit. He attacked abuses of all kinds, and managed to reveal them to the public eye in what he esteemed their true colors. His

vivacity and his humor ran like a golden thread through all his articles, and his style was so clear and crisp, and his illustrations so felicitous, that the reading world was captured, as it were, by storm. He was a man of prejudices, and his judgment was by no means infallible, but he labored in the common cause of liberty and truth in his own peculiar fashion, and often revealed to the multitude about the subject in hand, on one magical page, as much as a regiment of scholars could have explained in a week. His mischievous sallies of wit lighted up, in the most unexpected manner, topics of the driest kind and arguments of the most recondite description. George Ticknor relates that, at a little breakfast party at Sydney Smith's, near the close of his life, he said he never became a contributor to the *Review* on the common business footing. After an article of his had been published he would inclose a bill to Jeffrey, something like this: "Francis Jeffrey, Esq., to Rev. Sydney Smith: To a very wise and witty article," naming the subject, number of sheets, etc, "at forty-five guineas a sheet," and the money always came.

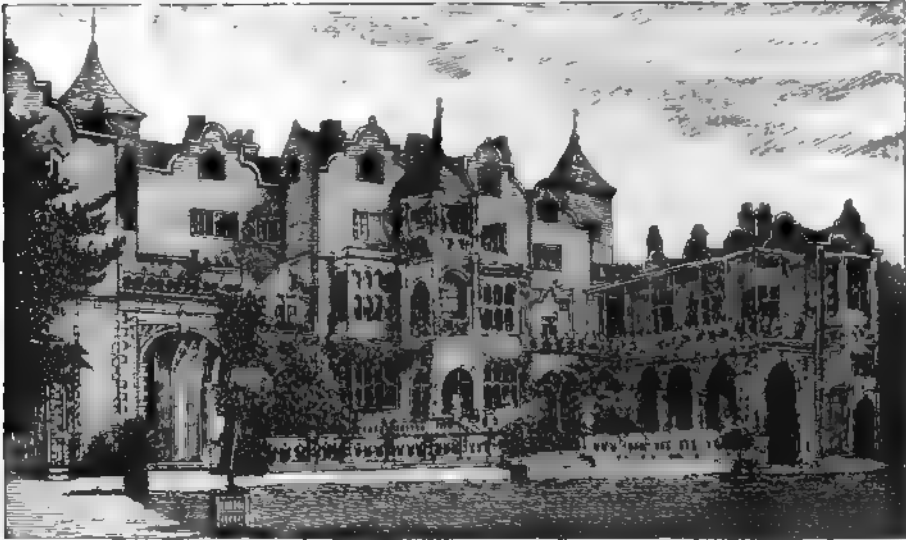
Horner left in his private journal this paragraph: "Jeffrey is the person who will derive most honor from this publication, as his articles are generally known and are incomparably the best." But among all the early writers for the *Review* Brougham was the most ready, the most satirical. He wrote on every imaginable theme—science, politics, America, colonial policy, literature, poetry, surgery, mathematics, and the fine arts—but while he dashed off his contributions with almost unheard-of celerity he was not always sure, sometimes deplorably inexact, nearly driving the overworked editor into the realms of despair. He was so swift with his pen, and accomplished so much, however, that he was supposed to "have time for everything." "Take it to that fellow Brougham!" exclaimed Sir Samuel Romilly on one occasion, when solicited to edit a forthcoming book. Lord Holland once assured Brougham that he believed if a new language was discovered in the morning he would be able to talk it before night; and Lord Campbell was accustomed to declare that if Brougham was locked up in the Tower for a year without a single book, the twelve months would not roll past ere he had written an encyclopedia.

In a letter from Edinburgh Lord Brougham wrote to Viscount Howick in October, 1807, saying: "On my arrival here I found Jeffrey very anxious to insert in the next *Review* proper discussions of the American and other neutral questions, and I should be glad to have any suggestions that may occur to you upon these subjects, in addition to those which you have already mentioned in the course of conversation." On the 7th of November Brougham wrote again to the same correspondent, "I drew up

a statement of the whole American question for Jeffrey's *Review*, and having procured a copy, I shall inclose it to Lord Lauderdale and request him to forward it to you when he has read it. He was so good as to write me a letter on some points, at your desire; and I also had the benefit of consulting with Lord Holland and Allen respecting the negotiation with America. I should be glad to have your opinion respecting the general principle which I have ventured to propose for satisfying the Americans without giving up our search of merchantmen—viz., redress in our *common law courts*, and not our admiralty."

In 1796 the third Lord Holland had returned to England from his travels on the continent, and restored Holland House—that is, he fitted it up at great expense for his own private residence, and restored it intellectually by bringing together wits and geniuses who invested it with even greater brilliancy than it had formerly enjoyed in the days of Addison. This beautiful dwelling stood in the old court suburb of the town, a sort of "enchanted palace," as Sydney Smith called it, "with charming nooks and corners, lovely gardens, weird traditions, famous pictures, literary treasures, and political memories." Lord Holland was the nephew of Charles James Fox, by whom he had been trained for public life, a man of elegant culture and amiable character, the steady friend of every political reform, and was of the same age exactly as Jeffrey. He delighted in generously extending courtly hospitalities, and from 1799 until 1840 there was hardly in all England a man of distinction in politics, science, or literature, from Charles James Fox and Lord Byron to Lord Macaulay and Lord John Russell, who was not at one time or another a guest at Holland House. It was a recognized centre of literature, and the most scholarly and refined men and women of the period were being constantly entertained under its roof. It was Lord John Russell who described Lord Holland as "a man who won without seeming to court, instructed without seeming to teach, and amused without laboring to be witty."

Lord Brougham was a constant dinner-visitor at Holland House, and his quick repartee and perennial gayety rendered his presence ever welcome. He was considered a star of magnificent promise, and had secured the friendship of Lord Grey and the leading Whig politicians. He was already pledged to those principles of progress and reform to which he was destined to render such signal services. In 1806 he was appointed secretary to a mission of Lord Rosslyn and Lord St. Vincent to the court of Lisbon, with a view to counteract the anticipated French invasion of Portugal, but he was not absent over two months. During the same year



HOLLAND HOUSE.

Lord Holland was appointed joint commissioner with Lord Auckland to adjust with the American commissioners, James Monroe and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the tangled matters between England and the United States.

Lady Holland was a beautiful, imperious, and accomplished woman, who presided over her household like a veritable queen. She ruled as well as reigned, and every one who crossed her threshold was made to feel her power. She was as well informed as the most versatile of her guests, and discussed political affairs, poetry, and prose with equal grace. A list of the celebrities with which Holland House was associated would be interesting in this connection, if space permitted, and serve to illustrate the broad sympathies and enlightened tastes of its genial and generous proprietors. Lord Byron dedicated to Lord Holland the *Bride of Abydos*. Men of science like Sir Humphry Davy, Count Rumford (of American birth), Alexander von Humboldt and his brother William, helped to swell the brilliant throng. Earl Grey, the courageous premier of England, Marquis of Lansdowne, Prince de Talleyrand, the diplomatic wit and witty diplomatist, Prince Metternich, the Duke of Clarence (William IV.), and the Duc d'Orleans (Louis Philippe) were often entertained. Poets like Coleridge, Wordsworth, Tom Moore, and Samuel Rogers met in the library such philosophic students as Bentham, Mackintosh, and Sir Samuel

Romilly, or Sir Walter Scott, Lord Lyndhurst, Dumont the publicist, Madame de Staël, and the Duchess of Devonshire, or statesmen and authors from the American shores, such as James Monroe, Washington Irving, and N. P. Willis. Tom Moore was sitting beside Lady Holland, at one of the Holland House dinners, about the time that he was writing a book which he fondly thought would prove lively and amusing, when she suddenly remarked to him, with characteristic frankness, "This will be a dull book of yours, this *Sheridan*, I fear." Moore was stunned with dismay, and tried to defend his work; but Lady Holland, who was a fearless critic, proceeded to point out its defects with precision. To Lord Porchester she said one evening, "I am sorry to hear you are going to publish a poem; can't you suppress it?"

With all her critical proclivities, however, Lady Holland was a loyal friend to those who once gained her esteem. Many of Sydney Smith's wittiest letters are addressed to her. Yet she had no hesitancy about issuing arbitrary commands to her distinguished guests. Once she exclaimed, "Sydney, ring the bell." He replied, "Oh, yes; and shall I sweep the room?" It is related of her that "in the midst of some of Macaulay's interesting anecdotes she would tap on the table with her fan and say, 'Now, Macaulay, we have had enough of this, give us something else.'" She was fond of crowding her dinner-table, and once, when the company was tightly packed, an unexpected guest arrived, and she ordered room made for him, which was not easy. Presently she addressed the celebrated humorist, "Luttrell! make room!" He replied gravely, "It must certainly be made, for it does not exist." Sydney Smith was conspicuous on almost all occasions, with his ponderous figure, and flashing pleasantries of so droll a description that even the servants who stood behind the chairs were often convulsed in fits of laughter. Luttrell, who was a reputed epicure, created quite a scene of merriment one day by letting the side-dishes all pass him—an extraordinary occurrence—in order to contemplate a guest who failed to laugh at Smith's jokes. On another occasion, when the Prince of Wales was one of the dinner company, the question arose as to who was the wickedest man that ever lived, and Smith, addressing the prince, said, "The Regent Orleans, and he was a prince." "I should give the preference to his tutor, the Abbé Dubois," retorted the prince, "and he was a priest, Mr. Sydney."

It was Luttrell who wrote the flowing lines concerning "Rogers's seat" in the summer-house in the Holland House grounds, on either side of which the family name was playfully illustrated by the design of a fox, in box:



Vassall Holland

"How happily sheltered is he who reposes
In this haunt of the poet, overshadowed with roses.

* * * * *
Let me in, and be seated. I'll try if, thus placed,
I can catch but one spark of his feeling and taste,
Can steal a sweet note from his musical strain,
Or a ray of his genius to kindle my brain.

* * * * *
Not a thought, I protest—tho' I'm here, and alone,
Not a line can I hit on that Rogers would own,
Though my senses are ravished, my feelings in tune,
And Holland's my host, and the season is June."

There was no other mansion in Europe so attractive as Holland House. Among the luminaries not hitherto mentioned who might have been seen there, was the Duke of Richmond, Lord Macartney, ambassador to China, Sir Thomas Maitland, Edwards, the opponent of Wilberforce, Hallam the historian, Payne Knight the antiquary, Sir John Newport, Lytton Bulwer, "all collar, cuff, diamond pin, and wavy hair," Lord Aberdeen, Lord Moira, afterwards governor-general of India, the Duchess de Guiche and her brother, Prince Jules de Polignac, the two Erskines, Lord Thurlow, Lord Houghton, Thomas Campbell, who had risen to fame with one bound by the publication of the *Pleasures of Hope*, Curran, the embodiment of Irish wit and humor, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Sir John Leach, Sir Arthur Pigott, and Right Hon. John Hookham Frere, the minister to Spain, who earned literary distinction through his joint authorship with Canning of *The Needy Knife Grinder*.

During the years prior to the war of 1812 the affairs of America were much discussed at Holland House. Lord Brougham was about that time seriously contemplating a visit to America. Perhaps the sentiment recently uttered by Mr. Gladstone, "that the one series of historical developments of most use to the student is notably American," was more familiar to his predecessors than we have been apt to suppose. Mr. Gladstone believes that the seeds of freedom were sown in America by England, and that we revolted on matters of detail. He says: "You have in America these two things combined, the love of freedom and respect for law and a desire for the maintenance of order, and thus you have the elements of national excellence and national greatness." Lord Brougham, in 1808, as counsel for the Liverpool merchants, exercised his pen with prodigious activity, and gave the whole strength of his impassioned eloquence to the overthrow of the Orders in Council that had been framed in retaliation for the Berlin and Milan decrees. He conducted the lengthened inquiry in a masterly manner, displaying an insight into the principles of political economy and international law which at that time was possessed by no other advocate. It seems strange that the government of a great commercial nation should ever have believed that one of the most effectual and essential modes of carrying on war and destroying an enemy was to shut out the trade of neutrals. This was destroying the very sinews by which the burden of war could be sustained. Indeed, the trade of the country was suffering more from these fatal restrictions than from the war itself. But Brougham's efforts were not then successful. It was while he was in Parliament, in 1812, that he resumed his attack upon the Orders in Council with increased authority and vigor, and, aided by the peril and

disgrace of the quarrel with America, ultimately conquered. The Orders in Council were revoked.

Brougham also labored incessantly for negro emancipation throughout the British colonies. One of the first measures he carried into the House of Commons was a bill to make the slave trade felony. As Chancellor of England he had the happiness of taking part in the great final act of humanity and justice by which the abhorred traffic was abolished. But while Brougham will always be remembered as the champion of every human right and the avenger of every human wrong, he was blessed with neither reserve nor discretion. As a man of letters, notwithstanding his literary industry, and the fact that in the first twenty numbers of the *Edinburgh Review* he wrote eighty articles, he has left no work of lasting celebrity, and in science he made no real discovery. In the midst of all his triumphs, the friends who knew him best were aware that his extraordinary gifts and powers did not include all the important elements of true greatness. He lacked self-control; was too rash, arrogant, and capricious for a successful leader, and although probably admired and feared more than any man in England, he drifted out of the main stream of national life, and his figure is already becoming indistinct. The following letter to Lord Grey reveals something of the kindness of his nature:

(Private.)

"WANSTED, *August 30, 1833.*

"MY DEAR LORD GREY:

"I forgot before leaving town to renew my urgent request about Miss Martineau's pension, of which we talked last winter. I am sure Lady Grey (if I wrote to her, which I have a great mind to do) will join warmly in this. You know what was her (Miss Martineau's) case. When her father failed in the panic, she refused an annuity from some of her relations, and supported herself and her mother *by her needle*. This I know to be the fact; she went on for two years in that way, then discovered that she had another gift and another vocation. She has since made a good income by her books. But she is driven to write *too much* and too constantly; and this is spoiling her, and indeed wearing her out. So that £100 a year might be the means of saving her from going down, and finally going out. Whether or not she might be romantic about it, as she was about her cousin's offer, I can't tell. But, at all events, your offering it to her would be a most creditable thing to you, and be most agreeable to all our people. Yours ever,

"H. BROUGHAM."

In the year 1813 Lord Jeffrey visited America for his bride, Miss Charlotte Wilkes, the daughter of Charles Wilkes, the first treasurer of the New York Historical Society and president of the Bank of New York, whose residence was in Wall Street. Lord Jeffrey lost his first wife in 1805, the daughter of Rev. Dr. Wilson, of Edinburgh. His acquaintance with Miss

Wilkes began about the close of 1810, while the lady with her father and mother were visiting relatives in Scotland. The sincerity of his attachment was proven by this voyage, in a time of war between the two countries, and by one who recoiled in nervous horror from all watery adventures. No matter whether it was a sea that was to be crossed, or a lake, or a stream, or a pond, it was enough to render him miserable that he had to be afloat. The discomforts of an ocean journey at that period too were very great, as steam had not yet shortened it, and modern luxuries of travel were unknown. But he, nevertheless, made his will, and turned his face toward the New World. He went to Liverpool in May to find a ship, but was not able to sail until August 29, and, with his brother, landed in New York on the 7th of October. His marriage took place in the Wilkes mansion, and in November he visited some of the principal American cities, and, on the 18th of that month, had the honor of dining with President James Madison. He had two interesting interviews with Secretary Monroe, the conversation turning in a most animated manner upon the existing war, its provocations, principles, and probable results, particularly as to the right claimed by England of searching American vessels for the recovery of British subjects. On the 22d of January, 1814, he left New York on his homeward voyage, and reached Liverpool in safety, the 10th of February. The next article which he wrote for the *Edinburgh Review* was entitled "The State and Prospects of Europe," the war on the continent having ended, as it were, miraculously, through experiences which seemed to promise permanent peace to the world. Jeffrey wrote, in the flush of joy, one of the most beautiful essays that ever came from his pen. In his opinion the greatest of impending evils was continued hostilities, and Napoleon's military despotism; as for the American war, he was alive to the fact that the tone of the British government had changed, and that the prospect was fair for a speedy restoration of tranquillity with the new nation beyond the seas. He has said, in regard to the reception of this paper, "that it was the first time the *Review* and the public were ever of one mind."

HOOVER CUMMING VAN VORST

LATE PRESIDENT OF THE HOLLAND SOCIETY

When Rev. Henry Van Dyke, in the name of The Holland Society of New York, a few years since, presented to ex-Judge Hoover C. Van Vorst the golden badge of office as president of that society, he inadvertently addressed the latter as "Your Honor." Recovering himself, he continued: "Mr. President, no better title could be found by which to address one who for so many, many years has filled so many positions of trust with honor to himself and with benefit to the community, one who holds this position because of the esteem and affection of his fellow-members—one whom all men delight to honor."

This is the uppermost sentiment in the minds of all who knew him, now that he is dead.

What a happy memory to leave.

His ancestor in the male line came from Holland and settled at Albany in 1670.

Born at Schenectady, New York, in 1817, he graduated with honor at old Union, and studied law with Messrs. Paige & Potter, names illustrious among New York jurists. Removing to Albany, he became president of the Young Men's Association and was soon appointed corporation counsel, and the large body of friends who forty years later followed him to his grave in the Albany Rural Cemetery attested the lasting impression his good qualities made upon the exclusive society of that proud city. In 1853 he came to the city of New York, and while engaged in an extensive law practice he was in 1868 appointed by the governor of the state a judge in the court of common pleas. In 1871 he was elected a judge of the superior court of New York city, and in 1873 he was appointed by the governor to hold circuit and special terms in the supreme court of the state, wherein he has since become famous as a learned, careful, impartial equity judge, earning from his fellow judges the soubriquet of "The Chancellor." In the midst of his many and arduous duties he made time to attend to the waifs and the children of the poor, being for eighteen years a trustee of the Children's Aid Society, and for about the same period of time a member of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, a director of the American Tract Society, and an elder

nity, and president of its New York city Alumni Association from 1884 to 1886. The only reason he was not renominated and re-elected judge at the expiration of his fourteen years' term in 1885 was because in two years more he would reach the constitutional limit of seventy years of age; he thereupon resumed the practice of the law, and found another post of honor in the private station, where all confided in his integrity, his learning, and his wisdom. When The Holland Society of New York was formed he was selected as worthy to be its first president, and he was followed to the grave by the hearts of its eight hundred members. When that society carries out its intention of erecting in New York city a statue of a typical Dutchman, it may well consider a statue of Hooper C. Van Vorst as the embodiment of all the virtues of their forefathers, rather than perpetuate the name of some half mythical hero of the seventeenth century, whose vices have been forgotten or obscured by time. This man had no vices to forget. He was a Christian who daily lived up to his faith and profession. And in considering his life as a whole, and recalling the peaceful smile that rested upon his features as he lay in his coffin in the church crowded with mourning friends, a man may well say, "May I die the death of the righteous, and may my last end be like his."

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Geo. W. Van Dusen". The script is cursive and elegant, with a large, stylized initial 'G' and 'V'.

THE STORY OF BRAVE, BEAUTIFUL MARGARET SCHUYLER *

ALBANY, *August*, 1781.

Through "the green and silent valley," Warm in the August sun, The limpid, winding waters Of the Tawasentha run,†	And a fresh and ghastly trophy With a woman's braided hair.
To the canyon cold and shaded Where they beat its rocky breast, To the river just beneath it Where they find at last a rest.	Woe to man, or lad, or maiden, Who may wander from the way, To the aged sire, or matron, Or the little child at play.
Shadowless the deep recesses, Weird the dim, uncertain light, Which a sunbeam never gladdens, Chill and silent as the night ;	Many wrongs in the wild bosoms Burn with the fires of hell, And a calm and brooding silence, Of the vow of vengeance tell.
Where the giants of the forest, As a barrier, interlock ; And the hemlock's branches falling, As a curtain, touch the rock ;	Soon the silence shall be broken In the tumult of the town, And the vow shall find an utterance Ere the night shall settle down.
Touch the rock where, ne'er relaxing Listening ear or watching eye, Motionless as waiting serpents The Mohawk warriors lie.	<i>Take the neglected record Of travail of the age, Open the early chapter, Read this forgotten page :</i>
	I.
Tomahawk and loaded rifle And the scalping knife are there,	Upon the burnished river The glimmering light was flung .

* The appropriate title to this dramatic ballad was suggested by the venerable poet, John G. Whittier, to whom the manuscript was submitted. In a letter to the author (which we regret we are not at liberty to publish) Mr. Whittier writes, "Thee have produced a genuine American ballad," characterizing it at the same time as "the story of brave, beautiful Margaret Schuyler."

† The Tawasentha of the Mohawks, and of Longfellow, is in the valley of Normans kill, eight miles west of Albany.

Upon the Indian Ladder *
Lingered the setting sun.

Sweeping across the Pasture,†
Stirring the sleeping air,
In gentle sweet vibration,
The bell for evening prayer,

Calling the sad and anxious,
The faithful and the good,
To the old Dutch church, standing
Where old Fort Orange stood,

To pray for the great conflict,
For victory of the right,
For husbands, sons, and kindred,
For safety, Lord, this night !

Beside a shaded portal,
Where garden, lawn, and wood
Encircled an old mansion,
Two earnest figures stood—

Schuyler, the wise and generous,
The knight of courtesy ;
The patriot, statesman, soldier,
Our flower of chivalry.

Beside the shaded portal,
Father and daughter speak.
O maiden, why the blushes
That steal upon thy cheek ;

The tremulous, new accents
That thrill thy father's ear?
Has he a rival coming—
The young Van Rensselaer ?

Cousin, or friend, or lover,
Which is he now to thee ?

Heir of the great Dutch dukedom,
Prince of the Colonie !

Why plead these tones beseeching,
And with the old caress
That oft and oft repeated
Has won a father's yes ?

The one caress of nature
Which never felt a doubt,
Repeated and repeated
While life and love hold out.

The tender, first confiding
Of trusting infancy,
Which binds the strong a captive
In its sweet tyranny.

As now upon his shoulder
The baby head would rest ;
As now in tender claspings
The little arms had pressed !

The spring of life's beginnings,
The spring-time's blushing end ;
And with the spring-time memories
The summer visions blend.

Sinking into the cornfield
Like wild-fowl in the deep,
Unruffled as its surface,
The stealthy Mohawks creep.

" My daughter," still the counsels
In weak remonstrance fall—
Along the trellised grape-vines
The dusky warriors crawl.

O father, cease thy loving
Look from the eyes of blue !

* The exceedingly picturesque defile by which the Indians ascended the precipitous ledge of the Helderberg.

† The old name of the Schuyler place, then in the outskirts of the town—not the residence near Stillwater which Burgoyne had burned in 1777.

O fated pair, arouse ye !
Wild eyes now gleam on you.

Pray hearts within the churches,
The great Disposer call ;
Woe to the cause and country,
If the brave leader fall.

And Fates, press back your balance,
Remember whom ye save—
This, noblest of the maidens,
That, gentlest of the brave !

A rush across the greensward,
A crash and bolted door,
A piercing cry, " THE INDIANS ! "
Flight to the upper floor.

The iron blows are beating,
The door comes crashing down ;
Fire from the upper windows,
Till help comes from the town.

Now mount and ride, young lover,
Spur through the wondering street ;
Thy courser's flanks are bloody,
Frantic his flying feet.

But though the wild wind coming
Lend him its wingèd gait,
And love and honor urge thee,
Thy help must come too late.

II.

In a low, hooded cradle—
From Holland brought, they say,
For the first Schuyler baby—
A little inmate lay,

Sleeping the wondrous slumber,
Dreamless of enmity,

Solemn in its confiding
And soft serenity ;

The sleep that mothers gaze on,
And shrink to take away ;
That awes the mute beholder,
And bids her watch and pray.

Sleep, little sleeper, softly,
Thy sleep and life are one ;
A baby sigh or movement,
And thy short race is run.

The Mohawk Wolf is standing
In thy forsaken room ;
His fierce eyes, unrelenting,
Piercing the curtained gloom.

Adown the stairway stealing
From watchful eyes above,
She to whom life is sweetest,
The loved one of her love ;

Bounding across the chamber,
Dauntless mid death's alarms—
And the soft burden sleeping
Is clasped in the soft arms.

A keen axe, erst unerring,
Came hurtling through the air,
Grazing her dress in passing,
Gashing the oaken stair.

But strangely at the moment
Broke off the frenzied yell,
And on the exultant warriors
The spell of mystery fell.

They thought the fair, white spirit
Was the Great Spirit's bride,
Whose soft ethereal raiment
Could turn the axe aside.

They heard in the sighing west wind
 Strange squadrons march along,
 And in the air above them
 A stern command, "Come on!" *

Above the Tawasentha,
 They saw the sky grow black,
 And on the Indian Ladder
 The lightnings warn them back.

And now in the upper chambers
 With frail defences set,
 The nurse's noisy wailing
 And the mother's silence met.

Around in wordless pity
 A little group of men
 Looked away from the hungry question
 Her eyes asked each of them.

Trained in a school heroic
 That drew no craven breath,
 That fought for life, unflinching,
 Till life be lost in death,

They felt the ominous silence
 When all below grew still,
 The stillness before the tempest,
 The unknown's shivery chill;

Poising their flint-lock rifles,
 Ready to live or die,
 With each nerve strung and waiting
 For the death-grapple nigh;

When in an opening doorway,
 Smiling, and calm, and fair—
 A tiny hand entangled
 In a stray stress of hair,

Fearing they'd wake the baby,
 Signalling soft commands,
 Bright in her flush of triumph,
 SWEET MARGARET SCHUYLER STANDS.

Heroic act of girlhood!
 No braver had been done
 By soldier, sailor, ranger,
 When the long war was won.

"*She was her father's daughter,*"
 The old folk often said,
 "*And then as in a story*
She with her prince was wed."

Our first in lordly station,
 Our first in maiden fame,
 Keep green the laurel twined with
 Sweet Margaret Schuyler's name.

Charles C. Nott.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

* The general with great presence of mind fired his pistols from an upper window, and shouted,
 "Come on, my brave fellows, surround the house."—*Stone's Life of Brandt.*

THE DRAWINGS OF A NAVAJO ARTIST

One of the best-known sub-chiefs of the Navajo Indians in northwestern New Mexico is Mariano. This man controls a camp of his people some twenty miles from the military station of Fort Wingate, which latter place he frequently visits. His father was a notable chief before him, and Mariano is highly respected for his sagacity and wise ruling among the remnant of the tribe now under his sway.

An elder sister of his, known among the Navajos by the name of Esta-yeshi, lives in one of the crudely constructed habitations built by these people on the hill-sides close to the government buildings of Fort Wingate. Esta-yeshi, of whom we present an admirable portrait, is exceedingly masculine in her tastes and instincts, even for a Navajo woman, and when she came to have her picture taken she insisted upon holding her revolver in one hand and steadying her favorite Winchester beside her with the other. The Navajos say that this woman is one of the best, if not the best, blanket weaver in the tribe, and many a time have I watched her skillful weaving with interest. Nor does she lack intelligence in other respects, for she is often consulted on matters of no little import in the tribe. Esta-yeshi has a grown son of about twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, whom the Navajos call "Choh," which means some kind of a bird, I believe.*

Choh had an unfortunate accident happen to him as an infant. He was strapped up, in the manner of all Navajo papooses, to his little board, in a thoroughly confined manner, and had been placed near a smoldering camp-fire by his mother. Something or other tipped him over, face downward in the hot ashes, and before any one could reach him his face all about his mouth had become frightfully burned. The scar from this has never left him, and his nose is nearly as flat as his face to-day. This Indian is one of the ever-to-be-seen characters about the garrison of Wingate. Usually he is extremely untidy in his appearance and awkward in his carriage. Indeed, with his eccentric movements and great moppish head of hair and highly revolting features, many of the children stand in great awe of the poor, disfigured fellow. He is by no means the stupid clown we would take him to be, however, upon first sight, as we shall very soon see.

* This paper was prepared for the *Smithsonian Report*, 1886.

Long before I knew Choh had any claims to being one of the artists of the tribe, I had been struck, on several occasions, when closely studying



ESTA-VESHI, MOTHER OF THE ARTIST.

the peculiar expressions of his face, unknown to him, by certain lights of intelligence that would come into it in spite of its pitiful deformity; these were much enhanced by his overflowing good-humor, for he is a warm-

hearted, happy type of an Indian, in spite of his repulsive exterior. It is wonderful to see the affection that Esta-yeshi has for this scarred and half-crippled son of hers. She is never so happy as when he is about ; has taught him all that lies within her power to teach ; does everything for him, and is pleased to the last degree when he will allow her to decorate his person with all those trappings so impressive in the eyes of the Indian, and in which we see him decked out in the accompanying engraving. The two eagle feathers at the side of his head denote his claim to royal blood.

Fort Wingate, in common with all United States military stations on the frontier, has its building known as the trader's store, though the post-office and other minor establishments are included under the same roof. This building is a great resort for the idle ones among the Navajos, who, during most of the time on week-days, lounge about on its veranda, incessantly smoking their cigarettes, or if it be cold they practice the same around the stove in the centre of the main room within. Choh forms no exception to this almost general failing, but is, indeed, reckoned among the most inveterate of the regular *habitués*. When he comes, however, his time is rarely spent in idleness, for, after rapidly puffing through one or two cigarettes, he will saunter over to the distant end of one of the long counters of the salesroom, where he is soon at work on some of the sheets of wrapping-paper there to be found, with his bit of illy sharpened pencil. It is a curious sight to see this Indian at his drawing. He is obliged to bring his face almost down in contact with the paper, on account of his eyes, which were permanently injured by the burn I have already alluded to above. In this position the great mat of coarse hair which covers his head tumbles all over, so as almost to hide the subject which engages him, from the observer at his side.

The first time I overlooked Choh to see what he was about he was laboring away at a gaudily dressed chief riding at full tilt upon his Indian steed. His work was rather above that of the average Indian artist ; but as I had seen many of their productions before, and watched many of them while they executed them, I paid no special attention to this additional example of an old story. Choh has been presented at various times with one of those red and blue pencils, when the results of his handiwork exhibit a striking appearance indeed. Flaming red frogs with blue stripes adown their backs and sides, with still more pretentious birds, will be found on every piece of paper that comes beneath the hand of this untutored artist.

His figures of Indian men and women are particularly worthy of notice,

and one, in watching him carefully, can gain some idea of the relative importance that he attaches to the various parts of their war and ordinary trappings, through the emphasis with which he depicts some of them. But Choh is not much of a naturalist, as his woful delineations of birds and



CHOH, THE NAVAJO ARTIST.

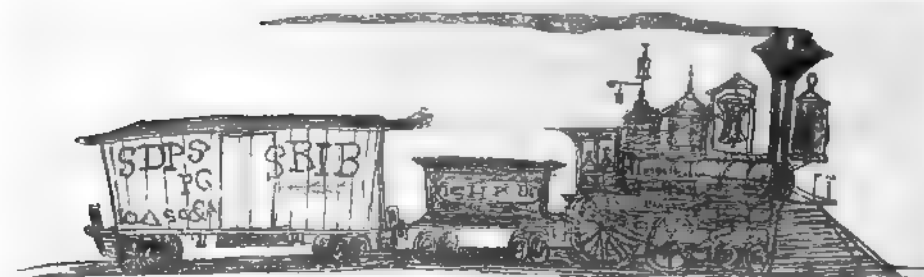
animals will testify; and it was not until a week or more ago that I accidentally discovered the true channel in which his talents lay. I was passing through the salesroom with my budget of mail when I noticed this Indian, as usual, bent over his paper, and more than ordinarily absorbed in

the design he was engaged upon, beneath the great disheveled mat of a winter's growth of the blackest of hair that hung down from every part of his head.

The glance I was enabled to get at his paper satisfied me in an instant as to the cause of his increased interest. He was at work upon a locomotive, with its tender and a couple of baggage-cars, and was just then giving the finishing touches to his design. The effort attracted my attention at once, because an Indian's idea of a locomotive, drawn by himself, without the object before him, was to me something certainly worthy of examination. The drawing of birds and frogs and lizards, in their crude way, is a thing we somehow naturally look for; and as it has been a fact for so long a time before us, perhaps we take it, too, as a matter of course that such people would make endeavor to depict objects which were constantly before their eyes in their common environment. A moment's consideration would also convince us that among these very Indians, as it is with more highly civilized races, there would be different degrees of merit exhibited, even among those who laid claim to being proficient in the same branch. I saw this well exemplified nearly a year ago, among the Zuni women, as they fashioned and painted their pottery at the Pueblo, and no doubt it holds good everywhere and in all paths of human activity. It was very prettily brought before my mind in the case of the Zuni women, for one of the group that I was watching on the occasion referred to was painting a jar for me, when I got her to understand that it was my wish that she should incorporate an animal and a few birds in her design. At this she despondingly shook her head, and pointed, with rather an envious gesture, I thought, to one of her companions who sat opposite, as the one who was skilled in that part of the work.

Another thing I have noticed is that the majority of these Indian artists are great mimics, and there is much to lead us to believe that many of their designs, both in pottery and in art, have become quite stereotyped. Not long ago I pointed out this fact in an article which I contributed to *Science*, wherein I showed how the Zunis had clung, perhaps for ages, to a common model for the owl.

But to draw a locomotive at all well is a vastly different thing, and particularly so when it is done from memory alone. This is a great, complicated thing, crowded with detail, and an object which the majority of the Navajos have only had the opportunity of seeing for a few years. The question possesses no little interest from an educational point of view; for if one full-blooded Navajo Indian can, of his own volition, thus step out of the archaic aboriginal rut and make a passable picture of a steam-



CHOH'S LOCOMOTIVE. SPECIMEN WORK.

engine, are there not hidden sparks and abilities in other directions, and how would this one thrive if it were properly guided and nourished?

Choh presented me with his drawing, and during the course of the day made me two others, upon some rather common drawing-paper which I gave him for the purpose. The last two efforts were even better than the one he had made for his own amusement, and each possesses points of interest that they do not have in common. I selected the one I considered the best of all, and present it here as one of the illustrations of this paper, it having been reduced rather more than one-third for the purpose.

In one of the others he drew the telegraph poles and wires alongside the track, and placed a bird on top of each pole—a very common sight in this prairie country; but the birds are entirely out of proportion with the rest of the picture, being fully ten times too large. In the third he has attempted to represent the rays of light as they issue from the headlight, and the steam in this one is blowing off. His powers of observation have served him well here, for he has drawn the white steam simply in outline, and has tried to show how it cuts through the smoke, which is drawn black as it comes from the stack.

One of the most interesting things to me was to observe the great care he took to show the "bright line" on the smoke-stack. Not only that, but he was familiar with the fact that it did not show on the under side of the upper enlarged portion of this part of the engine. He has likewise represented it upon the brass steam-chest and elsewhere, and there is an evident attempt to properly shade the body of the engine itself, or boiler. Now, surely this is good work for an untaught Indian, and I can attest it is far above anything that I have ever seen one of them attempt before, much less accomplish.

Again, the detail about the engine is by no means bad, and, moreover, each of these locomotives is upon a somewhat different model, as in one he has the bell in a frame in front of the sand-box; in another it is belted

to it; while finally, in the third, it is in the middle, between sand-box and steam-chest. The driving-gear is not as well shown in the figure as he is wont to make it sometimes, and one has but to watch him draw these parts to become satisfied that the man is ignorant of the principle involved. He invariably places two men within the cab, and takes evident pains to always draw the top of this part perfectly flat. For the tender he usually adopts one model, from which he rarely departs, though sometimes he fills it heaping full of coal, while at others, as in the illustration, he neglects to put any in at all. He has examined the method of coupling, for it is carefully shown in one of the figures.

It is an extraordinary thing to watch him put the letters on the tender and baggage cars. He must make these entirely from memory, yet he never strikes it as they should be, for it is quite evident that his combinations do not agree with the actual abbreviations used by the railway companies; yet Choh writes these on precisely as if he were positive as to their correctness, and we must own that the form of the majority of his capitals is not bad. He invariably, however, makes his great J's after this fashion, J, and nearly always turns his capital W's upside down. Often he places the oblique bar across the door of the baggage car, with a window above it; and I see in one of the drawings he has adopted the elevated plan of brakes seen in this class of cars. Here, again, however, it is quite clear that he has not mastered the use of this contrivance, perhaps one of the simplest in use of all the gearing employed upon a train of cars. The perspective for the wheels, and the proper way of drawing them upon the opposite rails, is another weak point, which he fills in with the shadow.

These are the leading points which occur to me for criticism in this drawing, that, taken as a whole, is truly a wonderful piece of work for one of these people. When we come to consider really how low they are in the scale of civilization, it is an astounding production. About Wingate, here, the majority of these savages live more like bears than men, sheltered, as they are, summer and winter, in the low, rude "shacks," which they build of limbs and twigs of trees on the hill-sides.

Moreover, it is not as if this man had the opportunity of studying a locomotive every day of his life, for the railway station is fully three miles from his Indian home, and there is nothing else to induce him to go there.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "R. W. Thompson". The signature is written in dark ink and features a long, sweeping horizontal line at the end.

ACROSTIC BY JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

During the administration of President Polk Hon. Cavalry Morris of Marietta, Ohio, was in congress, and a warm friendship existed between ex-President John Quincy Adams and himself. Mr. Morris had a pretty daughter of sweet fifteen, who was a special favorite of Mr. Adams. Approaching him one day she requested his autograph and handed him her album. Looking into her fair childish face, which a celebrated artist once remarked furnished the finest blending of moral and intellectual beauty he had ever seen, Mr. Adams replied: "I will give you some advice for the future, my dear Mary."

The little girl sat by his side while he wrote an impromptu acrostic, which, through the courtesy of its possessor, is here presented in fac-simile.

John Quincy Adams

Quincy

Massachusetts

Mark the revolving seasons as they roll
And let them teach instruction to thy soul
Read and reflect—and thus shalt thou ensure
By culture blooming bud and ages fruit mature
Mark, in thy progress o'er the stage of life
O ne scene of folly wickedness and strife
Refrain from e'en the temptations as they rise
Refrain, and look to life beyond the skies
In calm composure Virtue's path pursue
I tilt to thyself and to thy mother true

Washington 27. Feb 1843

Some years later the beautiful and accomplished young lady became the wife of Dr. Benjamin D. Blackstone, who is now a retired physician of Martinsville, Indiana. Among the mementos of the young wife who gladdened his early home but one short year, none are prized more highly than the old album leaf upon which these words are written.

Ella M. M. Moore

THE SCIOTO PURCHASE IN 1787*

It is hoped that this paper will serve to correct some of the many erroneous statements concerning the Scioto purchase in chapter eight of *Ohio*, in the Commonwealth series, as well as in other histories of the state of Ohio.

On the 23d of July, 1787, the congress of the United States, in consequence of a petition presented by Manasseh Cutler and Winthrop Sargent, authorized the board of treasury to contract on certain terms with any person or persons for the purchase of the land in the territory northwest of the river Ohio bounded by the same "from the mouth of the Scioto to the intersection of the western boundary of the seventh range of townships; thence by said boundary to the northern boundary of the tenth township from the Ohio; thence by a due west line to the Scioto; thence by the Scioto to the beginning." In pursuance of this authority the board of treasury, on the 27th of October following, made a contract for the sale of fifteen hundred thousand acres of land, lying between the seventh and seventeenth ranges and the Ohio river, to Manasseh Cutler and Winthrop Sargent "as agents for the directors of the Ohio company of associates so called." The consideration was one million of dollars in public securities, one-half of which was paid on signing the contract; the remainder was payable one month after the exterior line of the tract had been surveyed by the geographer or other proper officer of the United States. No title was to pass to the Ohio company until all payments were made, but the right was given to occupy and cultivate one-half of the tract fronting on the Ohio river between the seventh and fifteenth ranges of townships.

On the same day the board of treasury made a contract with "Manasseh Cutler and Winthrop Sargent for themselves and associates" for the sale to them of the remainder of the tract described in the ordinance of congress. Payments, at the rate of two-thirds of a dollar per

* Free use is made in this paper of chapter twelve of the *Life of Manasseh Cutler*, but many facts are given not accessible when that chapter was written. The contracts made by Mr. Barlow in France and much of his correspondence with Colonel Duer are owned by the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. They were obtained in various places, after years of persistent search, by Mr. John M. Newton, the accomplished librarian of the Young Men's Mercantile Library of Cincinnati. Other manuscripts referred to are in my possession.—E. C. D.

acre in public securities, were to be made in four semi-annual installments, the first falling due six months after the exterior line of the tract had been surveyed by the government. This was the Scioto purchase. It comprised over four million acres of land, three-fourths of it west and one-fourth north of the Ohio company tract.

When these contracts were executed no lands had been surveyed west of the seventh range of townships, the western boundary of which intersects the Ohio river about five miles east of the mouth of the Muskingum. The lines of the fifteenth range and the seventeenth range of townships are recognized in both contracts as "to be laid out according to the land ordinance of May 20, 1785." From calculations made by Captain Thomas Hutchins, then geographer, or surveyor general, of the United States, it was believed that the west line of the seventeenth range would strike the Ohio river opposite the mouth of the Big Kanawha.

Simultaneously with the execution of the second or Scioto contract, Cutler and Sargent conveyed to Colonel William Duer of New York city a one-half interest in it, and gave him full power to negotiate a sale of the lands in Europe or elsewhere and to substitute an agent. Colonel Duer agreed to loan to the Ohio company one hundred thousand dollars public securities to enable it to make its first payment to congress* and procured a large subscription to its shares. Soon after, Cutler and Sargent conveyed a little over three-fourths of their retained interest in about equal proportions to Generals Rufus Putnam, Benjamin Tupper, Samuel H. Parsons, Colonel Richard Platt, Royal Flint, and Joel Barlow. Many others became interested with these in greater or less proportions.

In May, 1788, Joel Barlow, who also held an interest by assignment from Colonel Duer, was sent to Europe to negotiate a sale of the lands or a loan upon them. He held a power of attorney from Colonel Duer, to which was attached a certified copy of the contract of Cutler and Sargent with the board of treasury, and their assignment and power to Colonel Duer. In all these papers the lands are recognized as held by a right of pre-emption only. Mr. Barlow met with no success until the summer of 1789, when he made the acquaintance of William Playfair, an Englishman then residing in Paris. Principally through his efforts a company was quickly organized in Paris, called the society of the Scioto, to which in November, 1789, Mr. Barlow sold the right of his principals to three million acres of land lying west of the seventeenth range of townships. The price was six livres per acre; the payments were to be made in installments 20, commencing 31 December, 1789, and ending 30 April, 1794. The cost that

* He actually advanced \$143,000.

urchase

recites that Barlow's powers were exhibited and proved, and provided that "as soon as and not before the said payments are remitted arising from the price of the present sale, Mr. Barlow binds his principals toward the society purchasing to put them in possession and enjoyment of an amount of the three million acres proportionate to the amount of the said payment at the aforesaid rate of six livres per acre." The lands were to be located in equal tracts from the seventeenth range westward. It also provided that the society might "re-sell all or a part of the three million acres before the times fixed for the payment of their price, provided that the said society gives up to the Sieur Barlow under the title of pledge the agreements of the under purchasers." Playfair and Barlow were both interested in the society of the Scioto and, with M. Jean Antoine Chais de Soisson, became its sub-agents for the sale of the lands.

Mr. Barlow did not send a copy of this contract to Colonel Duer, but wrote him an abstract of it November 29. He added that he was preparing an arrangement with the royal treasury of France to exchange the obligations of the French society of the Scioto for the American bonds held by it, and that either by that method or by an immediate settlement on the lands, the payments would be anticipated and the whole business closed within a year. He had reason to hope that Major-General Duportail, subsequently minister of war of France, and Colonel Rochefontaine, both of whom had served in America during the Revolution, would go at the head of the first establishment. He urged that the lines of the seventeenth and eighteenth ranges of townships be ascertained without delay. He admitted that he had proceeded as if Colonel Duer had already secured a modification of the contract with the board of treasury, so that titles might be obtained for the lands in smaller tracts as paid for, "by giving the company here power to re-sell portions before they made the first payment on the contract, requiring as my security the deposit of the payments for these portions." He insisted that at all events five or ten thousand acres of land opposite the mouth of the Great Kanawha "on the eighteenth range" must be secured on which to locate the first settlers; that huts be built there to accommodate at least one hundred persons, and that a person of activity be sent from the settlement to Alexandria, Virginia, to prepare for the reception of the settlers, and make the necessary arrangements for their journey to the lands. The expense of the houses and the journey would be "paid by the agent of the people the moment they arrive." On the 29th of December he wrote that he expected to put Colonel Duer in funds to make the first payment of five hundred thousand dollars to congress before it was due, and that if the first settlers were

pleased, half a million of adventurers would follow. On the same date he authorized Colonel Duer to draw on him for twenty thousand livres. January 25 following he authorized drafts for two hundred thousand livres, in the same letter saying that the payments certainly would be made.

On the 27th of February, 1790, a meeting of the Scioto associates in America was held at the house of Colonel Duer in New York city, and he communicated to them the letters from Mr. Barlow announcing the completion of the contract of sale. General Rufus Putnam and Rev. Manasseh Cutler were then in New York, as a committee appointed by the directors and agents of the Ohio company to ascertain the number of shares subscribed for on which no payments had been made, sell them if possible, and effect a settlement with congress. The survey of the Ohio company purchase was not completed, but it was known in the fall of 1789 that the western boundary of the seventeenth range of townships would intersect the Ohio river some distance west of the mouth of the Great Kanawha. This information had not been sent to Mr. Barlow, probably because his American associates had long since given up all hope of effecting a sale through him. He had not sent any plats or accurate information of the location of the lands sold by the French society of the Scioto, though it was evident from his letters that they were in the eighteenth range of townships, and that, relying on the information he had when he left America, he had represented them as opposite or nearly opposite the mouth of the Great Kanawha. The authority he had given to the French society to give deeds in small tracts was especially displeasing to General Putnam, though it appeared from the correspondence that Mr. Barlow had the money received from sales in his own control. As a solution of the problem General Putnam proposed to the associates that they purchase of the Ohio company its forfeited shares, the number of which had been definitely fixed at one hundred and forty eight; take the three acre, eight acre, and one hundred and sixty acre lots, already set apart for these shares in the part of the purchase which had been surveyed, and locate the remainder, 196,544 acres, in a compact body fronting on the Ohio river from a point opposite the mouth of the Great Kanawha river to the western line of the seventeenth range. So far as could be judged from the information at hand, the American proprietors by making this purchase would enable themselves to fulfill every obligation entered into by Mr. Barlow. Before finally closing it, Colonel Duer, on April 20, entered into a formal agreement with his associates which declared that "a contract for the sale" of the lands included in the Scioto purchase

"having lately been made in Europe" it was agreed to form a trust to secure to each one interested his proper share of the profit and to aid Colonel Duer in managing the concern of the sale. Royal Flint and Andrew Craigie were named as co-trustees with Colonel Duer, who was to act as "superintendent of the concerns of the proprietors." The powers and duties of the trustees were defined to be: to see that the contract for the sale of the lands was "carried into execution;" that remittances of the purchase money were duly made to Colonel Duer and by him "*in the first instance duly applied, as occasion shall require, to, or towards, making good the payment for the lands purchased by the parties to these presents of the United States.*" The remainder was to be divided in a manner prescribed. Immediately after the execution of this agreement Colonel Duer made drafts on Mr. Barlow for two hundred and twenty thousand livres as authorized in his letters of December 29 and January 25. On April 23 the trustees closed a contract with the Ohio company for the purchase as proposed by General Putnam of one hundred and forty-eight forfeited shares. The consideration was the same as required from the original subscribers, one thousand dollars per share in continental specie certificates, exclusive of one year's interest due thereon; and the same contribution to the expense fund of the company, to wit, ten dollars per share in specie to be paid in sixty and ninety days, and one year's interest on the specie certificates to be paid in six months. The continental specie certificates were to be paid when the Ohio company made its final settlement with the United States, and the amount was subject to a "deduction in ratable proportion with such sum as may hereafter be remitted by the United States on the original contract." The Scioto associates were given the same right of entry, use, and occupation as was permitted to the Ohio company by its contract with the United States, but no "deed of conveyance" was to be "required and demanded" until the "payments were fully completed and made." The trustees also released to the Ohio company their right of pre-emption to the million acres of land lying directly north of the Ohio company purchase which was not included in Mr. Barlow's sale to the French society of the Scioto.

Although the Ohio company, under its right of entry, had established a large number of settlers upon its lands, it could not, under its contract, obtain a title to any part of them until its payments were fully made. An effort was being made to induce congress to reduce the price of the public lands to twenty cents an acre, and make the reduction applicable to both the Ohio and Scioto companies' tracts. Secretary Hamilton had recommended it in his report on funding the public debt, and a majority in con-

gress appeared to favor it. If made, the Ohio company would be entitled, for the payments it had already made, to a million acres of land in addition to the fifteen hundred thousand acres embraced in its original purchase. The release by the Scioto associates to it of the right of pre-emption to the million acres directly north of the first tract gave it control of the best lands in the territory east of the Scioto river. If no reduction in price was secured, the sale of the one hundred and forty-eight shares at least made the original purchase safe. The payment by Mr. Barlow of the drafts for two hundred and twenty thousand livres would enable the Scioto associates to purchase, at prices then current, continental specie certificates enough to make payments for the one hundred and forty-eight shares and to obtain deeds of lands sufficient to satisfy, as far as could be learned, all of the sales made by the French society of the Scioto. Both parties to this contract were equally pleased and with good reason, for it seemed to solve all their difficulties.

The trustees appointed General Rufus Putnam their agent and attorney to represent the shares, take charge of the lands, and make preparations to locate the emigrants. He employed Major John Burnham to enlist a company of men in New England for service in clearing land, building houses, and keeping guard, and instructed him to go at once to Marietta, Ohio. General Putnam himself went to Marietta early in May, employed Colonel Meigs to make the necessary surveys for a town at the present site of Gallipolis, sent Mr. James Backus to Alexandria, Virginia, to meet, and accompany in their journey west, the French emigrants, and gave to Major Burnham, who arrived with his company early in June, instructions to proceed to the mouth of Chickamauga creek (the present site of Gallipolis), and clear a large tract of land and erect four block-houses and a number of huts according to a plan which would be given by Colonel Meigs. He also notified Colonel Duer that owing to the great scarcity of provisions in the territory, it would not do to permit the emigrants to come west of the mountains until the new crop had matured.

The emigrants began to arrive in Alexandria, Virginia, in April, and by the 27th of May about six hundred had landed. The agent sent by Colonel Duer to meet them had returned to New York supposing that they had made another port, for they were expected in March. Some people in Alexandria attempted to persuade them that they had paid too high a price for their land, informed them that the Scioto company had no title, that the Indians in the northwest territory were numerous and hostile, and that Virginia was, on all accounts, a much better place in which to live. This, with the fact that there was no one at Alexandria to receive them, created much

alarm, and Count de Barth, the Marquis Lezay-Marnesia, and others of the leading men among them were sent to New York to wait upon Colonel Duer, inquire into the validity of their titles, and ascertain if they could reside in the western territory free from danger from the Indians. They explained their plans fully to the secretary of the treasury, Alexander Hamilton, and to a number of members of Congress. President Washington and Secretary of War General Knox gave them assurance of protection, and promised to station troops near the mouth of the Great Kanawha. Colonel Duer exhibited to them printed copies of the law of congress authorizing the sale to Cutler and Sargent, their contract with the board of treasury, and the contract made by the Scioto associates with the Ohio company for the purchase of the forfeited shares. He also explained to them the composition of the Scioto company, and said to them that the entire management of its affairs had been intrusted to himself alone, and that he had for aid and counsel two agents, Royal Flint and Andrew Craigie. Some modifications of Mr. Barlow's agreements for transporting the settlers to their lands were made by Colonel Duer with this committee. Upon its return to Alexandria, the journey of the emigrants over the mountains began, under the leadership of Captain Isaac Guion, who was appointed by the trustees as their principal agent in the west; General Putnam, owing to his duties to the Ohio company, having declined to do more than superintend the surveys.

M. Bourogne, who came to America with the first party of emigrants, went to New York with the committee from Alexandria, and while there ascertained the efforts being made by the Scioto associates to secure a reduction in price of the lands. He returned to France early in June. Sales of lands had about ceased since the emigration. Mr. Barlow, instead of keeping in his own hands the money received for sales of lands by the French society, had left the management of the whole affair to Playfair and M. Chais de Soisson. Colonel Duer's drafts came forward in due course, were accepted, and fell due in August. Playfair refused to provide for them. In his efforts to meet them Mr. Barlow declared the contract of sale to the French society of the Scioto void because it had not met its payments, and made a new sale to a company composed of M. Bourogne, the Count de Barth, William Playfair, M. Coquet, General Duvalette, and himself. This company was to assume the payments to the American government for the lands and to make good all deeds given by the French society of the Scioto. Fifteen sous per acre were to be paid to the American proprietors as their profit. The money and securities in the hands of Mr. Playfair were to be paid to this company, but it was not to be required to make any

payments until at least three hundred thousand acres were sold and only upon sale of each three hundred thousand acres, and no limitation was placed upon the location, within the entire tract, of the lands sold. If any reduction in price of the land was secured, the profit from it was to be shared equally by the parties to the contract. Mr. Barlow was authorized to borrow, if he could, upon the credit of this company, one hundred and fifty thousand livres to apply on the drafts of Colonel Duer.

The principal object of M. Bourogne and his friends in making this contract was probably to secure the expected profit to arise from a reduction in the price of the land and the certain profit already realized from the sales of the society of the Scioto. Mr. Barlow's hope was to force Playfair to "render his accounts without ruining the business," and to provide something on account of Colonel Duer's drafts. Mr. Playfair, while not declining an interest in the new company, failed to turn over the proceeds of former sales. Colonel Duer's drafts were returned unpaid.

Mr. Barlow did not send a copy of this contract to Colonel Duer, who seems to have first learned of it by a letter protesting against it from Colonel Rochefontaine, who was interested in the French society of the Scioto, and who was also a purchaser of lands. Colonel Duer was now in a most embarrassing position. To meet the unexpectedly large expense of establishing the settlement, he had issued demand notes in the form of currency. These were coming in daily, as rumors of Mr. Barlow's troubles began to spread. Many of the emigrants refused to refund the amounts advanced for their account until the titles to the lands were perfected. The return of the drafts was a staggering blow to his credit. Unaware of the exact condition of Mr. Barlow's negotiations, unable to understand what had become of the money received for the lands sold, or to form any correct judgment as to the number of acres for which deeds had been given, he called the trustees together, and with their assent sent Colonel Benjamin Walker to France, with power to displace Mr. Barlow or act with him, to at least obtain the money due for lands sold, and to endeavor to get a clear understanding of the affair, and to sell the right of preëmption as originally intended. By him Colonel Duer wrote Mr. Barlow, notifying him that the trustees refused to ratify the sale to M. Bourogne, and upbraiding him in the severest terms for the manner in which he had conducted the business. He reminded him that he had not furnished copies of any engagements, or any list of lands sold, or any statement of receipts and disbursements; that except one thousand crowns, sent for a special purpose, he had made no remittances, and that he had assigned no reasons for not having honored the drafts. He notified Mr. Barlow that he and

he alone was responsible, not only to the American proprietors but to the United States, for the moneys received, which he had always represented were under his own control. He added, "The advances and engagements I am under in order to comply with the fallacious statements of your prospectus, and to preserve your honor and character from utter destruction, are no less than forty thousand dollars, exclusive of large sums of interest for money borrowed. This, at least, you are called upon by every tie of honor and generosity to secure."

Colonel Walker arrived in Paris in December, 1790, and was received by Mr. Barlow with every expression of joy and satisfaction. He spent several weeks in endeavoring to untangle Mr. Barlow's affairs. From Mr. Playfair he secured a statement of account, showing sales of about one hundred and forty thousand acres of land, and a long list of reasons for not having settled with Mr. Barlow. The most diligent effort failed to secure either money or property. Colonel Walker warned the public, by advertisement in the principal cities of France, not to purchase lands of Mr. Playfair, who meantime disappeared. Mr. Barlow was penniless, and Colonel Walker advanced him money for his family expenses. With the aid of Colonel Rochefontaine and General Duportail, then minister of war, an effort, which promised well for a time, was made to form a new company for the purchase of a smaller tract of land. News of the Indian war defeated it. Early in May, 1791, Colonel Walker returned to America, leaving Colonel Rochefontaine in charge of the negotiations. He appears to have been convinced that in a favorable condition of public affairs the lands might yet be sold. The Fates were not propitious. The troubles in France grew worse. General Duportail was denounced in the assembly, forced to resign as minister of war in December, 1791, and a few months later both he and Colonel Rochefontaine were obliged to flee to America for their lives.

Several hundred emigrants reached the present site of Gallipolis about the middle of October, 1790. Major Burnham's men had prepared houses for them, and had cleared a considerable space for garden lots. The Count de Barth and Marquis Marnesia with a large party reached Marietta a few days later, and were quartered in Fort Harmar while waiting the survey at the mouth of the Scioto river, where Count de Barth wished to establish a city. Before the surveyors were fairly at work, news came of the defeat of General Harmar and the rising of the Indian tribes along the entire border northwest of the Ohio river. This put an effective stop to further surveys or settlements. Count de Barth and the Marquis Lezay-Marnesia returned to New York to negotiate further with Colonel

Duer. Some of the people who had come with them remained at Marietta; some went to Gallipolis; others to the French settlements in different parts of the country. The Indian war made it impossible for the settlers at Gallipolis to do any work beyond range of the guns of the block-houses. Colonel Duer had established there a store, and continued to supply them with the necessities of life, taking from those who had no money their deeds to lands and village lots as security. In the spring of 1791 they began the cultivation of grapes on a large scale on the village lots which had been cleared, and also to raise vegetables, for which they found a ready market on the boats which were constantly plying up and down the Ohio river. The defeat and rout of the army of General St. Clair by the Indians, in November, 1791, was accepted by the people as a sufficient excuse for not having their lands surveyed and titles made good. Their worst troubles were to come.

In the spring of 1792 the directors and agents of the Ohio company met in Philadelphia, where congress was then in session, to effect a final settlement of its affairs. It had no title to any of its lands. It had paid to the government one-half of the amount due on its contract, and had in its treasury over three hundred and fifty thousand dollars in securities and land warrants applicable to the final payment, besides the amount due from the trustees for the Scioto associates, who had paid nothing on account of the purchase of the one hundred and forty-eight shares. The securities in the treasury alone, owing to the rapid advance in the price, were worth in money more than the entire amount of lands in its purchase. Many of its share-holders were clamorous that the contract be surrendered and the settlement abandoned, if necessary, to secure a dividend of the residue of its funds. After much negotiation congress passed an act directing that a deed be made to the Ohio company for the 750,000 acres to which it had the right of entry for the payment it had already made, and for 214,285 acres additional to be paid for in land warrants. One hundred thousand acres, to be located in a compact body adjoining the 750,000-acre tract, was deeded to the directors, in trust, to be donated in one-hundred-acre tracts to actual settlers. While these negotiations were pending there occurred a financial panic in New York. Colonel Duer failed, and was imprisoned for debt. Royal Flint also failed. The contract for the sale of the forfeited shares was surrendered and cancelled. An earnest effort was made by the directors of the Ohio company who were or had been parties to the Scioto purchase to have the donation tract located so as to include Gallipolis. In this they failed, and, in fact, it was secured at all only by the casting vote of Vice-President John

Adams in the United States senate. Gallipolis was included in the 750,000-acre tract, the boundaries of which were fixed by the law of congress and became at once the property of the share-holders of the Ohio company. The donation tract was located on the waters of the Muskingum where the Ohio company had already promised land to men who were performing military duty in its behalf.

The news of the failure of Colonel Duer, and of the fact that they were occupying lands actually owned by the Ohio company, were crushing blows to the inhabitants of Gallipolis. They knew nothing of the long story of Colonel Duer's embarrassments. They only knew that they were far away from their native land, confronted by a savage foe, homeless, friendless, and that some one was to blame.

In the fall of 1793 M. Jean Gabriel Gervaise went to Philadelphia, and placed the interests of himself and others of the residents of Gallipolis, who had purchased lands of the French society of the Scioto, in the hands of Peter Stephen Duponceau, a Frenchman by birth and a lawyer of high standing. Mr. Duponceau prepared a petition to the congress of the United States asking for a grant of lands to the French settlers, and offering in their behalf to cede to the United States their claims against the Scioto or Ohio companies, if the prayer of the petition was granted. The petition was referred to the attorney-general, William Bradford, by the senate, with instructions to report upon the validity of the claims of the petitioners against the Scioto or Ohio companies or other persons, and for the means to be pursued for the obtainment of justice.

On the 24th of March, 1794, the attorney-general communicated an opinion to the senate that the original right of purchase of the entire tract included in both the Ohio company and Scioto contracts was, in his judgment, in the Ohio company, citing in support of the opinion that that company had, October 4, 1788, passed a resolution to the effect "that their right of preëmption of the whole land mentioned in the resolve of congress cannot be justly called in question," and that if it could be shown that the Ohio company was a party to the sale in Europe it could not successfully impeach the title of the settlers. He also stated that he had been informed that the Ohio company had sold to William Duer and associates 100,000 acres of land, including the site of Gallipolis and the tract originally pointed out to the French settlers; that, though the deed had since been delivered up and cancelled, yet persons who had seen it declared it was an absolute conveyance. Assuming these statements to be correct, it was his opinion that the French settlers at Gallipolis had a valid, equitable title to the settlement, and to locate their purchases within the bounds

of the 100,000-acre tract conveyed to William Duer and associates. The attorney-general added, however, that there was reason to believe that the Ohio company could not be considered a party to the sales in Europe, and that if it was not, and the deed to 100,000 acres to Duer was not such as to convey any title until the payment of the purchase money, then the French settlers had no remedy but by action at law against the parties who gave them deeds.

If the facts had been before the attorney-general when he prepared his opinion he would have been convinced that the Ohio company had not and could not have any interest in the Scioto purchase at the time the contracts were made. Its "articles of agreement" provided that its funds should "not exceed \$1,000,000 in continental specie certificates," and that the whole fund should be applied to the purchase of so much land as its funds would pay for and no more, and its contracts were so made. These articles were printed, were made a part of the petition presented by its agents to congress, were read in full on the floor of the house by Mr. Holton of Massachusetts while its petition was pending, and a copy was placed on the desk of each member.

The members of the board of treasury were fully aware of the intention of Messrs. Cutler and Sargent to make two distinct purchases, and accepted the authority of the law as ample. The Ohio company in a full meeting ratified the acts of its agents. The loan made by Colonel Duer, which enabled the Ohio company to make its first payment, was full compensation to it for the services rendered by its agents in securing the Scioto purchase. At no regular meeting of the directors and agents of the Ohio company was any claim ever made to any right in the Scioto purchase. The resolution referred to by the attorney general was passed at an informal meeting held by a minority of dissatisfied share-holders upon an incorrect statement of the facts of the purchase. As has been shown, the contract of sale made to the Scioto associates by the Ohio company, under which the French settlers were assigned houses and lands at Gallipolis, was not a deed conveying an absolute title, but a sale to them of the shares in the Ohio company forfeited for non-payment. The Scioto associates acquired the same rights as the original subscribers.

In May, 1794, the United States senate passed an order summoning the directors of the Ohio company to appear before it and show cause why so much of the tract of 750,000 acres deeded to it in 1792 as was sufficient to satisfy the claims of the French settlers should not be forfeited. The directors on receiving the order held a meeting and passed the following resolution: "Resolved, That a particular statement of facts

relative to the matter referred to in said order of the senate be made out and transmitted to the Hon. Caleb Strong, Theodore Foster, and Jona Trumbull, Esquires, members of the senate, and Hon. Benjamin Bourn, Uriah Tracy, and Dwight Foster, Esquires, members of the assembly, in congress, in order for the better information of congress and others whom it may concern. There is great reason to believe that the business has been grossly misrepresented, either through ignorance or a malicious design to injure the company's interest.

Furthermore, Resolved, That in our opinion the interest of the company may eventually be much promoted by appointing the aforesaid six gentlemen agents for the directors of the Ohio company, they or any two of them to act and transact all matters and things relative to the aforesaid order of the senate of the 18th of May, 1794, awarding to their best discretion in as full and ample a manner as the directors of the Ohio company might or could do were they present; and that a power be made out and executed accordingly." By the advice of these members no response was made to the order of the senate. It was a matter over which it had no jurisdiction. The senate took no further action.

In January, 1795, the survey of the Ohio company donation tract was completed and offered free in lots of one hundred acres to each settler. Notice by public advertisement was given to the "French settlers at Gallipolis, with all others at that place, to come forward by associations or individually and receive lands if they please."

In March, 1795, congress, in consequence of Mr. Duponceau's petition, passed an act granting 24,000 acres of land in what is now Scioto county, Ohio, to the French settlers over eighteen years of age, who would be in Gallipolis on November 1 following. Four thousand acres of this was given to M. Gervaise, being the amount he had originally purchased from the French society of the Scioto, and the remainder was divided equally among ninety-two persons, each receiving $217\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

In December, 1795, the shareholders of the Ohio company held a meeting in Marietta to make a final division of its lands and other property. The citizens of Gallipolis presented to them a petition asking that a town site be given to the settlers. This was refused, but fractional sections, twenty-eight and thirty-four in town three, range fourteen, including all improvements, were sold to them at \$1.25 per acre.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "E. L. Davis". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, prominent "E" and "D".

PRIVATE CONTRACT PROVISION IN ORDINANCE OF 1787

HOW CAME IT THERE?

As there is no clause of similar import to be found in any of the early constitutions of the several states, it is a matter of some historical interest to inquire whether there was any special reason for its introduction into the organic law of the territory northwest of the river Ohio. The clause is in the following words: "And in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared that no law ought ever to be made or have force in said territory that shall in any manner whatever interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements *bona fide* and without fraud previously formed." The object is seen to be the "just preservation of rights and property" in said territory.

What kinds of "rights and property" were at that particular time under consideration that would be the subjects of "private contracts"? It is well known that the attention of congress was called at that time to a large sale of land. Land constituted the only kind of property which was *then* liable to be bought under "private contracts." The parties engaged in that purchase of lands were consequently more directly interested in such a provision than any others. Is it probable that congress was influenced by their wishes and interests?

That the originators of the land purchase had previously given the matter attention is evident from the manner of their dealing with it, and the reasons why they preferred a private to a public contract for lands. At a meeting of the Ohio company, held at Brackett's tavern, March 8, 1787, "It was unanimously resolved, that three directors should be appointed for the company, and that it should be their duty immediately to make application to the honorable congress for a *private purchase of lands*, and under such descriptions as they shall deem adequate for the purposes of the company."

On the 16th of March Manasseh Cutler (one of the trustees appointed for the above purpose) wrote as follows to Hon. Nathan Dane, at that time one of the Massachusetts delegates in the continental congress: "The trustees entertain hopes that congress, notwithstanding this land ordinance, will not refuse to make a private sale to this company, as it will greatly accelerate the settlement, save the company a large expense,

and enable them to purchase the whole in one body." We are thus presented with the plan and intention of the company to make a *private purchase* of land. But why a private purchase? It is evident that they wished to avoid the terms of sale as fixed by the land ordinance of May 20, 1785, as Dr. Cutler says they hope that "notwithstanding this land ordinance they will not refuse to make a private sale."

Now, what were the terms of the land ordinance which were in their way? Briefly, as follows: 1st. After being surveyed and platted by the general government, the different townships were divided up by lot among the several states. 2d. The ranges would only be sold out by offering alternately a full township and the next one in sections. 3d. The sales were at public vendue, after due notice of time and place.* Congress had therefore adopted the system of *public sales*, while the Ohio company wanted to negotiate for a *private purchase*; this for the reason stated, that they would have their land *in one body*.

When the Ohio company appeared before congress they asked that the law then in force should be ignored or set aside, so that they might acquire lands by a "*private contract*" instead of at a public sale. The above provisions of the law of May 20, 1785, were in force at the time the purchase of the Ohio company was made, and remained so until July 9, 1788, when they were repealed.

It would seem that it was a very proper precaution for the just preservation of rights and property that no law should have force in that territory that could invalidate "private contracts." Whether this irregularity of congress in violating their own laws by making a large "private contract" in the face of the lawful provisions for "public vendue" was the occasion for protecting "rights and property" in the territory, or not, it is evident from the following extract from a letter written by R. H. Lee to General Washington, dated July 15, 1787, that the "sale of lands" was the occasion for a "strong-toned" government, and for the "right of property to be clearly defined." He says: "I have the honor to enclose to you an ordinance that we have just passed in congress for establishing a temporary government beyond the Ohio as a measure preparatory to the sale of lands. It seems necessary for the security of property among uninformed and perhaps licentious people, as the greater part of them who go there are, that a strong-toned government should exist, and that the right of property be clearly defined."

Now, if we accord to the managers of the Ohio company that degree of intelligence and business capacity which was requisite for a successful

* *Life Rev. M. Cutler*, Vol. I., p. 191.

performance of their duties, it would seem to be a natural result that a provision so clearly calculated to protect their interests would have received their attention and have been inserted at their instance. That their agent regarded the transaction as a *private contract* is evident from his entry in his journal, October 27, 1787, at the time he paid \$500,000 to the United States on the purchase. He speaks of it as the "greatest private contract ever made in America." *

But there are other considerations that may be presumed to have had weight with the Ohio company. By their articles of association, adopted March 3, 1786, it was provided that in any purchase that should be made of land the fee was to pass from the government into the trustees. Then it was provided that individual shareholders might select agents to whom deeds of lands were to be made by the trustees—then the agents to the shareholders.

In this way there was provision for three private contracts: 1st. As between the government and the trustees. 2d. Between the trustees and agents. 3d. As between the agents and individual shareholders. In addition to this system of transfer of title, bonds and obligations were entered into between the directors and agents jointly and severally, and between the agents and the shareholders, conditioned upon the faithful performance of their several duties. This manner of managing the large real estate that fell to the disposal of the company was a system of "private contracts or engagements," upon the validity of which would depend the "just preservation" of their "property" to themselves and to all future owners. The perfect order and regularity of the proceedings of the company, as shown by their journals and voluminous statements, filed away and still preserved, testify to the care and rigid exactness of their fulfillment of their trust. No shadow of doubt has ever rested upon a title growing out of this system.

It has been claimed that this important provision of the ordinance originated with Mr. Dane. If this were true it is certainly very remarkable that he did not insert it in the ordinance reported on April 26, 1787, as he was a member of the committee making the report. It does not appear there or in the resolutions of April 23, 1784. In fact, it does not appear in any organic law of prior date to July 13, 1787. That Mr. Dane or some other member of congress, in the exercise of his legislative function, performed the duty of writing it out and moving its insertion is beyond doubt. But for the long period that the subject of a government for the western territory was exclusively in the hands of congress, with no outside

* *Life Manasseh Cutler*, Vol. I., p. 326.

person to influence their action, it certainly had not occurred to any of them to propose that service. But the Ohio company came to them with this identical principle as an essential and indisputable part of their plan. They must have a *private contract* or nothing; and, at the instance of their agent, congress ignored their own law and plan of sale by "public vendue" and gave them a *private contract*, that threw around that transaction, as well as all others of the same nature, the sanction of organic law.

After the close of the revolutionary struggle there prevailed a very trying and disturbed condition of affairs among the people generally throughout the country. Business of all kinds had been disarranged by the war, debts had been contracted, money was scarce, paper currency depreciated, taxes heavy—in a word, the great mass of the people were sorely distressed. In Massachusetts this resulted in open insurrection. The same weapons that had gained Independence were now turned against the lawful authorities. It required the strong arm of the state to meet open revolt by force.

These exciting scenes, known as "Shays' Rebellion," were enacted in the immediate neighborhood of the men who were at the same time engaged in the principal enterprise of relief from prevailing distress by the scheme of settlement on the banks of the Muskingum and Ohio. The following extract from Dr. Cutler's journal shows the close contact he was brought into with that disturbed state of affairs: "January 8-13, 1787: Men sent to oppose the insurrection in the western counties of the commonwealth. January 15: Militia company called together in order to get men for opposing the insurrection. I read to the people at 10 o'clock the address from the General Court, and then addressed them on the nature of constitutional government and the present dangerous state of our affairs, and endeavored to point out the consequence of opposition to the laws. January 20: The men marched to Cambridge."

This occurred four months before he was called upon in New York to consider this very subject of a constitutional government, as applicable to his own future home and the homes of the associates for whom he was acting. To him the lesson of the insurrection was vastly important, and he must have been a dull learner if it failed to stimulate his efforts in the direction of a "strong-toned government" and securing pledges for the "just preservation of rights and property."

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "W. P. Cutler". The signature is written in a cursive style with a prominent underline.

MARIETTA, OHIO, *March*, 1889.

LINCOLN'S RESTORATION POLICY FOR VIRGINIA

THE BROADSIDE—OFFICIAL SUMMONS

Mr. Stiles' admirable paper with the above title, published in the September number (1889) of the *Magazine of American History*, lacks one fact of importance to make it exhaustive of the subject—the final act in the drama which he so skillfully pictures. That fact I am able to supply in the *official call* to the Virginia legislature to convene in Richmond under the permission given by President Lincoln. I have never seen it in print except in the broadside which I own.

The disordered condition of Virginia immediately following General Lee's surrender made transmission of accurate news somewhat difficult. Governor Smith, Hon. Samuel Price, president of the senate of Virginia, and Hon. Hugh W. Sheffry, speaker of the house of delegates, were at their homes in Virginia and Augusta. From these alone an official call for the meeting of the legislature could issue. As soon as it was possible to authenticate the report of Mr. Lincoln's action and that of the prominent citizens in Richmond, Messrs. Price and Sheffry published the following summons to the senate and the house. It was issued from Staunton *seven days after* Mr. Lincoln's permission had been recalled, of which recall the honorable gentlemen were evidently entirely ignorant.

"WHEREAS, the undersigned have received satisfactory information that with the sanction of the military authorities of the city of Richmond, acting by authority of the President of the United States, a number of members of the general assembly and other prominent and influential citizens of Virginia have requested the general assembly to re-assemble in the city of Richmond on the 25th instant, to take into consideration the condition of the commonwealth, full guarantees of safe conduct and protection having been given by said military authorities to members and officers of the two houses while going to, remaining in, and returning from the city of Richmond, and of free discussion in their legislative deliberations; and,

Whereas, the undersigned have been advised and requested by members of the general assembly, the attorney-general of the commonwealth, and other influential citizens, to summon the members of the general assembly to convene in the city of Richmond at as early a day as practicable:

Now, therefore, We, SAMUEL PRICE, president of the senate, and HUGH W. SHEFFRY, speaker of the house of delegates of Virginia, do respectfully summon the members of the general assembly to re-assemble in the city of Richmond on the 25th instant, in order to resume their legislative duties which were interrupted by the evacuation of the city of Richmond on the 3d of the present month, and to deliberate on such measures for the public safety and welfare as may be brought to their consideration.

Members unable to be present in Richmond on the day above named are requested to attend as promptly as practicable.

Given under our hands this twentieth day of April, 1865.

SAMUEL PRICE,

President of the Senate.

HUGH W. SHEFFRY,

Speaker of the House of Delegates."

This broadside was printed at Staunton, the home of Judge Sheffry. Located there at the time with other Confederate soldiers not included in the surrender at Appomattox, I remember distinctly the bright hopes excited in our hearts by this action. I think that the copy of the broadside in my possession was handed to me by my friend, the late Judge Sheffry.

Horace Edwin Hayden

WILKESBARRE, PENNSYLVANIA.

JOSEPH HAWLEY, THE NORTHAMPTON STATESMAN

HIS ADDRESS TO THE MINUTE-MEN

One of the ablest and most eloquent advocates of American liberty throughout his entire official career, and distinguished among the leaders of the American Revolution for foresight, sagacity, and purity of character, was Major Joseph Hawley of Northampton, Massachusetts. He was born in 1723, was graduated from Yale in 1742, studied theology and preached for some time, and was chaplain to the expedition against Louisburg in 1745. On his return he changed his profession for the law, studying with General Lyman of Suffield, and in 1749 commenced practice at Northampton. He was descended from men celebrated for learning and courage—from Warham, the first minister of Windsor; from Rev. Solomon Stoddard, the second minister of Northampton; and from Marshall, the valiant captain who was killed by the Indians during the assault at Fort Narragansett. His grandfather, Joseph Hawley of Roxbury, was among the graduates of Harvard in 1674, in a class of three, and removing to Northampton long served that town as representative and judge. His eldest son Joseph married Rebecca Stoddard, and they were the parents of the subject of this paper. The lady's sister Esther was the mother of Jonathan Edwards, another sister, Eunice Mather Williams, was killed by the Indians at Deerfield, and their brother, Colonel Stoddard, was a man of importance in the county. Major Hawley soon became the most distinguished counselor in western Massachusetts. His learning was profound and his eloquence impressive. "Many men," said President Dwight, "have spoken with more elegance and grace. I have never heard one speak with more force. His mind, like his eloquence, was grave, austere, powerful." Moreover, in public as well as in private life, he was conscientious to a fault, never engaging in any cause unless he was convinced of its justice, and scrupulously returning fees that seemed to him larger than he deserved. In the controversy between Jonathan Edwards and his church Major Hawley was one of his cousin's most active opponents. When the council of ministers met in 1751 to deliberate concerning Mr. Edwards's dismissal, Major Hawley went to the house in which the meetings were held and stood a long time at an open window listening to the debate. At length, overcome with excitement, he leaped

through the window and made a violent harangue against Edwards that lasted for an hour and a half. Hawley soon repented of this, and nine years later made a public confession of his mistake. He said in his confession: "In the course of that melancholy contention I now see that I was very much influenced by vast pride, self-sufficiency, ambition, and vanity, . . . and do in review whereof abhor myself and repent sorely."

Hawley's moral courage in making this confession added greatly to his popularity. In 1752 he married Mercy Lyman, the wife to whom he wrote a great many beautiful letters still extant, and who survived him twenty years. In 1754 when in Boston, engaged in "the most important affairs of the province," he wrote: "Dear child, don't think hard that I tarry so long. I assure you I want to see you as much as you can want to see me, and shall not tarry a minute longer than my duty to God and my country obliges me. I assure you I have the tenderest and most affectionate remembrance of you daily, and the longer I am absent the stronger and more sensible my affection grows."

While thus enjoying success in his chosen profession and happiness in his domestic life, he suddenly suffered a terrible loss. This was the death of his only brother, the amiable Captain Elisha Hawley, who was killed near Lake George in the "bloody morning scout." When the king and parliament began their encroachments upon the rights of the colonies, Hawley brought all his ability to the defense of those rights. He undertook the defense of the Hampshire county rioters indicted for resisting the Stamp Act. His skillful management of this case, though called by Hutchinson "strong, unwarrantable conduct," was successful. Elected in 1766 to the provincial assembly, he was for ten years one of its most influential members. Though repeatedly chosen counselor to the governor of Massachusetts, he declined to serve. In his first session he electrified the assembly by asserting, "The parliament of Great Britain has no right to legislate for us." For this bold statement of a doctrine as yet new in American legislative halls, James Otis, bowing, thanked him, and said: "He has gone further than I have as yet done in this house."

It is said that no measure in the assembly was ever carried against Major Hawley's wishes. Hutchinson writes: "He was more attended to in the house than any of the leaders, but less active out of it; he was equally and perhaps more attended to than Samuel Adams. Mr. Adams was more assiduous, and very politicly proposed such measures only as he was well assured Mr. Hawley would join in."

"So critical was the state of affairs," wrote John Adams in his diary, "that Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and Thomas Cushing and all their

friends and associates could carry no question upon legal and constitutional subjects in the house without the countenance, concurrence, and support of Major Hawley."

In 1767 Hutchinson, though not re-elected to the council, attended as usual its first session. The assembly loudly protested against the intrusion. "This," says Hutchinson, "was illiberal treatment of the lieutenant-governor; it was brought into the house by Mr. Hawley, a lawyer of distinguished character in the county of Hampshire, but of strong resentment." Hutchinson had excited this resentment, when chief-justice, by his improper treatment of Hawley in one of the courts.

While attending court at Springfield in 1768, Hawley met John Adams. This meeting was the beginning of a friendship that was never broken. Many of Hawley's interesting and valuable letters are contained in the published correspondence of John Adams. From this time Hawley is found serving on committees with both Adamses and concerting with them plans of legal opposition to the king's officers. He was with them on the committee which in 1773 drew up the reply to Governor Hutchinson's speech—a reply that has been pronounced the most elaborate state paper of the Revolution.

During the same year he was a member of the committee of correspondence, and was also one of the commissioners sent to Hartford to settle the boundary between Massachusetts and New York. It is said that "the weight of this business lay upon Mr. Hawley."

On account of the uncertain state of his health, Major Hawley shrank from active service and declined to be a member of the Massachusetts delegation to the first continental congress. His place was filled by his friend John Adams. In a letter written July 25, 1774, Hawley invites the delegates to stop at Northampton in order to confer with him, and, in addition to other good advice, cautions them to treat the delegates from the other colonies with proper respect, as "there is an opinion that the Massachusetts gentlemen, and especially of the town of Boston, *affect to dictate and take the lead in continental measures*, that we are apt, from an inward vanity and self-conceit, to assume big and haughty airs." Later, after Adams reached Philadelphia, Hawley sent him more particular instructions for the delegates. In this paper, entitled "Broken Hints," occurred the sentence, "We must fight if we cannot otherwise free ourselves from British taxation." Hearing this read, Patrick Henry exclaimed, "By God! I am of that man's mind."

Hawley, however, advised delay in beginning hostilities. "There is not," wrote he, "military skill enough. That is improving and must be

encouraged and improved, but will daily increase." "Our salvation," he adds, "depends upon an established persevering union of the colonies."

This same year a company of minute-men, about one hundred in number, was formed at Northampton. There is in existence a yellow manuscript address in Hawley's hand-writing (never before published), from which it appears that he gave the company much sound advice and encouragement. It reads as follows :

ADDRESS TO THE MINUTE-MEN

"When the distress of a Country is acknowledged by all and the Ruin thereof foreboded by many, it is the indispensable duty of the inhabitants to concert such measures as may appear to them to be most conducive to extricate her from her distress and of every individual to lend his aid to put them into execution. That this at present is our situation, I think needs no words to explain ; it is seen, felt, and understood by all, even those that would *pretend* the contrary, their very *actions* show it.*

But the good people of this province, Gentlemen, are not to be deceived, and their firm and united conduct hitherto has baffled the attempts of the most artful hypocrisy. The people have been alarmed, have done as they ought, met, deliberated, & replied ; They have pointed out ways that appeared to them & ought to appear so to us, to be most conducive to the publick good. One of these ways is the institution of the art military, an Institution which if well regulated & vigorously prosecuted cannot fail under the auspices of heaven to save our Country from the encroachments of a foreign power. It is upon this, joined to the valor & virtue of the people that the safety of a country depends. It is incumbent upon the Americans at this time to cultivate them all. Without valor & virtue military discipline will be of little effect, and without military discipline mere virtue & valor will hardly suffice but where they all join they render a people irresistible. It was these joined to the hardihood of the inhabitants that saved the little country of Switzerland whose whole territories are not so large as this province, from the whole power of France and enables them still to maintain their independence in the political system of Europe. Their virtue, valor, & military discipline, form a sufficient barrier to the rights & liberties of their Country, and hold at a distance the most ambitious and enterprising monarchs. The inhabitants of Switzerland have always been free, they have enjoyed their liberties in a very great degree, which has enabled them, upon occasions, to exert their valor & discipline for the safety and defence of their Country when threatened with a foreign yolk, in a manner that cannot be paralleled in the Story of Mankind and which at the time of its performance astonished all Europe. I will mention but one instance, and which is not the most Surprising. At the battle of St. James's a body of twelve hundred Swiss attacked the whole army of France. This little body handled their instruments of death so dexterously and dealt out slaughter and destruction to their enemies so plentifully that for a long time they baffled the utmost efforts of their whole army, but at last, being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to give way with the loss of 1158 men killed & 30 wounded. The 12 that remained fled home, & such is the nice & delicate sense entertained by the Swiss of their national honor & bravery, that they cannot bear

* The officers of the minute company were Jonathan Allen, captain ; Oliver Lyman, lieutenant ; and Jonathan Stearns, ensign.

that it should receive the least tarnishment, and these twelve unhappy heroes were treated by their Countrymen with infamy for deserting their posts in the Cause of their Country.

Numberless instances might be produced of the valor of this nation, similar to this in every material circumstance, and not only of this nation but of many others. I shall mention but one, whose circumstances & situation were more nearly alike to ours at present than any perhaps that can be found in the history of mankind.

The united provinces of the Netherlands I mean. They were formerly subject to the Crown of Spain ; and might have been so always if they had been treated as they deserved. But an aspiring, arbitrary, & ambitious monarch, confirmed in his notions by a set of ministers of like dispositions, conceived the design of arbitrarily imposing taxes upon the inhabitants of his colonies, and sent an army among them for the avowed purpose of putting this infernal plan into execution. The inhabitants were harrassed for a long time, and bore it with as much patience as could be expected but at length, when they began to hang up a few of the popular leaders the people were roused. They saw the precipice upon which they stood & the endeavor of their enemies to hurry them headlong into the gulf of slavery and recollected themselves. They formed a union which has continued ever since & is become formidable, a plan which was universally adopted, measures which were carried into execution, & which preserved their country from impending ruin. They shook off the Spanish yoke & resolved to be free. And it is well known that at this day they outvie every nation in Europe in wealth & commerce, and that it is entirely owing to their success in withstanding the encroachments of arbitrary power, to which if they had tamely submitted, they would now have been but a few petty provinces, half starved and groaning under the shackles of tyranny.

It may be said that the greatest hardships were endured and the greatest calamities were suffered by this people, thus struggling for their liberties, that can be found in the history of mankind, or that the most fertile imagination can paint, hardships that we are unable to endure, and calamities worse than death. But, gentlemen, they were but the price they paid for their liberties, and they were not dear bought neither. By purchasing them at such a rate, they were taught to value them. I think that the Americans are as able to bear hardships as the Europeans are, or ever were. We are descended from ancestors who have endured as many hardships as it is at all probable we ever shall supposing we should be obliged to oppose the combined force of half Europe. Ancestors, who were contented to oppose a formidable army of savages, to undergo all the calamities that heat & cold, hunger & thirst could bring upon the human frame, if they could but enjoy what we are now contending for, liberty. They bore all with cheerfulness and were glad to purchase it at so easy a rate. Some of you, gentlemen, are the descendants of men whose virtue & valor was such as deserve a character to be transmitted to posterity, not unworthy the greatest heroes of antiquity now upon record. But I have no inclination to raise your vanity as if men inherited all the good qualities of their progenitors ; or as if valor was hereditary. You will show by your future conduct whether you are worthy to be called the offspring of such worthy men. I would not insinuate by any means that at present you are not, but on the contrary you have given fresh testimonials that you are and I cannot think that you will disgrace yourselves hereafter by a reverse of conduct. Gentlemen, you are sensible that matters are become serious, that we are no longer to be entertained with nothing but mere speculation and conjecture. Some of us must take up arms & defend our country ; and as that is generally attended with the greatest hardships & fatigue, those that are young, most coura-

geous, robust & active who are the best able to endure them must compose our armies. Upon you, Gentlemen, this lot falls, as those qualities are most likely to unite in you. You have been chosen by your fellow countrymen for that purpose, to you they have committed the keeping of their liberties, and you must be answerable to God & man if you betray them. You are to form a character & a rank that is to be estimated in the eyes of the world, according to your behavior therein. If you exert yourselves with valor, in preserving the expiring liberties of your country you will be esteemed by all mankind, and even adored by your fellow countrymen, but if you meanly desert the cause, and shamefully give up those liberties that your countrymen entrusted you with, you may expect to be treated by them like the Swiss runaways before mentioned, and by the rest of mankind with contumely.

In order, gentlemen, to discharge this important trust committed to your care it is necessary to be perfectly skilled in the military art.

The troops we have to oppose are all well disciplined & the greatest care taken to keep them so. They are & will be it is probable commanded by officers of the greatest abilities that can be procured for the purpose. And to oppose them it is necessary that we should have troops equally well disciplined and officers of equal abilities & experience. And that such can be procured, I think is not impossible. The good behaviour of the soldiers will give consideration to the officers, and enable them to plan & execute with deliberation & vigor.

In the course of last war we were not without officers of shining characters and distinguished abilities; of tried courage and acknowledged experience. The climate of America, if the talents of men depend upon that, for aught appears, will produce as great geniuses in the military art as that of Europe; other circumstances are more favorable.

But, gentlemen, much depends upon the temper & disposition of ourselves; if we grow fearful, timid & faint-hearted; or if we become dissolute, refractory, & disdain subordination to our officers, it will discourage the most courageous & warlike; deter them from taking the most effectual measures for opposition, baffle all attempts to proceed; render our good cause desperate; and give matter of triumph to our enemies.

There is nothing at present that need make us timorous; everything bears the most favourable aspect; the people are united throughout all America. They are firm and determined to be free. They are united like a band of brothers resolute to maintain their freedom and independency, or die in the common cause together. They consider the case of this province as a common cause; they have declared that they will all support us in our opposition till our grievances are removed.

Let me pause, Gentlemen, for a moment & ask seriously what we want more. We cannot ask our common Father to bestow a greater blessing upon us under such circumstances unless it be to incline the heart of our king & his parliament to remove those grievances which he has in the course of his providence suffered them to bring upon us. This province then must be wanting to herself, the people of this county & this town must be wanting to themselves, if, when they have such assurances from the other colonies, whose fidelity we have no reason to distrust, of their resolutions and determinations to assist us to the last extremity, they don't exert themselves with tenfold alacrity. And you, Gentlemen, what excuse will you have, if you don't endeavor to attain to a degree of perfection in the military art, whereby you may be superior to troops of other colonies in proportion as the distress into which we are thrown is greater than that of theirs.

A good militia, Gentlemen, is the strength & sinews of a state ; it exalteth a nation : but a standing army forbodes the destruction of a state, and is a reproach to any people. A good soldier of the militia is a good character, & in time of danger courted because from him they expect safety.

In order to form good soldiers Strict discipline is necessary, and the soldiers must submit to it either willingly or by force. Those that submit from force will make good soldiers ; but those who submit without, better.

Subordination is the soul of an army ; without it there can be no discipline ; and without that nothing can be executed. This I think you cannot but be sensible of ; to say otherwise would be charging you with insensibility. I hope you are so impressed with a sense of its reasonableness that you will readily come into it. It is no sign of a mean low spirit to submit to good discipline but on the contrary it is a sure sign of a coward to refuse it. You have officers, Gentlemen, that I dare say will endeavor to be masters of their profession, and adorn it by a proper behavior to their soldiers.

They are Gentlemen who have embarked in the common cause, who are determined to act in that station of their profession in which Providence has placed them, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. They are not men who have received commissions for their own private profit, to make gain ; but they are men who have been called to these offices which they now sustain by your united voice.

They entered upon them at your instance and request, unasked. These are the men you are to submit to, and if you will not obey these whom you have chosen for that purpose, whom will you obey ? As they were chosen by so great a majority, you may depend upon it that they will act with fidelity, they think it incumbent upon them. They will not deceive you by a slighty & faint discharge of their offices. You may depend upon their readiness & punctuality to assist you at all proper times. And they will have nothing more at heart than the good order, discipline & happiness of those under their command. As harmony & a good understanding ought to subsist between military officers & their soldiers ; I dare pledge my life & fortune that your officers will not be wanting in their endeavors to promote & maintain it. An accident lately happened in this town, you are all sensible, that caused much uneasiness among many very sensible persons, and seemed to threaten the very being of y^r Company. But I hope it is likely to subside & that we shall ere long return, to use the words of a noble historian ' to our old good humor & good nature '

Let us cherish and maintain a forgiving spirit toward all men, especially to those who have embarked in the common cause, and are determined to attend us, on every trying occasion, & in every danger. Let us unite in one indissoluble bond that shall give us consideration & importance & baffle all the attempts of designing men to break us that their keenest malice can suggest, or their disappointed ambition contrive.

The town have taken great pains, been at great expense, at least provided for it, to establish & compleat a minute company. And have in a great measure succeeded.

Endeavors were used to discourage its institution ; and are now continually used to overthrow it ; and you may depend upon it, that no stone will be left unturned for that purpose. The smallest division amongst you, however trifling it may seem, is converted by them into a happy omen of their future success. By widening the breach they hope in time to overthrow you with your own weapons.

Gentlemen, I beg of you to defeat their designs. Nothing is more easy ; an union among yourselves will be effectual for the purpose. Maintain that & you will have

nothing to fear. You have had the voice of almost the whole town not merely approving of you, but they have voted you a reward for your services."

After the war began, and orders came for the enlistment of soldiers, Hawley used to appear with a short sword and address the soldiers in the most animated manner, telling them that they would be hewers of wood and drawers of water to British lords and bishops if the great cause did not succeed. Once, when no one would enlist, he turned out himself and followed the drummer; others presently followed his example.

In the first provincial congress which met at Salem, October 7, 1774, Northampton was represented by Seth Pomeroy and Major Hawley. In this and in the succeeding congresses Hawley's labors were unremitting.

He served on committees appointed "to consider the state of the province," "to prepare plans for disciplining the militia," "to correspond with Quebec," "to prepare a letter to congress about Bunker Hill," "to consider what steps are necessary for receiving General Washington with proper respect," "to prepare an address to General Washington," etc.

As vice-president he presided in the absence of the president, General Warren, and from Northampton wrote to Cushing to watch the courts at Boston. "These must be embarrassed; for," wrote Hawley, "if they get a grand jury they will probably obtain indictments of high treason, and indictments will not be procured without a view and respect to arrests and commitments, convictions, hangings, drawings, and quarterings. What your chance will be, I need not tell you." At one time when suffering from one of his attacks of melancholia, despairing of the success of the Revolution, he said to one of the other "river gods," Governor Caleb Strong, "We shall both be hung." "No, Major Hawley," replied Strong, "probably not more than forty will be hung; we shall escape." "I will have you to know," exclaimed Hawley, "that I am one of the first three."

He lived, however, to see his cause triumph. We find him in 1780 raising his voice in the first Massachusetts senate against the exaction of religious tests, and later, in 1782, with ability and tact persuading the rioters to disperse. Contented with his small fortune and frugal life, he passed his last years at Northampton. He died in March, 1788, leaving, among other legacies, a tract of land lying south of Pelham to his beloved town. So greatly was Major Hawley venerated at Northampton, that some one wittily said the people there taught their children to answer the catechism question, "Who made you?" "*God and Major Hawley.*"

His integrity and piety were never questioned. In faith and in life he was a strict Puritan. He was once returning home after a long absence, and was within a few miles of it when the sun set and the Puritan sabbath

began. He stopped where he was and did not finish his journey until after sunset the next day. One Sunday a stranger preaching in the Old Church gave utterance to sentiments and doctrines that Hawley thought dangerous and unscriptural. He ordered the clergyman, therefore, to come down from the pulpit, and taking his place finished the services himself.

Hawley's disinterested course in public affairs silently rebukes the politicians of the present day, selfishly scrambling for place and power. Would that his life might be studied and his character imitated. His friend John Adams called him "one of the best men in the province," and the grandson of his friend, Charles Francis Adams, pays him the following higher tribute:

"Of this remarkable man it is regretted that so few traces remain. Even under the pen of an enemy like Hutchinson his character shines like burnished gold."

Charles Lyman Shaw.

ASTORIA, NEW YORK.

FORT PERROT, WISCONSIN

ESTABLISHED IN 1685 BY NICHOLAS PERROT

Editor of Magazine of American History:

In the September issue of your Magazine, under the heading "Old French Post at Trempeleau, Wisconsin," Mr. T. H. Lewis writes of his explorations in that neighborhood; but as both his first and subsequent visits derive their significance from the intermediate explorations of others to which he alludes, it is to be regretted that he did not mention them more at length.

In the *Archives des Marines* of France there is a manuscript map prepared by Franquelin for Louis XIV. It bears the date 1688. The only explorer who, so far as we know, established posts on the banks of the upper Mississippi previous to the date of the map was the noted Nicholas Perrot whom De La Barre had commissioned commandant of the west. The French narratives indicate that Perrot spent the winter of 1685-86 on the east bank of the Mississippi above the mouth of Black river, and later, probably in the early summer of 1686, built Fort St. Antoine on the same side of the Mississippi above the mouth of the Chippewa, according to Penicant on the shore of Lake Pepin. Franquelin's map clearly indicates the first position by the expression *La butte d Hyvernement*, that is to say, "Wintering Hill." It also shows, less correctly, the position of Fort St. Antoine.

The exact sites of these posts have been, nevertheless, hard to determine on account of the perishable nature of the structures of which they were composed. The historians and antiquarians of this part of the Northwest, like others of their class, have not been slow to conjecture, and the difficulty has stimulated a few of them to explore. The result has been the discovery of the ruins at Trempeleau mountain, the "Wintering Hill;" but final conclusions respecting the actual site of Fort St. Antoine are still in the air.

In the spring of 1887, Judge B. F. Heuston, who is preparing a history of Trempeleau county, Wisconsin, came to me to secure certain historical data. I called his attention to Franquelin's map, and suggested the possibility of finding the site of the post at Trempeleau. He was much interested; but the sequel is best described in the two following letters, pub-

lished respectively in the Minneapolis *Evening Journal* and the St. Paul *Pioneer Press*:

"WINONA, April 21.—The search for the ruins of Perrot's fort near Trempeleau, Wisconsin, attracted many people there this week. The scientific members of the party were the guests of Judge Newman, and included Judge Heuston, W. A. Finkelnburg, and Professor J. M. Holzinger of Winona; R. G. Thwaites, secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and Mr. C. Leith, clerk of public printing at Madison. The place for examination was one suggested by Professor Kirk as the locality of the fort which Mr. Nicholas Perrot established in 1685 in connection with his trading post. He was sent out by the Canadian government to make treaties with the Indians. The exact spot is one mile above Trempeleau, and in excavating for the road-bed two fireplaces were cut out. The party dug out, from one to two feet under ground, four fireplaces made of crude stones on three sides. The size of the ground on which the fort was probably located is sixty feet square."

"WINONA, Special, April 21.—The works of the old writers made it pretty clear that the fort of Perrot should be looked for near Trempeleau. Late last fall, Judge Heuston, accompanied by George Squier and the brothers Antoin and Paul Grignon, Canadians, and old residents of Trempeleau, went about a mile up the river to near Trempeleau mountain, looking for the signs of the lost fort. Proceeding to lay open some rocks that showed marks of fire, they soon came upon what was unmistakably a fireplace. This had a paved bottom surrounded on three sides by rude flag-stones, probably picked up on the bluffs, and contained ashes, and showed remains of wood. Since then the Wisconsin Historical Society has addressed inquiries to Judge Heuston concerning the probable location of Fort Perrot. This led to the exploring expedition of last Wednesday, April 18, under the zealous management of Judge Heuston. Trempeleau mountain was reached by the Burlington railroad bridge. At the foot of this mountain flint chips were picked up, showing that there was here formerly a flint arrow factory. The party hastened to the historic spot, a mile above the village, close to the Burlington railroad track, where a large concourse of villagers, armed with pointed rods, spades, shovels, pickaxes, and a photographic outfit, were anxiously awaiting its coming. Soon a companion to the fireplace laid open last fall was unearthed, about sixty feet to the east and facing it. Both of these are only a little over a rod from the Burlington track. Not quite midway between these two fireplaces, and a little to the south, was found a third one. This faced south. About thirty-five feet to the south of this, and therefore on the

south side of the track, was found a fourth fireplace, larger, or at least fuller of ashes, than the others, which led to the common supposition that this probably marks the mess room. W. M. Dixon, who helped grade the Burlington railroad track at this place, said that two more such fireplaces were right on the track, and were destroyed by the graders. Judge Newman interrupted the excavations, and introduced to the company Mr. Thwaites of the Historical Society, who briefly gave the history of the long lost fort, and the reasons for looking for it near Trempeleau. The spot where the fireplaces were uncovered was overlaid with earth and sod to a depth of one to two feet. A forest growth had spread over the site of the fort, as is shown by the stump of an oak tree six inches in diameter, grown right out of one fireplace."

J. H. Kirk

FIRST EDITIONS OF THE BIBLE PRINTED IN AMERICA

It is a significant fact, better known to bibliographers than to the public, that neither the Old nor the New Testament was ever printed in English in the British colonies, until after the declaration of independence.

The earliest publication on this continent of any portion of the Scriptures was Eliot's translation of the New Testament into the Natick dialect in 1661; the Old Testament followed in 1663. Twenty years later a second and the last edition was issued. The first edition of this Indian Bible is now valued at \$1,250; the Marquis of Hastings's copy of the second edition sold for \$1,000. The first edition of a Bible in the German language (the first in any European tongue in this country) was printed at Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1743. Mr. H. E. Luther, a wealthy type-founder of Frankfort, gave the fonts of type in German text from which it was printed. At the Brinley sale a copy was sold for \$350.

In 1777 Robert Aitken, a native of Scotland, who had settled as a printer in Philadelphia, published an edition of the New Testament, the first in the English language with an American imprint. For this breach of privilege and his attachment to the cause of American independence, he was committed to prison. This is a volume of extreme rarity. After his release, the zealous Scot issued an edition of the entire Bible, copied from "that pearl of great price"—the authorized English version. It appeared in 1782, and will always be prized as the first Bible in English ever printed in America. A perfect copy is preserved in the Lenox library. In 1790 editions of the New Testament were issued in New York and New Haven, and in 1791 a folio Bible with fifty copperplates was published at Worcester, the text revised by Dr. Bancroft, father of the historian. An edition for the use of Quakers was printed in New Jersey, and in 1794 the New Testament, without the Old, appeared in Boston.

In 1790 an edition in large quarto of the Douai and Rheims version of the Bible was printed at Philadelphia, and sold for \$6. Charles Carroll of Carrollton headed the subscription list, followed by the names of many of the most distinguished men of the South.



NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND.

GENERAL GRANT AND THE FRENCH

Mr. Theodore Stanton of Paris, the well-known scholar, has written an able and interesting article for the *Cornell Magazine* under the above title, in which he endeavors to show how little foundation there has ever been for the French prejudice against General Grant which has unfortunately crept into the newspapers, biographical dictionaries, histories, literature, and even the national poetry of France.

Mr. Stanton quotes a number of interesting letters, and a few extracts will be of interest. He says : " I now take up a number of manuscript letters which were written to me some time ago, but have not heretofore been published. It will be noticed that they are from the pens of gentlemen who were closely associated with General Grant both in public affairs and in the intimacy of private life, and several of whom were conspicuous in diplomatic stations during his administration, and participated actively in the diplomatic transactions between the United States on the one hand, and France and Germany on the other, that marked the stormy period covered by the years 1870 and 1871. The statements of such witnesses and their commentaries on the documents that have already been placed before the reader, will show still more conclusively, I think, that General Grant must be exonerated by all fair-minded Frenchmen from the charge of hostility to France.

General Wm. T. Sherman, who was general of the army in 1870, with headquarters at Washington, says : ' General Grant, in common with all Americans, entertained great love and affection for the French nation because of the material aid extended to us during the Revolutionary War, and especially for the gallant youth, of whom Lafayette was the type, who shared the dangers of that war near the person of the father of his country, General Washington. During our civil war, when we were contending for liberty as against slavery, the French Government was chiefly instrumental in establishing an Empire in Mexico with an Austrian prince at its head, backed by a strong army of French troops, commanded by Marshal Bazaine. This General Grant construed as an act of unfriendly interference, if not positive hostility to us, and I have heard him say that our civil war was not over till the French were compelled to leave Mexico. He would have been most willing in 1865 to have turned our victorious armies against Bazaine had not the same end been accomplished by diplomacy. The history of all this is well known in France. General Grant never attributed this act to the French people, but to Louis Napoleon. Therefore, when, in 1870, the French and Germans became involved in war, his sympathies were against Louis Napoleon. But the moment he fell at Sedan that feeling ceased, and thenceforward I cannot recall an act or expression of his but of the kindest nature toward France and her people.'

' When the French and German war took place,' writes the Hon. John Russell

Young, who, it will be remembered, accompanied the ex-president on his tour around the world, 'General Grant held the opinion that it was impossible for France to succeed. Results justified that opinion. General Grant had a strong aversion to the Bonaparte family, especially the first Napoleon. Until the battle of Sedan and the foundation of the republic, his sympathies, as far as I ever heard him express them, were with the Germans—not as against the French, but against the Bonaparte dynasty. After Sedan and the establishment of the republican government, France had no warmer friend than President Grant. My own impression is, from many conversations with General Grant, that any idea in the French mind that he was hostile to that country, or that he wished Germany to triumph over the republic, is a mistake. His dislike was to the Bonaparte family, and that was so intense that when in Paris he would not even visit the Invalides to see the tomb of the emperor, and when the Prince Imperial intimated, through a third person, that he would like to meet General Grant, he declined.'

Thus, while Victor Hugo was refusing to open his door to General Grant, the latter was turning his back on the uncle and the son of him who had sent the former into exile. It is easy to understand why French imperialists should heartily dislike General Grant, but one would think that his pronounced antipathy to the Napoleons would secure him the friendship of every French republican.

The Hon. Hamilton Fish, who was President Grant's Secretary of State during the eight years of the latter's presidency, writes me as follows on this same subject: 'That he had much admiration for Germany and its people is undoubtedly true, but I am very sure that his admiration for France and her people was no less than that for Germany. I never saw or heard from him anything that indicated a preference for one over the other. During the war between the two countries, my interviews and conversation with him on the subject were, necessarily, frequent. He insisted upon the strictest and most impartial, but friendly, neutrality on the part of the United States toward both belligerents. He deeply regretted the outbreak of the war, which he may have thought, as all the world thought, had been precipitated by France. If he had any decided partiality for either of the belligerents, I failed to perceive it. He was, at the time, charged by some of the German residents in this country with an undue leaning toward France, in that France was allowed to purchase arms freely in the United States.'

'If the impression prevails in France that General Grant either hated France or loved Germany,' writes the Hon. J. C. Bancroft Davis, who was Assistant Secretary of State during the war of 1870, 'I am sure it is without cause. General Grant was essentially an American, and so far as concerned his sympathies or affections, they were given without stint to his own land, and nowhere else. As president, he was strictly neutral during the war of 1870-'71. If he erred at all during that period, it was in permitting the sale of surplus government arms to the agents of the French Government, and their shipment to France. Germany, however, did not complain of this, as it was not in reality a violation of a neutral's duties.'

The foregoing letters have dealt in a general way with President Grant's private opinions and public acts concerning Germany and France. Those that follow will treat of a particular incident, and a very important one, in the controversy now under consideration. When I asked the poet-journalist, M. Auguste Vacquerie, the intimate friend of Victor Hugo and one of his literary executors, what message of General Grant's the poet referred to in the *Année Terrible*, I received this reply: 'The verses you speak of were not written in answer to the Message of February 7, 1871, but to the telegram of felicitation sent to the King of Prussia by General Grant after the disaster of Sedan.' If President Grant had penned letters or telegrams of such tenor, he would richly deserve all the censure he has received in France. But it is a curious instance of the inaccuracy of history that no letters or telegrams of this kind ever existed. These supposed congratulatory communications are always uppermost in the French mind whenever the name of General Grant is mentioned, and, in fact, they have envenomed the controversy.

'It is utter absurdity,' writes ex-Secretary Fish, 'in fact, it borders on idiocy, to suppose that "after each German victory he [General Grant] sent a congratulatory letter to King William." He would have been kept busy had he undertaken to write such letters. Until one such letter is produced, I shall hold to my firm conviction that nothing of the sort ever was written.

'The only letters that General Grant ever signed, addressed to the King of Prussia or to the Emperor of Germany, so far as my knowledge or belief extends, were the letters in acknowledgment of what are called the "dynastic" letters, addressed by the sovereigns of Europe to other sovereigns or heads of government, announcing births, marriages, deaths, etc., in royal families, or accessions to thrones, etc. I have before me at this moment a copy of the letter of the Emperor announcing his assumption of the title of Emperor. It begins: "William, by the grace of God Emperor of Germany, King of Prussia, etc., to his Excellency the President of the United States of North America. Great and good Friend." It states that the rulers and free cities of Germany having unanimously requested him to assume the title of Emperor at the close of the war, he had considered it his duty to the Fatherland to accept this title for himself and his successors on the throne of Prussia, etc., etc., etc. The letter is dated January 29, 1871, is signed "William," and countersigned "V. Bismarck."

Referring to President Grant's reply, the text of which has already been given, Secretary Fish continues:

'Like all ceremonial letters of the sort, it was signed by General Grant. It differed in no essential respect of style, expression, or otherwise, from the hundreds of letters of the sort that the ceremonies and dynastic relations of the courts of Europe have found necessary, or at least have established. They are ever courteous in expression, and so far as the United States are concerned, our part of the correspondence is responsive, and usually expresses either congratulation or regret, according as is the announcement of the event, and we seek to do so

pleasantly and in a manner acceptable to the party addressed. Such, and such only, was this terrible letter of General Grant to the Emperor William. The telegrams and the letters congratulatory were not—they never existed.'

Speaking of M. Vacquerie's statement, Mr. Fish says, in this same letter: 'I have no recollection of any telegram, or communication of any kind or sort, sent by General Grant to the King of Prussia on the affair at Sedan. I have no idea that there ever was anything of the kind. Possibly M. Hugo's literary executor may be able to give his authority for alleging the existence of such a communication, but I doubt whether there will be found any authority whatever.'

Mr. Chapman Coleman, First Secretary of the American Legation at Berlin, writes me on this same subject as follows: 'It seems incredible to me that General Grant should have sent the telegrams imputed to him to Berlin. Nothing whatever respecting the subject can be found on our files. If any such telegrams were sent, the fact must have been known to the Hon. George Bancroft, then minister at this post. His denial that such had been sent, or even his statement that he had never heard of them while minister here, would, if obtained, I fancy, settle the question.'

Following Mr. Coleman's suggestion, I wrote Mr. Bancroft on the subject. Here is his reply, dated, 'Washington, December 5, 1885. The statement, by whomsoever made, that the late President Grant sent telegrams of felicitation to King William, whenever, in the late war between France and Germany, the Germans gained a victory over the French, is wholly without foundation. I was at the time Minister of the United States in Berlin, and know certainly that no such telegram was received at the office or forwarded through the office. Further, I have called at the State Department here and requested that an examination of the archives might be made relative to the statement, and I have received from the Secretary of State the assurance that there is in the archives of the department no authority for the statement whatever.'

It will have been seen, therefore, that not only Victor Hugo's celebrated 'Message de Grant' has no *raison d'être*, but that there is little, if any, bottom to what French journalists and biographers have said and still say about President Grant's relations with Germany and France. French writers and leaders of opinion are, consequently, in duty bound to revise their hasty judgments, formed in the midst of the smoke and intense excitement of 1870 and 1871, and persisted in ever since, to correct more than one gross misstatement, and thus to remove from a whole nation's mind a groundless, or at least an exaggerated, prejudice against a great citizen of a friendly people.

THEODORE STANTON."

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

LETTER TO WASHINGTON FROM CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON

FROM THE COLLECTION OF DR. THOMAS ADDIS EMMET

[The following letter to President Washington from Charles Carroll of Carrollton, in 1793, declining the President's appointment on account of his delicate health and age, reached us too late for the November issue.—EDITOR.]

ANNAPOLIS, 28th Jan. : 1793.

DEAR SIR—

I received the 25th instant late in the evening, your letter of the 23^d. Early in the morning of the 26th the post left this place, so that I had not sufficient time to make up my mind respecting the acceptance or refusal of the commission mentioned in your letter, nor to inform you by last Saturday's post of my determination.

I have seriously weighed the reasons urged to induce me to accept the trust. I feel their force, and am sensible, that the number of citizens, from which characters in every respect proper for the intended negotiation can be selected, is unfortunately too circumscribed. No one more ardently wishes, than I do, for peace with the hostile Tribes, upon terms not dishonorable to our country. My time I would cheerfully give and I would endeavour to exert what talents I may possess, and should be extremely happy in being instrumental in accomplishing an object of such importance to the United States. But the length and unavoidable difficulties of the journey deter me from undertaking it. The infirmities of age are coming fast upon me ; I do not think I could endure the fatigue of so long a journey, part of it thro' the wilderness, without imminent danger to my health. I am very liable to take cold in changing my lodgings, and I never get cold without its affecting my breast, and leaving a troublesome cough, which seldom shakes off for a month or two afterwards : the anxiety too of mind I should experience from the responsibility of the station, & dread of not answering yours and the public expectation & wishes would also greatly contribute to derange my health, & really might disqualify me for the business. I hope these reasons which I have candidly assigned, will justify me, my dear Sir, in your opinion for declining the commission with which you wish to honor me. I am with sentiments of the highest esteem and regard—Dear Sir

Y^r affectionate and most hum: ser^t.,

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

UNPUBLISHED LETTER FROM GENERAL RICHARD HENRY LEE

[CONTRIBUTED BY REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN]

Chantilly 1st Sept 1790

My dear Sir

I arrived here monday afternoon pretty much fatigued with my Journey —We have sent for a few peaches having none on this plantation this year—The Bearers bring near half a bottle of Tincture of Bark for my dear daughter, and by the time that is used we shall have more prepared for her. Poor little John was taken last night with a fever that continues yet. We have just commenced the course of broken doses of Emetic Tartar which I hope will frequently remove the fever. If you can all come up in the Boat at her return, we shall be very happy to see you. the sugar plums are ready for my dear little Richard.

I am dear sir most obediently

yours

RICHARD HENRY LEE

Corbin Washington Esq
of
Walnut Farm

ORIGINAL LETTER FROM STEPHEN KING, 1780

[The following is an exact copy—spelling, punctuation, etc.—of a letter addressed to my grandfather George King by his brother Stephen, both of whom served in the Revolutionary army under the immediate command of General Washington. History describes George King as follows : “a man of athletic power and courageous patriotic spirit. He was orderly sergeant and clerk of the Raynham (Mass.) company. He, in warning them, rode on horseback with his drummer and fifer, through the town, and at every house made proclamation, ‘ Rally, rally ! the British are shooting down Massachusetts men ; rally, and drive them out of the country.’ ” The letter was sealed with red sealing-wax and directed on the outside to George King, Raynham, Massachusetts. It bears no postmark.

HORATIO KING.

WASHINGTON, D. C.]

West Point June 26th 1780

Loveing Brother I embrace this Oppertunity to let you know that I am in health for which I Desire to thank God hoping you enjoy the same I might inform you that the enemy are makeing the most vigurous Exartion and Tis Janorally thought against this Post Janoral Clinton haveing Returned from his Sucsesfull Expedition att the Southard is Determined to Try the Second Expirement in Con-

siquence here of the officers from Capt Down are to Be equiped with a fire arm and acutremints our strength is four pertended Brigades with But a handful of men in Each Besides two or three Regiments of militia our several alarum posts are as follows Janeral poor to occupy fort arnald and the two forts on the island Janeral paterson and late Larnaid's fort putnam fort webb and fort williss Cinton Brigade fort number one two and three the militia to hold them Selves in Rediness to go where Janeral macdougale shall think proper the out posts are to have Sixty Days provisions and water I hope if nothing happens Extraordinary I shall have the pleasure of seeing you again and the Rest of fathers family and I should Be very Glad you would Take the trouble of wrighting to me the first oppertunity you have after my greate Regards to you your family if you please and my love and Compliments to father Mother Brothers and Sisters Also to Sergt williams and all friends So I shall Conclude wrighting att this Time So I Remaine your Loveing and Efectionate Brother

STEPHEN KING

To Mr. George King

NOTES

THE EARLIEST BOOKMAKING—Donald G. Mitchell in his new book, *English Lands and Kings, from Celt to Tudor*, recently issued by Charles Scribner's Sons, tells us that: "At the end of the thirteenth century there was no printing; there was no paper, either—as we understand. The art, indeed, of making paper out of pulp did exist at this date with the Oriental nations—perhaps with the Moors in Spain, but not in England. Parchment made from skins was the main material, and books were engrossed laboriously with a pen or stylus. It was most likely a very popular book which came to an edition of fifty or sixty copies within five years of its first appearance; and a good manuscript was so expensive an affair that its purchase was often made a matter to be testified to by subscribing witnesses, as we witness the transfer of a house. A little budget of these manuscripts made a valuable library. When St. Augustine planted his Church in Kent, he brought nine volumes with him as his literary treasure. . . . At the commencement of the fourteenth century there were only four classics in the royal library of Paris, and the same date the library of Oxford university consisted of a few tracts kept in chests under St. Mary's church. . . . Thus in these times a book was a book; some of them cost large sums; the mere transcription into plain black letter or Old English was toilsome, and involved weeks and months of labor; and when it came to illuminated borders, or initials and title-pages with decorative paintings, the labor involved was enor-

mous. There were collectors in those days as now, who took royal freaks for gorgeous missals, and monkish lives were spent in gratifying the whims of such collectors. . . . Even now beautiful *motifs* for decoration on the walls of New York houses are sought from old French or Latin manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. And where was this work of making books done? There were no book-shops or publishers' houses, but in place of them abbeys or monasteries, each having its *scriptorium*, or writing-room, where, under the vaulted Norman arches and by the dim light of their loop-holes of windows, the work of transcription went on month after month, and year after year. Thus it is recorded that in that old monastery of St. Albans eighty distinct works were transcribed during the reign of Henry VI.; it is mentioned as swift work; and as Henry reigned thirty-nine years, it counts up about two complete MSS. a year."

SILAS WRIGHT—In an interesting paper read before the Oneida Historical Society on the evening of the 28th of October, Rev. Daniel Ballou said: "It was not by bold and daring strides or by sweeping brilliancy that Silas Wright, the governor of New York from 1833 to 1837, made his way to eminence and fame, but by persevering industry and unyielding loyalty to duty as God gave him to understand it. Becoming a citizen of Canton in 1819, he was postmaster in 1820, surrogate in 1821, and during six years he served as justice of the peace, commissioner of deeds, clerk, and

finally postmaster, which office he resigned in 1827, when, as a member of congress, he entered the broad arena of national statesmanship. Besides the civil offices mentioned, he held several positions in the military service. He was a captain of an independent military company in 1822 and was commissioned major of the regiment. Later he was promoted to the command, and in 1827 he was advanced to the rank of brigadier-general. In 1824 he was elected state senator on the issue of permitting the people to elect the presidential electors. He received every vote cast in Canton save his own. He was at that time twenty-nine years of age. As a politician he strove to represent his party's interests, and always kept his character and standing as a citizen above reproach. On the floor of the senate he was clear and well defined in statement, skillful and strong in argument, logical and convincing in debate. His admirers, gratified with his success, nominated him as one of the republican or buck tail candidates for their representative in the twentieth congress in 1826. He was elected over the Clintonian candidate by over five hundred majority. He despised monopolies; opposed all special legislation as wrong in principle. He favored paper currency. As a member of the committee on manufactures, he drew the bill which was substantially the tariff law of 1828. In advocating this measure, he made what at that time was regarded as the ablest speech of his life. His star rose still higher because of his honest integrity and fearless zeal for truth. The citizens of Middlebury, Vermont, complimented him with a pub-

lic dinner, and the tariff bill and the masterly support he gave it made him a national reputation."

THE OLD-TIME HARP AND MODERN FIDDLE—The Episcopal convention of the last few weeks has provoked many comments. The alteration (or proposed alteration) of the old hymns reminded me of an amusing anecdote, which perhaps many of our readers may remember. A chorister proposed to the minister of a certain church to alter the old hymn,

"Oh, may my heart in tune be found,
Like David's harp of solemn sound,"

in this wise,

"Oh, may my heart be tuned within,
Like David's sacred violin."

The minister, who was a bit of a wag, suggested this amendment:

"Oh, may my heart go diddle, diddle,
Like Uncle David's sacred fiddle."

I cannot say which was accepted, but the excruciating instruments which we hear so often Uncle David would not own.
Salem Observer.

MEETING-HOUSE SEATS TWO CENTURIES AGO—Mrs. Cooke, in the *Times and Generations of the Driver Family*, gives some picturesque views of early life and habits in Massachusetts: "The seating of the meeting-house was quite an event, and on the quarterly court files of Salem is thus mentioned: 'In consequence of divers complaints having been made from time to time of disorder in the meeting-house, and believing that the abuses in youth cannot be so easily reformed, unlesse every householder knows his seat in the meeting-house, the selectmen, the twenty-fourth of January, 1651, hereby

order that every householder both men and women shall sit in those seats that are appointed for them during their lives, and not to presse into seats that are full already." Mrs. Cooke also quotes from the records of Haverhill: "In 1708, at a town meeting, thirteen young

women of Haverhill, Massachusetts, were granted permission to build a pew in the hind seat in the east end of the meeting-house gallery, provided they would not build so high as to damnify or hinder the light of them windows at the said east end."

QUERIES.

THE MASSACHUSETTS STAPLE—November 4, 1761, Eleazer and Moses Frary gave a deed of land in Hatfield, Massachusetts, to Salmon Dickinson. The paper bore an embossed stamp one inch in diameter, representing a whale, with the legend "The Massachusetts Staple." Who can give a history of this stamp?

G. S.

DEERFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS.

A FEATHER IN ONE'S CAP—Will some reader of this magazine kindly give me information concerning the origin of the sentence, "A feather in his cap"? Is it an Americanism?

WALTER WHITLOCK

MONTREAL, CANADA.

THE FAMOUS TREATY WITH THE INDIANS—*Editor Magazine of American*

History: Rev. Acrelius in his History of New Sweden gives quite a detailed account of William Penn's two years in America, but does not refer to the famous treaty with the Indians. Does that imply that this glorious incident by critical historians must be relegated to the land of myths and fables, or is Rev. Acrelius a partial writer, trying to detract from the honor of the Quaker by omitting the most conspicuous act of his two years' visit on this continent? Please give the sources by which the story of that treaty is verified.

S. M. HILL

WAHOO, NEBRASKA.

PIN-MONEY—What is the origin of the term "pin-money"? A reply will very greatly oblige

WILLIAM WALLACE

MOBILE, ALABAMA.

REPLIES

ST. JOHN DE CRÉVECŒUR [xxii. 241]—The following letter of Major-General Pattison, commandant of New York, will throw some light on the alleged patriotism of St. John de Crèveœur and his imprisonment in the year 1779.

W. K.

NEW YORK, July 8, 1779.

Sir :

I have the Honor to acquaint you that pursuant to your Excellency's Orders signify'd to me by Lord Cathcart I took the earliest Occasion of having the Person & Papers of Mr. Hector St. John seiz'd & secured—

He was on Long Island at the time of my receiving Lord Cathcart's Letter, and I sent for him in a manner that could not raise any suspicion of my Intentions towards him; he immediately came to me and I directed the Town Major and my Aid de Camp Captain Adye to attend him to the house of the Revd. Mr. Brown, where he is us'd to reside when he comes to New York; he there opened for their Inspection a large Trunk, which from their Report, contained nothing but some few News Papers, some Garden Seeds & other trifles; he also put into their hands a bundle of Papers, containing certificates &c. relative to his having been imprisoned & otherwise ill used for his Attachment to the Government; they likewise found a small Trunk which he had put into the care of Mr. Brown, which they brought to me, it was opened & examined in my presence, and contained a great Number of Manuscripts, the general Purport of which appear to be a sort of irregular Journal of America, & a State of the Times of some Years back, interspersed with occasional Remarks, Philosophical & Political; the tendency of the latter is to favor the side of Government and to throw Odium on the Proceedings of the Opposite Party, and upon the Tyranny of their Popular Government.—I have therefore ordered the Trunk to be sealed up in my own Presence, to be disposed of, as you shall think proper—I have also sent for some Papers, he mentions to have left in the hands of Mr. Judge Ludlow and Mr. David Colden, Son of the late Lieut. Governor of this Province, on Long Island.

The Account Mr. St. John gives of himself is that he is a native of Caen in Normandy, but came into this Country many years ago and was naturalized; that he first went into the Mercantile Line, but afterwards bought a Farm in Orange County, on which he Settled, but was obliged to quit it about Six Months Ago, & leave his family & property behind, on Account of the Persecution he underwent from his Attachment to Government, & that during his leisure hours he has amused himself with making such literary Observations, as occur'd to him, but which he is convinced will upon Perusal, do him Credit in the opinion of those attached to the King's Government, that he has never kept them secret from those of his Acquaintance who were thus Attached, but took pains & found great Difficulty, whilst amongst the Rebels, to conceal them; that he has submitted many of them to the Perusal of Lieut. Col. Watson of the Guards, who has occasionally made his own Remarks on them, and can vouch for the Nature of the Contents.

Mr. St. John is well known to many of the principal People in this Place, and offers to give any Security, that he may be judged necessary, for his good Behaviour & Appearance.—I have the Honor of enclosing a Letter from Mr. Smith concerning him, & beg to know, if it is your Excellency's Pleasure that he be released from the Provost upon Bail

I have the Honor to be

With Great Respect &c.

JAMES PATTISON

To His Excellency SIR HENRY CLINTON.

—*Collections N. Y. Historical Society, viii. 90.*

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY— At the stated meeting held on Tuesday evening, November 5, the Hon. John A. King presiding, Mr. George S. Conover of Geneva, New York, presented a copy of his elaborate and valuable work entitled *Kanadesga and Geneva*. This volume is one of five copies prepared by Mr. Conover, containing 890 pages of manuscript and printed material. Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan was appointed a member of the executive committee of the class expiring 1893. The paper of the evening, "The Chaplains of the American Army, from 1775," by Asa Bird Gardiner, I.L.D., was one of peculiar interest, and enjoyed by a large and appreciative audience.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY began its winter course of fortnightly addresses on the evening of the 29th of October. The president, General Horatio Rogers, introduced as the speaker of the evening Professor James M. Hoppin, D.D., whose paper was entitled "An Old English Chronicle."

It is surprising, he said, how much of interest in English history is to be found lingering in the fen lands in the north of England around the Humber, flat as the scenery of Holland, but varied by the hill towns. Made fastnesses of freedom in times of peril, to these fen lands retreated the inhabitants when threatened. There were the old kingdoms of Northumberland, Mercia, and Essex. The speaker described the old Abbey of Croyland; he was attracted to it, not only because it was the germ of the

Cambridge University, but for other historical and political interests, and because it was the home of Hereward, the subject of Kingsley's romance, the son of Leofric and Lady Godiva. The speaker gave an account of some of the various deeds of Hereward in his brave and patriotic course in resisting the Normans. It seems by the record that plumbing was once the cause of trouble to the abbey, a plumbing-stove being upset on the roof, which was burned. The monkish historian gives an account of the death of William Rufus, in New Forest, which he declares was purely accidental. Furness Abbey was another subject touched upon by the speaker. It stands six miles from Ulverstone, in the Vale of Nightshade. It is now a daintily kept ruin, but was once a lordly establishment, holding in its domain a whole territory, the region about Lake Windermere. The historical interest of the abbey is not so great as that of Croyland. Furness Abbey was one of the three hundred and seventy-six confiscated by Henry VIII., all their property going into the royal strong-box. These great abbeys illustrate for us better than anything else the Norman period in England, when art and letters, and especially architecture, all came from Normandy.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY — A regular meeting of this society was held on the evening of October 28, in the society's room in the city library building. Hon. A. T. Goodwin presided. The Librarian, Dr. M. M. Bagg, and Cor-

responding Secretary Darling reported various gifts to the society's library, which were acknowledged with the usual vote of thanks.

Rev. Daniel Ballou read the paper of the evening, entitled, "Silas Wright, Governor of New York from 1833 to 1837." This was the first of the extended series of papers to be given by prominent men under the auspices of the society during this season, and an appreciative audience listened with close attention. Of the early life of his subject the speaker said: "Silas Wright was graduated from Middlebury College in the summer of 1815, at the age of twenty years. While in college he had maintained a scholastic reputation. Endowed with rare powers of mental acuteness and force, with a resolute will and robust health, together with a calm judgment that rarely failed to serve him, he bore to the threshold of manhood the moral and intellectual culture of the schools and the physical vigor of a strong organism inured to hard labor in agricultural pursuits. At the close of the war of 1812, when the country was in a most perplexing state of political affairs, he entered a law office at Sandy Creek, determined to pursue the profession of law. He was admitted to practice in the supreme court of the state in 1819, at the age of twenty-four years."

THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY began its usual semi-monthly meetings in October. At the two meetings held that month the president of the society, General Wilson, entertained the members, in the absence

of regular speakers, with informal talks upon his genealogical and historical researches in England and Holland during the summer. Among other interesting things he saw an old conveyance which he at first believed to be the original deed of Manhattan Island from the Indians to the Dutch, but which proved, much to his disappointment, to be a deed of land to the Van Rensselaer family, dated 1630. It is not probable that any deed of Manhattan Island was ever given, the transfer having doubtless been made by treaty.

On Friday evening, November 8, Professor H. H. Boyesen of Columbia College lectured before the society on "Our Norse Ancestors." In spite of the stormy evening the meeting was largely attended. Professor Boyesen advocated the theory that the Norsemen were the ancestors of the English or Anglo-Saxon people. Their fervent love of liberty and of free institutions, the similarity of the Norse language with the early English, the fact that the Norse sagas contained the germs of the whole English common law, were some of the arguments advanced in favor of that belief. Translations of portions of the sagas were given.

At the conclusion of the lecture, which was exceedingly interesting, and attentively listened to by the audience, Rev. Dr. Smith moved a vote of thanks to Professor Boyesen. These monthly addresses have become a prominent feature of the society's work, and the list of speakers for the coming winter contains the names of a number of gentlemen eminent in genealogical and historical research.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

The value of books for the literary worker cannot be over-estimated. One of our greatest philosophers has said, "There never was a book so bad by which we might not profit." Recreation is the great promoter of intellectual vigor. Books that simply entertain for an idle hour may unexpectedly furnish food for a series of important studies—as we sometimes find in the fruit we have taken for pleasure the medicine which restores our health. How much more may a good library stimulate thought, and suggest its particular direction! There are many works that cannot be written in the country—the metropolis and its machinery of varied life and its great libraries only can supply the wants of the author. Knowledge navigates the ocean and is constantly on voyages of discovery; it is of perpetual growth and has infinite demands. Taste, on the other hand, has no acquiring faculty; it must remain stationary, like an artificial canal winding through a beautiful country, with its borders confined and its length limited.

The search for knowledge is in itself compensating. The way, as we all know, to almost every other good is filled with thorns; but study is a genuine delight to the scholar from the very beginning of his journey. It opens the door to a thousand avenues of pastime and happiness. Those who are inclined to make discoveries in regard to the whys and wherefores of events will naturally store their minds with history. Facts of themselves are barren, but linked together become a golden chain. Strictly speaking, all knowledge is recorded experience. Memory is but the treasury house of annals. We are all constantly enacting history. In our every-day language we recite history. In a certain sense every individual is a historian. How few persons we meet daily who in talking do not narrate! The talent for story-telling is the birthright of every citizen. History lies at the root of all science and all culture. There has never been a nation or tribe so rude that it has not attempted history in some form, even though it had not arithmetic enough to count time. History has been engraved on stone, wrought into wood and ivory, manufactured from clay, built into pyramids and palaces; written with *quipu*-threads, with feather pictures, and with wampum belts; and preserved in earth mounds, in monumental stone-heaps, in the masterpieces of the old artists, and in the poetry and prose of the centuries.

The most eminent essayists and original thinkers are the most ready to acknowledge their indebtedness to history and to the wisdom that has been hived in books through all the decades of the past. Cicero tells us how his eloquence caught inspiration from a constant study of the Latin and Grecian poetry. Cobbett at eleven read Swift's *Tale of a Tub*, and it produced what he called "a birth of intellect." One of the celebrated historians of the present century dates the first step in a career of brilliant achievements to the reading of *The Scottish Chiefs* at the age of ten. The study of history is absorbing, fascinating; it comforts the lonely, it is a safeguard against lassitude, it drowns grief.

"The greatest genius is the one who consumes the most knowledge and converts it into mind." Thus remarked a well-known American writer, who was quickly reminded of what was said of Robert Southey, that he gave so much time to the minds of other men that he never found time to look into his own. Reading is an art, and, to facilitate its uses, there are many secrets worth knowing. Gibbon says: "We ought not to attend to the order of our books so much as of our thoughts." His theory was that the perusal of a book often gives birth to ideas in no way connected with the subject of which it treats. And he cautioned all readers against dwelling too long upon one line of study or thought.

Among the questions asked of Henry Ward Beecher when he stood before the hostile audience in Philharmonic Hall, Liverpool, October 16, 1863, was: "Can a negro ride in a public vehicle in New York with a white man?" He replied: "There are times when politicians stir up the passions of the lower classes of men and the foreigners, and there are times just on the eve of an election when the prejudice against the colored man is stirred up and excited, in which they will be disturbed in any part of the city; but taking the course of the year throughout, one year after another, there are but one or two of the city horse railroads in which a respectable colored man will be molested in riding through the city. It is only on one railroad that this happened, and it is one which I have, in the pulpit and the press, always held up to severe reproof. At the Fulton Ferry there are two lines of omnibuses, one white and the other blue. I had been accustomed to go in them indifferently; but one day I saw a little paper stuck upon one of them, saying: 'Colored people not allowed to ride in this omnibus.' I instantly got out. There are men who stand at the door of those two omnibus lines, urging passengers into one or the other. I am very well known to all of them, and the next day, when I came to the place, the agent asked: 'Won't you ride, sir?' 'No,' I said, 'I am too much of a negro to ride in that omnibus.' I do not know whether this had any influence, but I do know that after a fortnight's time I had occasion to look in, and the placard was gone. I called the attention of every one I met to that fact, and said to them, 'Don't ride in that omnibus which violates your principles, and my principles, and common decency at the same time.'"

BOOK NOTICES

RECOLLECTIONS OF MISSISSIPPI AND MISSISSIPPIANS. By REUBEN DAVIS. 8vo, pp. 446. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

We rarely take up a more thoroughly readable volume than these vivid sketches of early Mississippi life from the pen of Reuben Davis. The country of which he writes was wild and unsettled in his boyhood; there were no laws, no schools, no libraries. He makes his autobiography the central thread upon which he strings thirty-nine chapters of stirring memories of friends and comrades and events. He went to reside in Hamilton, Mississippi, the county seat of Monroe county, on the Tombigbee river, while yet quite young, and commenced the study of medicine. He describes in a very pleasing style the first public ball he ever attended, and the satisfaction with which he put on a swallow-tailed coat of bright blue cloth and brass buttons, buff doeskin trousers, white waistcoat, ruffled shirt, silk stockings, and pumps. He says: "The young ladies were gorgeous. There was a Miss Walker present, a niece of General Winfield Scott, with whom I danced a great deal. I wanted to dance with the beautiful Misses Walton, sisters of the late Mr. Joe Walton; but they had just come home from boarding-school, and were said to be so tremendously accomplished that I was afraid of them." He relates the varied incidents of a journey on horseback to Memphis, where he went when he had finished his studies, hoping to find an opening for practice. "It was then a small town, ugly, dirty, and sickly. Everything pointed to the certainty that in a short time this squalid village must grow to be a great and wealthy city, but I had no confidence in my destiny as one of the builders of it." He finally commenced the practice of medicine in Russellville, but subsequently removed to Fayette Court-House. He describes Vicksburg, "a city set upon the hills," Natchez, Athens, and other notable Mississippi towns, and the worthy men they have produced. In the twenty-second chapter he gives an interesting account of the affairs of the state during the Mexican war, followed by his own observations and adventures in that war. Mr. Davis abandoned medicine for the study of law, and was made judge of the high court of appeals. He was sent to congress from Mississippi, serving from 1857 to 1861, and then he entered the Confederate army as a brigadier-general. His public life was in exciting times, and he has pictured them with a master hand. He cites one incident which occurred on the floor of the house of representatives just before congress adjourned in June, 1858. He says: "Most of

the members were sleeping in their seats, when Grow, a Republican member from Pennsylvania, crossed over from the Republican side of the house to the side of the Democrats. Keitt, from South Carolina, said to him, 'What are you doing on our side?' adding, as he came nearer, '— you, go back to your own seat.' Grow retorted, 'You can't crack your negro-whip over me, sir!' Keitt then struck at him violently. In dodging this blow, Grow got completely to one side, and Keitt fell forward beyond him. As he sprang up, they found themselves back to back, and, though both turned quickly to renew the combat, there was time for me to seize one of them, while some one else got hold of the other."

AN APPEAL TO PHARAOH. The Negro Problem and its Radical Solution. 12mo, pp. 205. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1889.

At the present day there is no lack of interest in politics. Every election, local or general, emphasizes the fact that party spirit runs as high as ever; the country divides on lines as clearly defined as ever. Democrats and Republicans range themselves on one side or the other with as much acrimony as they did in 1860; but very few, particularly of the younger generation, who are rapidly grasping the balance of power, realize that the great cause of division between North and South remains very much as it was before negro slavery ceased to exist. "The war settled all that," is the popular cry, and it is fair to suppose that the millions believe in the truth of the saying. There are a great many, however, on both sides of Mason and Dixon's line, who think that the question is not settled, and who believe that the sooner the true state of things is recognized the sooner will the nation become in fact as well as in name a true Union.

It is generally admitted that, setting diplomacy and statecraft aside, slavery—that is to say, the negro—was the cause of the civil war. It is easy to talk about state sovereignty; but when all is said and done, the negro remains, and it is the purpose of the present work to show clearly why and how he remains. It is in vain to protest that such a purpose is "waving the bloody shirt," under a different name. The fact remains that, where negroes are sufficiently numerous to be a large fraction of the population, there the whites are practically "solid" in their political affiliations. Where the Anglo-Saxon race comes in conflict with another race on anything like equal terms, it is destined to rule—"peaceably if it can, forcibly if it must." That is the whole case in a nutshell.

There were not wanting men loyal to the Union who, during the reconstruction period, warned the North that no possible legislation could secure for the negro civil and social equality in the old slave states, but their voices were lost in the popular clamor for negro suffrage. It is too late now to ask, "How could we have managed differently?" We did what we did. The nation remains politically divided on the old lines, with a solidly democratic South, and a North so equally divided between the two great parties that few states can be certainly counted upon by the managers on either side. It is at least encouraging that an effort is at last making to consider the difficulty under its right name. Even at the South, leading men are beginning to recognize the demoralizing effect of retaining power at the cost of falsifying election returns, and are asking one another what can be done. Who shall blame them if, with the fresh recollection of negro supremacy in their minds, they say that, at whatever cost, a return to that condition cannot be endured unless by force of arms.

Honest and patriotic men on both sides are now awaking to the true question at issue, and we congratulate the anonymous author of "An Appeal to Pharaoh" on his forcible presentation of the dilemma.

ENGLISH LANDS, LETTERS, AND KINGS. From Celt to Tudor. By DONALD G. MITCHELL. 12mo, pp. 322. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1889.

This pleasant little volume gives a sort of panoramic view of English literary people, and the ways in which they worked—including no little information about the times in which they lived, and the places where they grew into maturity. Of course, the author passes over a great reach of ground, with long strides and many skippings; but his aim has not been so much to give definite instruction as to put the reader into such ways and states of thought as will incline him to instruct himself. The book is made up of a series of talks, and it is easy to perceive that the pen that long since gave us *Reveries of a Bachelor* and *Dream Life* has not lost its cunning. The hand that wields it can guide its readers through a waste literary country one day, and delight them with oases of bloom the next. We find the bright thread of balladry glittering in warm colors, we are caught in the meshes of romance, we trip through the centuries with snatches of music all along the route, we loiter among kings and queens and cardinals, read a chapter of "Old Private Letters" (some of which sound as homelike as if written yesterday), and spend delightful half-hours with Francis Bacon, Thomas Hobbes, Marlowe, Ben Jonson, Thomas Lodge, Michael Drayton, Leonard Wright, and others. Of Queen Elizabeth we

read: "She would have been great if she had been a shoemaker's daughter. I do not mean that she would have rode a white horse at Tilbury, and made the nations shake; but she would have bound more shoes, and bound them better, and looked sharper after the affairs of her household than any cobbler's wife in the land. Elizabeth would have made a wonderful post-mistress—a splendid head of a school, with perhaps a little too large use of the ferule; and she would have had her favorites, and shown it; but she would have lifted her pupils' thoughts into a high range of endeavor; she would have made an atmosphere of intellectual endeavor about her."

RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES, JAMES ABRAHAM GARFIELD, AND CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR. [Lives of the Presidents.] By WILLIAM O. STODDARD. 12mo, pp. 72. New York: Frederick A. Stokes & Brother. 1889.

The tenth volume, now before us, in the series of popular biographical sketches of the country's presidents, is one of the best yet issued. Mr. Stoddard writes with ease, and he has made himself so familiar with his subjects as to be able to condense a story without depriving it of its force, interest, or essential points. He tells the intelligent young reader in brief the facts most desirable to know and fully understand. The war experiences of Mr. Hayes form one of the excellent features of the book, and the congressional career of James A. Garfield another. The account of the inauguration and assassination of President Garfield is recited with much feeling; and no boy will close the volume without respecting his successor in the presidency, Chester A. Arthur, for the dignity, delicacy, and tact with which he bore himself while the suffering President grew dearer and dearer to his people, as they read of his heroic patience both morning and evening, and his distressing death.

THE DRIVER FAMILY. A Genealogical Memoir of the Descendants of Robert and Phebe Driver of Lynn, Massachusetts. With an Appendix containing twenty-three allied families. 1592-1827. Compiled by a Descendant, HARRIET RUTH (WATERS) COOKE. 8vo, pp. 531. New York, 1889. Printed for the Author by John Wilson & Son. Limited edition. Price, \$3.00.

Mrs. Cooke has made an exceedingly valuable contribution to the biographical and genealogical treasures of the country. In this handsome

volume of upward of five hundred pages, which has involved several years of persistent and careful study, we find not only an exhaustive history of the Driver family in the different generations, but of twenty-three other allied families, of whom are the Webbs, Herricks, Flints, Derbys, Archers, Metcalfs, Beckfords, and Neals. The book is much more than a genealogy: it embraces a vast amount of entertaining and valuable historic information. The opening chapter is devoted to a sketch of the Driver family in Europe; and the author tells us that Norfolk, England, is still the ancestral home of the Drivers, who, in appearance, features, habits, and temperament resemble to a marked degree those scattered through America. The first of the name in this country was Robert Driver, one of the founders of Lynn, Massachusetts, who was born in England about 1592. Mrs. Cooke in her researches has found interesting data concerning the times, which she has deftly woven into her biographical sketches, giving life and animation to every page. The houses of the first colonists are described; we learn that they were whitewashed with lime manufactured by burning clam-shells, and that "the fireplaces were constructed so as to admit a four-foot log, and had seats in the corners called forms, where, when seated, by looking up, the stars could be seen." Pen pictures are given of the quaint old meeting-houses, of the going to church on horseback, the wife riding on a pillion behind her husband, and of the dinners in the churchyard between services, from baskets and tin pails. Sleeping in church was a high crime, apparently, for Mrs. Cooke has found on record: "One Roger Scott presented at court, February, 1643, 'for common sleeping at the public exercise upon the Lord's day, and for striking him that waked him.' Again, August 4, 1646, Mr. Thomas Dexter (the richest man in Lynn) was presented at the Quarterly Court 'for a common sleeper' in meeting for public worship, and 'fined.'" We learn of the iron works in Lynn, "commenced in 1643 by John Winthrop the younger, for making scythe-blades, axes, hoes, plows, hammers, and every kind of tool and instrument used by the colonists in agriculture or building." And of the prohibition of the wearing of lace, silk, or jewels, of long hair and short sleeves, and of many other matters with which readers of the present are unfamiliar. The work ends with an appendix containing, among other choice items of information, the names in full of the five hundred companies of William in the Conquest of England in 1066, as found on the roll in the church of Dives, Normandy; a companion record to that of Battle Abbey, with this difference, that the latter is the roll of those who actually fought at Hastings, while the one at Dives is of those who assembled for the expedition. The volume has also a good index.

THE STORY OF BOSTON. A Study of Independency. By ARTHUR GILMAN, M.A. [Great Cities of the Republic.] 12mo, pp. 507. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1889.

Boston is one of those historic places of which the world is not likely to hear too much. It has been more written about probably than any other city on this continent, and yet there is always room for something fresh and attractive to appear in connection with its annals. It is no matter of wonder that the foreign tourist should have asked if "Massachusetts was simply a suburb of Boston?" The town in early times was concerned in every affair of moment which concerned the province in general, and there came a memorable day when it stirred all the provinces into commotion. The book before us is admirably written, and the illustrations are much more praiseworthy than in any of the volumes of the series hitherto published. "The Old State-House in 1801," "The Interior of Christ Church," and the "Old South Church in its Present Condition" are notably good. The volume also contains some useful and interesting maps. The author has handled his rich material with singular felicity, so much so that the narrative flows on from the beginning in a clear, steady stream—from the memorable 26th of August, 1629, on which day the decision was taken that determined the settlement of the town of Boston, to the present decade. Of course, the space given to modern Boston is extremely limited. Early history is the chief attraction throughout the work, and no chapter is more interesting than that entitled "The Times of the Mathers." Richard Mather, the "mighty man," came to America in 1635, and was found to be as learned in the Scriptures and in the classics as his fame promised. "His voice was 'loud and big,' and he uttered his words with a 'deliberate vehemency,' which, in the language of the day, 'procured unto his ministry an awful and very taking majesty.'" Cotton Mather, later on, "bewailed the increase of vice, the great number of drinking-houses, and the advent of fortune-tellers, and warned his fellow-citizens that Port Royal, in Jamaica, was 'swallowed up the other day in a stupendous earthquake,' and that, just before that catastrophe, 'the people were violently and scandalously set upon going to fortune-tellers upon all occasions.'" One cannot turn a page of the book without finding delightfully pleasant and instructive reading. It is the story of a community as told in the lives of its inhabitants; and as a record of civic development there is no more important feature anywhere in history for the intelligent American citizen to fully understand than the events which have characterized and made famous the city of Boston.

MICHIGAN PIONEER COLLECTIONS.

Vols. xii. and xiii. Historical Collections and Researches made by the Pioneer and Historical Society of the State of Michigan. 8vo., pp. 711 and 655. Thorp & Godfrey, State Printers, Lansing, Michigan.

The historic material which forms the first of these two volumes is very rich, consisting of an installment of the papers from the Canadian archives at Ottawa, and copies of documents in possession of the old Historical Society at Detroit. The thirteenth volume comprises the proceedings of the annual meeting of 1888, with the valuable papers read on that occasion, and other articles of a miscellaneous character. A contribution by George H. White of Grand Rapids, of "A Sketch of Lucius Lyon, one of the First Senators from Michigan," and a series of short papers by A. D. P. Van Buren, on "Some Unique Characters," may be mentioned as of special interest. Dr. Isaac Lamborn is described by Mr. Van Buren as a Quaker-garbed, small-sized man, mounted on an Arabian horse, riding over the country—a man without kith or kin, an odd compound of vast learning, shrewdness, conceit, love of argument, etc. In a political speech at Battle Creek, during the exciting political campaign of 1844, he said: "Fel-low cit-i-zens! I come among you, a Christ-ian, pat-riot, and schol-ar. Really, there are but three great men in America—Dan-iel Web-ster is one, Hen-ry Clay is another, and the third modesty forbids me to men-tion!" Many anecdotes are related of this eccentric character, whom everybody knew within a wide region of country.

THE STORY OF VERMONT. By JOHN L.

HEATON. [The Story of the States Series.]

Illustrations by L. J. Bridgeman. 8vo., pp.

319. Boston: D. Lothrop & Company. 1889.

Mr. Heaton has produced a graphic, descriptive narrative of the rise and development of Vermont, the fourth volume in the series edited by Elbridge S. Brooks. Until this work appeared, there had been no history of the Green Mountain state written in forty years. It was the fourteenth state in the Union; that is, the first state admitted after the establishment of

government. The early wars and forays furnish picturesque situations for the author's clever pen, and, to those who are not familiar with the scenes connected with the first explorations and settlements in that northern wilderness, the story reads like fiction. The boundary disputes at a later period rendered the region famous, over which the author of this volume passes lightly; but the part taken by Vermont in the American Revolution forms a bright chapter for the appreciative reader. The log cabin period, the buildings of the state, the first churches, schools, newspapers, and libraries, and the part taken by Vermont in the war of 1812 and in the late civil war, are all vividly pictured in this volume. The temperance reform in 1844 and the "anti-slavery crusade" are treated with commendable fullness. It was in the year 1828 that William Lloyd Garrison appeared in Bennington, and assumed the editorship of the *Journal of the Times*, stipulating that he should be free to advocate the temperance and anti-slavery causes, as well as the politics of the Whig party, and moral reform. His paper, however, was short-lived, and Garrison went elsewhere to finish his career of suffering and achievement. It is rarely that historic narrative is condensed into better form, or the evolution of a state traced in so brief a space, with more satisfactory results. The book is well illustrated with views and maps, and a most valuable epitome of events is furnished in an appendix.

THE LOST DISPATCH. 16mo, pp. 115.

Galesburg Printing and Publishing Company:

Galesburg, Illinois, 1889.

This little book has created a marked sensation the country through. It is a contribution to the literature of our late civil war, and its author desires to remain unknown. All persons connected with the narrative appear in the volume under strictly fictitious names, but there are many prominent army officers who feel pretty well assured that they have recognized them. The narrative deals with a much disputed incident of the war, and it is written with spirit, in a clear, terse, flowing style, holding the interest of the reader from the first page to the last. We should like to know more about that bit of paper, that "Lost Dispatch."

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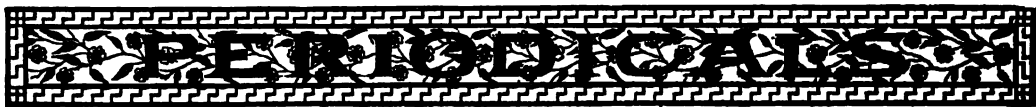
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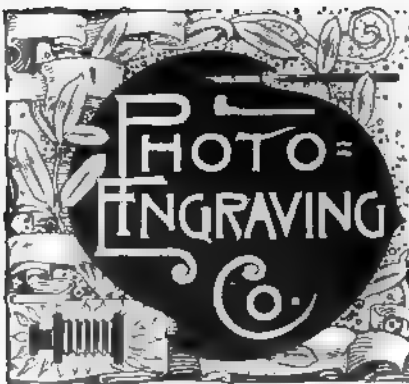
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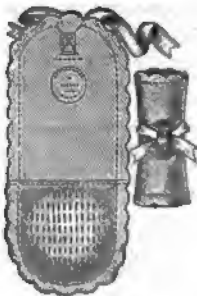
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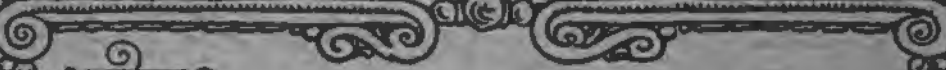
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